CORRÊA DA SERRA.

By JOSEPH EUGENE AGAN.

During the first years of the last century there came to our shores three foreigners of adventurous history and interesting personality, each of whom was later to exercise the functions of Minister at Washington, and, in such capacity, to conduct a bitter but unprofitable fight against the Baltimore privateering enterprises which enlivened the South American struggle for independence and provided the occasion for the enactment of our present neutrality statute. They were: Baron Hyde de Neuville, a French royalist of the Chateaubriand type, who fled from the proscription of the Napoleonic régime to the United States in 1807 and was appointed Minister here following the Restoration; Don Luis de Onis, sent to Washington by the Cadiz Junta in 1809, but not received by our Government until late in 1815; and the Abbé José Francisco Corrêa da Serra, twice an exile from Portugal, who completed the contentious trio upon his appointment as Minister early in 1816. De Neuville is known to American scholars, as a personality, through his own memoirs;¹ de Onis has left a very personal apology²

¹ Hyde de Neuville, Baron Jean Guillaume, Mémoires et Souvenirs, 3 vols., Paris, 1892.
² Onis, Luis de, Memoirs Upon the Negotiations between Spain and the United States of America which led to the Treaty of 1819. Translated by Tobias Watkins, Baltimore, 1821.
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for the Treaty of 1819 with Spain which marked the end of his mission and earned for him much the same unpopularity at home which Jay achieved by his lapse of 1794; but Corrêa, who was the most influential of the three and by far the best known, both in America and Europe, has as yet lacked an American biography, even our reference accounts being adaptations from the sketchy article in Innocencio Francisco da Silva’s *Diccionario Bibliographico Portuguez*; which disposes of his American residence as merely incidental to the life of a European scientist. In so doing, the most interesting phase of his career and an entertaining chapter in our diplomatic history are ignored.

This picturesque character was a personal friend of four American presidents: Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, and John Quincy Adams, as a scientist, philosopher, wit, and philanthropist, was well known and respected throughout the country; advised Jefferson in the organization of the University of Virginia; and, most important of all, by a simple request obtained the enactment of our then unpopular Neutrality Law, which was to provide example for the British Foreign Enlistment Act of 1819, and thus contribute so greatly

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to the case of the United States at Geneva. Yet in spite of his influential connections and talents, Corrêa's mission was a failure. Though the legislation enacted at his suggestion marked a distinct advance in a nation's interpretation of its neutral obligations, it could not be strictly enforced; and the American Government declined to entertain any claims for damages arising out of depredations committed upon Portuguese commerce by American citizens, taking the position that it had made the utmost effort to repress and punish such practices, and consequently could not be held liable for such evasions as were alleged to have occurred. The Abbé took leave, bitterly disappointed, and, as a parting fling, prophesied that the United States would one day find itself suffering from similar wrongs. Barely half a century was required for this prophecy to materialize in the depredations upon our commerce by Confederate commerce raiders fitted out in the ports of Great Britain; and the many features in common between the two situations, the one in which we were the guilty and the other the aggrieved party, make a review of Corrêa's mission here of some interest.

José Francisco Corrêa da Serra, Minister Plenipotentiary, scientist, historian, philosopher, knight of the Orders of Nossa Senhora da Conceição, and of Christ (successors to the Templars in Portugal), councillor to the king, economist, politician, one-time priest, and member of most of the learned societies of his time,

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10 The Institute of France, the Société Philomatique of Paris, the Royal, Linnaean, and Antiquaries Societies of London, the Academies of Turin, Florence, Lyons, Bordeaux, Marseille, Liege, Sena, Mantua,
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was born on June 6, 1750, at Serpa, in the Province of Alemtejo, Portugal. His father, Luis Dias Corrêa, was a small landholder and lawyer, who had also taken a degree of bachelor of medicine, and dabbled in the sciences sufficiