

A Tale of Two Republics:
Why Liberalism Succeeded in America but Faltered in Brazil

Matthew Braz

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Professor Blais

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The history of human civilization in the Western Hemisphere begins in when hunter gathers first stepped foot onto North America, and continued their march south to the tip of Patagonia. In a land diverse in geography and people, these human tribes would form new societies vying for resources to become the dominant power. And of all societies to flourish, the Mesoamerican civilizations including the Olmec and later the Aztec would rise as the most powerful empire in North America. South of Panama, the Inca would establish an empire in the Andes Mountains as the dominant power of South America. Yet the powerful Aztecs warriors and the high Incan forts would not withstand the guns nor devastating germs of European colonizers who would replace these native empires as the dominant power. Now it was the empires of Europe who were the true superpowers of the Western Hemisphere, establishing political, cultural, and economic control both continents. European colonialism would reshape the Western Hemisphere into a new world born from the ashes of Native People. Their former lands were fenced for European colonizers, of men and women who sought wealth that this new world provided. That wealth needed extraction, and so millions of enslaved people were chained and shipped from Africa towards the horrors of chattel slavery. The combination of these different people and cultures reshaped the Western Hemisphere, and the result of this clash of cultures is still evident today 527 years after Columbus arrived in Hispaniola.

While European influence is still visible in the Western Hemisphere, the power of the European empire over North and South America was weakened by the late 18th century revolutions. The American, Haitian, and Latin-American Revolutions liberated the colonies from the interests of Europe, but unable to reverse the centuries of European influence from their society. In North America, the British Empire, considered the dominant power after the French and Indian War, lost its grasp of 13 Colonies that won their war of independence. The rational of

the American Revolution came from the principles of the Enlightenment (also known as liberalism) that influenced the Founding Fathers when creating a new government. This political revolution as well as economic revolution transformed the United States into the dominant power in North America. Meanwhile in South America, where revolutions in Venezuela and Argentina will dissolve the Spanish Empire, Brazil remained as the last colony under Portuguese rule. Within its borders are lucrative resources like sugar, gold, and coffee that depended on slave labor, similar to the United States. Yet when Brazil declared independence in 1824, it did not follow the republican path of the United States, it became an empire with a Portuguese prince as its emperor. It was only until 1889, that the newly named United States of Brazil was declared a republic on the 100-year anniversary of the French Revolution. Republican revolutions in Brazil had often been crushed by the Portuguese monarchy, from the execution of republican martyr Tiradentes, to the defeat of the Confederation of the Equator. But with the successful overthrow of the empire, the United States of Brazil is destined to follow the lead of the United States for the following century.¹

Now in the 21st century, the United States of America and the renamed Republica Federativa do Brasil (Federative Republic of Brazil), are the dominant power of their respective continent. Brazil is the largest country with the largest economy in South America, and in the international stage Brazil is the fifth largest nation with the eighth largest economy.² Yet the United States is the second largest economy in world, with almost quadruple the GDP per capita

¹ De Mendonca, Salvador. "Republicanism in Brazil." *The North American Review* 158, no. 446 (1894): 8-15. <http://www.jstor.org.ezan.ez.cwmars.org:3400/stable/25103254>. 10.

² Central Intelligence Agency, *The World Factbook: Brazil. 2019*
<https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/resources/the-world-factbook/geos/br.html>

than Brazil, and the largest military in the world.³ But of all the elements to compare the United States and the Brazil, it's that despite the American inspiration towards the new Brazilian Republic, Brazil fell into two periods of dictatorship during the 20th century. Despite the embrace of Liberalism in 1889, and the triumph of liberalism after the fall of the Soviet Union, Brazilian democracy in 2019 is far from stable.⁴

The two republics of America and Brazil are the most powerful in the Western Hemisphere, created from the aftermath of European colonialism, yet diverged in its success as independent republics. Why is that? It is because Americans are more freedom loving and moral people than the rest of the world? Certainly not, considering the numerous examples of the contrary in American history, where in one notable example John Adams passed the Alien and Sedition Acts that silenced dissent of the government and violated the 1st amendment.⁵ Could the cause depend on the exact circumstances that Brazil experienced that resulted in dictatorship, that the United States did not experience? Probably, but it should be remembered the United States faced Civil War, the Great Depression, and other crisis' in the 20th century, yet continues to uphold its democratic institutions, constitution, and liberal principles. Or what about the extent of federalism in Brazil compared to the United States? Possibly, but federalism was already incorporated by the *Acto Additional* of 1834, that granted greater autonomy to the provinces

³ Central Intelligence Agency, *The World Factbook: United States*. 2019.

<https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/reosurces/the-world-factbook/geos/us.html>

⁴ Bethell, Leslie "The Long Road to Democracy in Brazil." In *Brazil: Essays on History and Politics*, 147-74. London: School of Advanced Study, University of London, 2018.
<http://www.jstor.org.ezan.ez.cwmars.org:3400/stable/j.ctv51309x.9>.

⁵ Bradburn, Douglas. "A Clamor in the Public Mind: Opposition to the Alien and Sedition Acts." *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series, 65, no. 3 (2008): 565-600.
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/25096814>.

during the Brazilian Empire.⁶ There are many factors that can explain why Liberalism was far more successful in the United States than in Brazil, but the cause that should first be examined is what influence did Portugal and England had on their respective colonies that influenced their development as independent nations.

The creation of the American and Brazilian republics cannot divorce its colonial connection to Great Britain and Portugal, whose influence remains despite more than 200 years of independence. The intent behind both colonial projects can be summarized as the pursuit of Gold, God, and Glory. Gold, or the pursuit of wealth, was the primary concern for European states like Portugal and England. Western Europe would realize this wealth through their empire, which spanned the seas all over the world, first in East Asia, and then pivoting to the Western Hemisphere. But despite the shared economic intentions between the kingdoms of Portugal and England, the methods their colonies will profit and the structure of their colonial governments will form the foundation of the future United States and Brazil.

The catalyst to drive Western Europe to enter the Western Hemisphere begins with a change navy is the immense profit of colonial exploration, ignited in part to the changing geopolitical landscape of the Muslim world. The first is the slow collapse of Muslim power in the Iberian Peninsula, replaced by the Christian kingdoms of Portugal and Spain.⁷ Portugal would take advantage of this power vacuum to expand further from Europe to the western coast of Africa, becoming the first European nation to start the colonial competition. Thanks to new naval technology paired with the maritime society of Portugal, together would spark voyages led

⁶ Martin, Percy Alvin. "Federalism in Brazil." *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 18, no. 2 (1938): 143-63. doi:10.2307/2507174. 149-150.

⁷ Alzugaray, Domingo and Cátia Alzugara, ed, *Istoé Brasil 500 Anos: Atlas Histórico*. 2nd ed. São Paulo: Nova Geração, 2000. 13.

by skilled cartographers including Gil Eanes, Diogo Cão, and Bartolomeu Dias to explore the African coastline (and islands off the African coast including the Madeira, Azores, and Cape Verde Islands) farther than any European in history.⁸ In their exploration, the Portuguese would participate in the slave trade with African kingdoms like the Mali Empire and the Kingdom of Kongo. Importantly, the newly explored subtropical islands of the Madeira and Azores would be established as a lucrative sugar colony sustained by enslaved people from West Africa that would serve as the model for Brazil.⁹

The second and most important change in international geopolitics that would incentives' European Colonialism, is the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople. The fall of the last remanence of the Roman Empire conveyed to the world that the Ottoman Empire was the emerging superpower in the Middle East. Overlooking the religious and political implications, the Ottoman conquest also signified an economic consequence with monopolized control of the trade routes between East Asia and Europe. By controlling the Silk Road, highly demanded goods must now pass the "Middle Men" of newly named Istanbul for increased prices that benefited the Ottomans but disadvantaged Europe.¹⁰ For Portugal, the proper response to the Ottoman monopoly is bypassing their trade routes on land by sailing around Africa to the markets of India and China. Vasco da Gama would become the first European to embark on this great expedition to reach the market of Calcutta, completing their mission to circumvent the Ottomans. Spain would follow Portugal's direction by sponsoring Christopher Columbus, thus the geopolitics of the Middle East would forever change the history of the Western Hemisphere.

⁸ Alzugaray, Domingo and Cátí Alzugara, ed, *Istoé Brasil 500 Anos: Atlas Histórico*. 2nd ed. São Paulo: Nova Geração, 2000. 13.

⁹ Costa, Marcos. *A Hstória Do Brasil: Para Quem Tem Pressa*. 3rd ed. Rio de Janeiro: Valentina, 2017. 16.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 16.

By the time Pedro Álvares Cabral would arrive in Modern Brazil, Portugal was already in competition not just against the Ottoman empire but against its neighbor Spain. Both Columbus and Cabral would arrive to the New World by accident, but both explorers would intensify the economic competition between Portugal and Spain, and soon all of Western Europe. This competition was based off of the economic theory of Mercantilism, that the exact wealth of a nation is dependent only in the amount of gold and silver a nation produced, a materialistic perspective that insinuates a zero-sum world economy based off material resources only. That the size of a nation's economy is dependent in the resources that nation controls, extracted from colonies to the home country under strict control by the home country.¹¹ The prized resource was gold and silver, that all colonial projects in the New World, whether Portuguese, English, or Dutch, was to find "El Dorado" (while ignoring the disastrous results of inflating gold and silver by increasing the its supply).¹² The foundation of Brazil, and later the United States, is established first for the benefit of the state, through recourses that are to be extracted at any cost.

While Portugal and Spain began their colonial adventures early than other Europeans, the English attempt to colonize the Western Hemisphere followed different circumstances. While both Portugal and England followed similar Mercantile interests, the religious motivations and its outcomes will play a role in the formation of the two future republics of America and Brazil. In England, the domestic religious policy under Queen Elizabeth and the Anglican church was

¹¹ Albert, Craig M, William A. Graham, Donald Kagan, Steven Ozment, Frank M. Turner. *The Heritage of World Civilizations*. Fifth ed. Vol. 2. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson, 2012.

¹² Smith, Adam. 2019. *Wealth of Nations*. Hoboken, N.J.: Generic NL Freebook Publisher. Accessed May 3.
<https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=2008591&site=ehost-live>.

structured to appease and unite Protestants and Catholics in England, but on the international stage Protestant England projected itself against the full force of its rival, Catholic Spain.¹³ Philip II, the king of both Spain and Portugal (during the Iberian Union) was the most powerful man in Europe and the Americas. Mercantilist economics would suggest that the extracted wealth from the combined power of Spanish and Portuguese overseas colonies should have guaranteed Philip victory. Yet the fateful defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1587 humiliated Philip II despite mercantile logic, a setback signaling the slow decline of Spain as a world power.¹⁴ This victory galvanized Protestants in Europe, and opened the door for England to enter the New World less than a century behind Columbus.

The peaceful religious existence between the fundamentalist Puritans and compromising Anglican Church would not last forever. Under the reign of James I, and Charles I, the Monarchy attempted to whip the Puritans into conforming with the state religion, and the subsequent wave of persecution would provoke the Puritans to either endure or flee.¹⁵ The choice of one group of Puritans who gave up on the idea of ‘purifying’ the Anglican Church, and the newly named separatists, decided to find refuge first in Holland and later Virginia. The Separatist community that accidentally landed in Massachusetts did so to escape the monarchs surveillance and authority.¹⁶ Puritanical Massachusetts was not the only state established by religious minorities

¹³ Brown, Richard D, Jack Tager. *Massachusetts: A Concise History*. University of Massachusetts Press. Amherst. (11)

¹⁴ Albert, Craig M, William A. Graham, Donald Kagan, Steven Ozment, Frank M. Turner. *The Heritage of World Civilizations*. Fifth ed. Vol. 2. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson, 2012. (403-404).

¹⁵ Brown, Richard D, Jack Tager. *Massachusetts: A Concise History*. University of Massachusetts Press. Amherst. (14-15)

¹⁶ Lang, James. *Portuguese Brazil: The King’s Plantation*. New York City, Academic Press, Inc. 1979.

to practice freely their faith from the crown, evident in the other 13 colonies in British North America. Maryland, literally the “Land of the Virgin Mary”, was settled in 1634 as a Catholic refuge by the Lords of Baltimore.¹⁷ Pennsylvania was chartered by William Penn as a safe haven for the Society of Friends, or Quakers as they were commonly insulted as. William Penn shaped Pennsylvania as the most radically tolerant of the colonies, accepting of other faiths and even Native Americans who he respected as equals.¹⁸ The concern the English Colonies against England and the Crown as a threat against its local autonomy (in this case the autonomy to practice their faith) is an important foundation not just for the future War of Independence, but also the structure of an independent American government.

Portugal was accustomed to religious conflict, starting with the Reconquista against Muslim kingdoms in the Iberian Peninsula, but the level of religious conflict compared to England will influence the future of Brazil as it did America. The Portuguese Inquisition, similar to its more famous Spanish Inquisition, would persecute Jews, Muslims, and other heretics in the Iberian Peninsula as well as New World colonies including Brazil.¹⁹ This is why many persecuted minorities in Portugal escaped to Northern Europe, away from the Portuguese realm that persecuted them in Europe and the America’s.²⁰ Ironically, the persecuted Jewish community that left Portugal during the Inquisition to the more tolerant Netherlands, would join the Dutch revolt against the united Spanish and Portuguese crown and occupy Northern Brazil

¹⁷ Bruun, Erik, ed, and Jay Crosby, ed. *The American Experience*. New York: Black Dog & Leventhal, 2012. 60.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 60-61.

¹⁹ Caldeira, Jorge, Falvio de Carvalho, Claudio Marcondes, Sergio Goes de Paula. *Viagem Pela: Historia do Brasil*. 2nd ed. São Paulo: Companhia Das Letras, 1997. (46-47)

²⁰ Costa, Marcos. *A História Do Brasil: Para Quem Tem Pressa*. 3rd ed. Rio de Janeiro: Valentina, 2017. 44-45.

from 1624 till 1654, until they were expelled.²¹ Where English religious minorities sought autonomy in the colonies, Portuguese religious minorities left the realm entirely, resulting in a Brazil that is majority Catholic and without need in protecting freedom of religion, a radical idea at the time. The extent to which the Portuguese inquisition was implemented in the far away colony of Brazil demonstrates the power of the Portuguese crown, whereas the British monarch did not have the same power to enforce Anglicanism in the 13 Colonies.

While it should be said that the British North America was far from being a safe haven for religious minorities, the best example being the Massachusetts Puritan society that expelled or hung heretics. The Colony of Rhode Island was founded after Roger Williams was expelled from Massachusetts for criticizing the Puritan establishment.²² Maryland, for its bold stance regarding religious toleration, threatened Jews in the colony and mandated that only Catholics can serve in the colonial government.²³ But the level of religious diversity in the Thirteen Colonies would become the basis of the Establishment Clause of the United States constitution, a liberal idea made into law that essentially separated Church and State. Despite the tension between Portugal and the Catholic Church on the Society of Jesus, the Church controls social aspects of.

The beginning of English colonization into the Western Hemisphere did not begin with the Puritans escaping persecution. The first English settlers to arrive to the Western Hemisphere, a century after Columbus, arrived on the shores of Virginia expecting gold and disappointed to find nothing but swamps, mosquitos, and upset Native Americans. The first attempt in Roanoke Island was under the direction of Sir Walter Raleigh, who replicated the English settlement

²¹ Ibid., 45.

²² Erik Bruun and Jay Crosby, *The American Experience*. 50.

²³ Ibid., 53.

project implemented in Ireland as the basis of New World colonization. Walter's colony in Roanoke Island mysteriously disappeared, but his concept of creating a permanent, agricultural settlement remained as the basis of English colonial efforts in North America.²⁴ Jamestown succeeded as a self-sufficient settlement contrary to colonial models followed by Portugal, France, the Netherlands, and even the British East India Company, where small outposts along trade routes acted as factories for resources to be processed and shipped to the mother country.²⁵ Instead, as Sir Walter Raleigh designed, the Thirteen Colonies became England's most successful settlement project, attracting many poor Englishmen and women on the prospect of attaining land.

As English Settlers entered the promising but hostile land of British North America, whether for greed, god, or land, the authority of Parliament to administer the daily affairs of the colonies was impractical and impossible. To administer the affairs of the colonies required a colonial government to be established, constructed with the same principles found in England, and sanctioned by London to exist within the Empire. These English settlers did not create a new form of government from *Ex Nihilo*, but influenced by the politics of England that would shape the colonial government and subsequent independent United States.

From Massachusetts to Virginia, colonial governments were self-governed colony's represented by land owning men. Where the Virginia colony had a royal governor as oversight on behalf of the crown, power truly belonged to the House of Burgesses, the first legislative

²⁴ Brown, Richard D, Jack Tager. *Massachusetts: A Concise History*. University of Massachusetts Press. Amherst. 12.

²⁵ Temin, Peter, ed. *Engines of Enterprise: An Economic History of New England*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2000.

assembly formed in British North America.²⁶ In Massachusetts, the Mayflower Compact was formed after the Pilgrims landed far from their destination, formed a “Civil Body Politick” of men who create law for the betterment of the colony.²⁷ The striking aspect to the various colonial compacts, from Georgia to New Hampshire, was the way in which it formed organically by English settlers arriving to the Western Hemisphere. There was no violence between the settlers, who established communities who sent their delegates to work together for the good of the colony.²⁸ Each of the 13 colonies varied in the exact execution of self-government, based in their individual circumstances, but the basis to these different colonial charters were inspired by that of their English Charter and English Law. These principles remain as a fundamental tenant towards American government today.²⁹

The idea of a limited government did not simply appear into the minds of English colonists, but a natural progression of ideas beginning with the introduction of a limited monarch. Before Queen Elizabeth, King John was siphoning the national wealth in financing a failed campaign in Normandy, imprisoning Barons and Lords with no justification, and circumventing the laws of the land. The tension between the nobility and their monarch reached a boiling point, and the Magna Carta was established to restrict the power of King John in the areas of law and taxation.³⁰ To be clear, the creation of the Magna Carta was not itself a liberal

²⁶ Lang, James. *Portuguese Brazil: The King's Plantation*. New York City, Academic Press, Inc. 1979. 48.

²⁷ Bruun, Erik, ed, and Jay Crosby, ed. *The American Experience*. New York: Black Dog & Leventhal, 2012 43.

²⁸ Field, David Dudley. "Theory of American Government." *The North American Review* 146, no. 378 (1888): 542-57. <http://www.jstor.org.ezan.ez.cwmars.org:3400/stable/25101504>. 546.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 546.

³⁰ Carpenter, David. "Magna Carta 1215: Its Social and Political Context." In *Magna Carta: History, Context and Influence*, edited by Goldman Lawrence, 17-24. London: School of

idea, as the newly formed assembly that would become Parliament was delegated by Lords, Barons, and Clergymen, and ignored the common majority of England. Furthermore, the ideas behind the Magna Carta were not new to the world, but have roots to the Roman tradition found in other kingdoms including Hungary that checked the power of the ruler through some sort of legislative assembly.³¹ While the Magna Carta neglected the creation of the modern House of Commons, nor was it a revolutionary idea at the time, the Magna Carta was unique to Europe as the most radical restriction of a Monarch's power compared to its contemporaries.

The Magna Carta was only the first of many small steps towards English Parliamentaryism, that would develop over time in England and later influence politics in the 13 Colonies. The idea of Parliamentary Monarchy, also known as Limited Monarchy, can be defined as “A state headed by a monarch but whose power is shared with a national represented body.”³² Yet this structure of government faced backlash by the Stuart Dynasty, beginning with James I and his heirs that would bring England to civil war and later a “Glorious Revolution”. The conflict between the Monarchy and Parliament did not exist in a vacuum, as the ideas circulating in Britain at the time will also trickle into the Colonies as well. For one the, the Magna Carta was the basis in which English colonist cited against British intervention, from Reverend John Wise who cited the Magna Carta against Royal Governor Sir Edmund Andros

Advanced Study, University of London, 2018.

<http://www.jstor.org.ez.an.ez.cwmars.org:3400/stable/j.ctv5136sc.8>. 19.

³¹ Ibid., 19.

³² Albert, Craig M, William A. Graham, Donald Kagan, Steven Ozment, Frank M. Turner. *The Heritage of World Civilizations*. Fifth ed. Vol. 2. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson, 2012. 478.

who threatened Massachusetts autonomy,³³ as well as John Adams and the Braintree Instructions in protest of the Stamp Act and its threat towards colonial autonomy.³⁴

The radical (at the time) political revolutions in England compared to the rest of Europe became an example for Enlightenment philosophers to criticize absolutist governments throughout Europe. The French philosophers Voltaire and Montesquieu, favored British limited monarchy that French absolutism. Montesquieu's contribution to the Enlightenment in *the Spirit of the Laws*, would be referenced in the *Federalist Papers* in forming the new constitution.

³⁵Furthermore, in the aftermath of the Glorious Revolution, John Locke would write *The Second Treatise of Government*, that supported the overthrow of the absolutist James II, and defended Limited Monarchy that was strengthened under William and Mary. Locke would write "Whenever law ends, tyranny begins if the law be transgressed to another's harm", ³⁶or in this case the Magna Carta that was being transgressed by the monarchy. Locke's contribution against absolutist monarchy and the justification of revolution against tyrannical government would inspire Thomas Jefferson in the Declaration of Independence. The foundation of the United States is therefore built from its English history that produced the Magna Carta and the concept of Limited Monarchy that made would progress to the ideas of limited government, the separation of powers, and the rule of law.

To understand the power dynamics between Britain and the 13 Colonies requires a greater examination of the priorities of the British Empire. According to Mercantilist theory,

³³ Brown, Richard D, Jack Tager. *Massachusetts: A Concise History*. University of Massachusetts Press. Amherst. 48.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 64.

³⁵ Hamilton, Alexander, James Madison, and John Jay. *The Federalist Papers*. Edited by Garry Wills. New York: Bantam, 1982.

³⁶ John Locke. *The Second Treatise of Government*. Edited by Thomas P. Peardon. New Jersey: Prentice Hall. 1997. 114.

colonies are established to benefit the mother country dependent on the resources that the colony provides. British North America offered many different resources, from timber, tobacco, and grain, but Great Britain far favored the resource of Sugar in the Caribbean's. The prized islands of Jamaica, Barbados, and the Bahamas were favored by the English over any other colony in the Western Hemisphere.³⁷ The demand for sugar in the 17th and 18th century was far greater than the demand for Massachusetts Cod, or Virginia tobacco, which explains British priority in the Caribbean's and inattention towards the Thirteen Colonies who left to themselves to administer the colony. This policy, known as of Salutary Neglect, resulted in a decentralized colonial government that followed British tradition, subject to the Monarchy, but was left autonomous in local affairs.

Similar to the manner England treated its British North American colonies, the first century of Portuguese colonization in Brazil can both be characterized as negligence. Where England focused its attention in its Caribbean colonies, the Portuguese had their attention towards the Indian Ocean Trade than the minor income that the Brazilwood (or Paubrasilia) that named the colony could ever offer. By 1580 the bulk of Portugal's wealth came from India, and the Portuguese focused more on the Spice trade than the administration of Portugal itself, never mind Brazil despite a growing sugar economy.³⁸ In this context, Brazil was far more autonomous than the Spanish viceroalties of Latin America.³⁹ Geography of course played a role in this

³⁷ Stamp, Kenneth, M. *The Peculiar Institution: Slavery in the Ante-bellum South*. New York: Knopf, 1968. 17.

³⁸ Lang, James. *Portuguese Brazil: The King's Plantation*. New York City, Academic Press, Inc. 1979. 30.

³⁹ Shaw, Paul Vanorden. "José Bonifacio and Brazilian History." *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 8, no. 4 (1928): 527-50. doi:10.2307/2506394.

colonial policy, both the distance from Portugal and Brazil, as well as the Brazilian highlands made it difficult to administer the colony under the direct control of the Portuguese court.

Several factors will change this Portuguese neglect of its Brazilian colony, that will influence the structure of the colonial government and subsequent independent republic. For one, the mercantilist competition between European powers threatened Portugal's claim in the sparsely inhabited region. Since Portugal had often ignored Brazil, there was no major settlements in Brazil to protect itself, and therefore the perfect target for invasion. The French first invaded by capturing the Portuguese factory of Itamaracá in 1531, seizing valuable dyes and Brazilwood, and according to one historian "Until the 1540's, Brazil belonged as much to the French as to the Portuguese."⁴⁰ Portugal would alter their colonial strategy in Brazil from coastal factories as in Africa and Asia, towards mass scale agricultural settlements to secure the region from French invasion. These settlements were under the control of nobles that ruled their Captaincies (or *Capitanias*), that were given royal charters over their territory that guaranteed nobles with various privileges over there territory. With the French threat and constant hostility by the Native People, the Captaincies depended on the Portuguese crown for protection.⁴¹ Whereas the English colonies were threatened by the English monarchy, the Brazilian captaincies relied on the monarchy for protection (although they did no appreciate the crowns taxes).

Another reason the Portugal became more involved in Brazil than Britain was with the 13 Colonies is the new discovery of resources in Brazil that England could only have dreamed.

⁴⁰ Lang, James. *Portuguese's Brazil: The King's Plantation*. New York City, Academic Press, Inc. 1979. 25.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 27-28.

Originally, Brazil's colonial Câmara Municipal (Municipal Chamber similar to the House of representatives), had powers over colonial taxes, defense, and public works.⁴² With the introduction of slave labor that maximized production of sugar in the Northeast; minerals like Gold, Silver, and Diamonds in the Central region; and coffee in the South; that would pull Portugal's attention towards Brazil. The importance of Sugar for the Portuguese colonies meant that those plantation owners also held significant political power. These plantations owners held significant power in the *Capitanias*, or Captaincies. Yet the *Governador-Geral* or General Governor, a Portuguese noble appointed by the Portuguese Monarch administered the colony, who centralized power during the 18th century with absolute power.⁴³ Portugal, like its contemporaries of Spain and France, was an absolute monarchy that centralized power in the sovereign whose power dominated over the regional aristocracy in both Europe and its colonies.⁴⁴ But unlike the Spanish viceroyalties of Latin America, Brazil was granted some local autonomy.⁴⁵ But centuries of Portuguese absolutist policies as well as aristocratic hierarchy would serve as the foundation of Brazilian society even after independence.

By the late 17th and early 18th century, the Europe and its colonies in the Western Hemisphere was rocked by revolutions based off liberal philosophy. These enlightenment ideas challenged the divine right of a monarch, challenged societies conception of government, and questioned why a distant kingdom across the Atlantic have authority in the New World. This

⁴² Alzugaray, Domingo and Cati Alzugaray, ed, *Istoé Brasil 500 Anos: Atlas Histórico*. 2nd ed. São Paulo: Nova Geração, 2000. 31.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 31.

⁴⁴ Albert, Craig M, William A. Graham, Donald Kagan, Steven Ozment, Frank M. Turner. *The Heritage of World Civilizations*. Fifth ed. Vol. 2. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson, 2012.

⁴⁵ Shaw, Paul Vanorden. "José Bonifácio and Brazilian History." *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 8, no. 4 (1928): 527-50. doi:10.2307/2506394.

Age of Revolution will unchain the colonies of British North America and the Brazilian Viceroyalty as independent nations, but political upheaval against Europe cannot uproot centuries of European influence from society. Furthermore, the extent to which liberalism was applied in the newly independent America and Brazil varied from person and class, often excluding women, enslaved people, and native people in different ways. The social order established under European colonization will not change, and the catalyst for independence because the social order is under threat by Europe.

The cause of revolution began when both England and Portugal threatened the established society. After the French and Indian Wars, (also known as the Seven Years War), England accumulated great debt for the benefit of protecting its British North American colonies. Parliament believed that the 13 Colonies should pay in taxes for the war effort, by targeting the Bourgeois class through the Stamp Act and the rest. New England suffered the most from those imposing laws, because its merchant society depended on shipments from England, which is why New England recoiled the hardest against the British Crown. Parliament decided to punish Massachusetts for destruction of property after the Boston Tea Party, and rescinded its Colonial Charter, replacing local government with direct British rule, as well as closing Boston Harbor to the detriment of the Merchant class.

When the United States declared independence from Britain and the Monarchy, Brazil declared independence from Portugal through the Portuguese Monarchy. Both independence movements in the United States and Brazil were prompted as a reaction to a European threat against the established social order in the colony. But where the 13 Colonies resisted Britain's change of centuries of salutary neglect, Brazil was concerned that its new status as a kingdom equal to Portugal would be reversed and return as a colony once more. This change in political

governance occurred not with a Brazilian Revolution, but as a consequence of the French Revolution and ensuing Napoleonic Wars. When Portugal defied the Continental System by continuing to trade with Britain, Napoleon invaded Portugal for their defiance against him. Yet when Napoleon entered Lisbon in 1807, Dom João VI and his family, 15 thousand members of the court, and the Portuguese treasury and library had just set sail to the colony of Brazil.⁴⁶ It was in Brazil, under pressure by colonial nobility who had greater influence over the refuge king, would pressure Dom João to establish the United Kingdom of Portugal, Brazil, and the Agraves. The capital of this new kingdom was in Rio, and the Royal Family would remain in the new capital even after the Napoleonic War. It was under the threat of the Portuguese people, that Dom João returned to Portugal, who resented Brazil's growth in power and wealth whereas Portugal was devastated by the Peninsular War.⁴⁷ The Portuguese court supported "recolonizing" Brazil, to strip its new won autonomy, to the fear of the ruling elite in Brazil.

With the threat of Portugal reinserting itself into Brazilian affairs, the nobleman José Bonifacao, a nobleman from Sao Paulo, would step up as an important leader in the independence of Brazil. Bonifacao would direct the Dom son, Pedro, who remained in Rio, to remain in Brazil not as a prince but as an Emperor. Bonifacao would become the new Emperor's primary advisor, guiding Dom Pedro I to declare independence.⁴⁸ But the question that divided Brazil was what form Brazil would follow as an independent state, to follow the ideas of the American and French Revolution? or of Portuguese absolutism as before? Bonifacao and his

⁴⁶ Caldeira, Jorge, Falvio de Carvalho, Claudio Marcondes, Sergio Goes de Paula. *Viagem Pela: Historia do Brasil*. 2nd ed. São Paulo: Companhia Das Letras, 1997.

⁴⁷ Shaw, Paul Vanorden. "José Bonifacio and Brazilian History." *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 8, no. 4 (1928): 527-50. doi:10.2307/2506394.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 532

brother would guide the Empire towards compromise, a constitutional monarchy to appease Liberals and Conservatives.⁴⁹ Brazil would become the only nation in the Western Hemisphere to become an independent state without a war of independence, since the change to Brazil was so minor, and since Portugal was too weak to retake Brazil.

The Brazilian Empire would last from 1824 until 1889, until the Brazilian Republic was established after the peaceful *Golpe* or Coup, against Emperor Dom Pedro II. While the United States was only able to end colonial rule, Brazil overthrew an emperor and established a republic without bloodshed. But what led the overthrow of the Monarchy to succeed in 1889, whereas other revolts throughout Brazilian history failed, stems from the threat the monarchy imposed against the agricultural plantation elite. The subject of this concern was about slavery, a system that had been initialized in Brazilian society since the beginning of colonial history. Slavery fueled the plantations of the sugar and coffee elite, but the end of the Atlantic Slave Trade in 1830 and enforced in 1850 began the slow decline of slavery in Brazil.⁵⁰ But the slow effort of politicians to officially end slavery radicalized abolitionists after 3 decades of effort, as the once peaceful abolitionist movement began engaging in direct action against the slave system in the 1880's.⁵¹ Abolitionist efforts were supported by the heir to the Imperial throne, Princess Isabella, who signed the Lei de Ventre Livre (or Law of Free Birth) of 1871, and the Lei Áurea (Golden Law) of April 1, 1888 that ended slavery. The plantation elite resented Princess Isabella, who was an intelligent and bold woman for 19th century Brazil, whose support of the liberal faction and its ideas of economic diversification, abolitionism of slavery, and a focus on

⁴⁹ Ibid., 533

⁵⁰ Bethell, Leslie. "The Decline and Fall of Slavery in Brazil (1850–88)." In *Brazil: Essays on History and Politics*, 113-44. London: School of Advanced Study, University of London, 2018. <http://www.jstor.org.ezan.ez.cwmars.org:3400/stable/j.ctv51309x.8>.

⁵¹ Ibid.,

industry over mass agriculture alienated conservatives who supported the monarchy. The Brazilian Empire would end because the planation elite no longer benefited from the monarchy that once protected them during colonialism, as well as imported slaves that fueled the economy. Instead, the interests of the coffee oligarchy were better served under a republican government, where the Captaincies could exercise greater autonomy from the semi-centralized constitutional monarchy.⁵²

When Mareshal Deodoro da Fronseca marched his troops to Rio de Janeiro, his intentions were far from that of George Washington. The military backed coup supported by the upset former slave owners had no intention of supporting liberal democracy. Deodoro would become the first president of the United States of Brazil, but within his first term in office he dissolved the legislature and acted more like a monarch than a president. He nominated friendly military generals to government positions, and restricted freedom of speech in the nation to silence dissent of the government.⁵³ But if the intentions of the overthrow of the Dom Pedro II wasn't to create a liberal government, then why incorporate liberal ideas into the 1891 constitution? Republicans in Brazil were used as the excuse to overthrow Dom Pedro II, but while they were not admired they did support the coup and therefore had influence in creating the new government. This is why Brazil in 1889, a coup would occur and the royal family would be exiled from Brazil, as the conservatives and military allies worked together with republicans to

⁵² Hudson, Rex A, and Library of Congress. Federal Research Division. "Brazil: A Country Study." Washington, D.C.: Federal Research Division, Library of Congress: For sale by the Supt. of Docs., U.S. G.P.O, 1998. Pdf. <https://www.loc.gov/item/97036500/>.

⁵³ Rodrigues, Gilberto Marcos Antonio, Marco Antonio Garcia Lopes Lorencini, and Augusto Zimmermann. "The Supreme Federal Court of Brazil: Protecting Democracy and Centralized Power." In *Courts in Federal Countries: Federalists or Unitarists?*, edited by Nicholas Aroney and John Kincaid, 103-34. Toronto; Buffalo; London: University of Toronto Press, 2017. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.3138/j.ctt1whm97c.8>.

establish a Republic. The Republican Rui Barbosa drafted the 1891 constitution based on the liberal ideas of the American Constitution, but these idealistic liberal ideas but not realistic in Brazilian society.⁵⁴ Barbosa believed that by his liberal constitution would change Brazil's centuries of authoritarianism and illiberalism, only to realize that his artificial constitution was ignored by the reality of Brazilian illiberalism.⁵⁵ Elections for the President of the United States of Brazil were always pre-determined, and restriction in voter registration limited voting participation to 5% in the election of 1919.⁵⁶ While this "oligarchical democracy" (which is by itself an oxymoron) associated itself as the byproduct of the French and American Revolution, the truth resisted such propaganda.⁵⁷

200 years of European influence in the Western Hemisphere shaped the structure of colonial society, in which the British policy towards the 13 colonies established the foundation for an imperfect but revolutionary liberal government in United States. Yet the policies and influence of Portugal upon Brazil, from absolutist monarchy, to the creation of powerful plantation interests that made it difficult for a liberal democracy to develop. Despite the inspiration of the American constitution and liberal ideas within the United States of Brazil, the 1891 constitution was formed artificially instead of organically based on its history. The United

⁵⁴ Neves, Marcelo. *Ideas in Another Place: Liberal Constitution and the Codification of Private Law at the Turn of the 19th Century in Brazil*. Max Planck Institute of European Legal History. 2015: 47-82. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctvqhtx6.5>

⁵⁵ Gilberto Marcos Antonio Rodriguez, Marco Antonio Garcia Lopes Lorencini, and Augusto Zimmermann. "The Supreme Federal Court of Brazil" University of Toronto Press, 2017. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.3138/j.ctt1whm97c.8>.

⁵⁶ Bethell, Leslie. "The Long Road to Democracy in Brazil." In *Brazil: Essays on History and Politics*, 147-74. London: School of Advanced Study, University of London, 2018. <http://www.jstor.org.ezan.ez.cwmars.org:3400/stable/j.ctv51309x.9>.

⁵⁷ Hudson, Rex A, and Library Of Congress. "Brazil: A Country Study." Washington, D.C.: Federal Research Division, Library of Congress: 1998. Pdf. <https://www.loc.gov/item/97036500/>.

States of America on the other hand, naturally accepted the liberalism because the decentralized and self-governing colonies already performing over centuries. The centuries of salutary neglect was therefore cemented into society, that made it difficult for England to reverse during the eve of the American Revolution. The 1891 Constitution could never reverse the centuries of illiberal policies in Brazil, unless the ideas behind the document is accepted by society. The constitution is therefore nothing but a dead letter for the people of Brazil in 1891, but it's the ethics of the constitution that matter, and will matter and impact society if people believe in the ideas.⁵⁸

There is so many other factors that deserve to be addressed in order to best understand why Liberalism succeeded in the United States of America but corrupted in the United States of Brazil. It was not because there weren't liberals within Brazilian society, but because centuries of Portuguese influence, of absolutism and aristocracy (under the control of plantation elites that control the colonial captaincies) cannot be erased overnight. It is easy to overlook historical factors that have influenced different societies, and generalize other nations from Latin America, to the Middle East as inherit illiberal people. But this is only possible by ignoring how European colonialism from the 16th and 18th century, and Imperialism from the 19th and 20th century have shaped nations all over the world. European colonialism only benefited the United States because the original 13 colonies were neglected by the British government, giving the future United States an advantage in establishing a liberal independent government. But as the Brazilian experience reveals, European influence often damages not supports future independent nation states.

⁵⁸ McCloskey, Deirdre N. *Bourgeois Equality: How Ideas, Not Capital or Institutions, Enriched the World*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016. XXIV-XXV

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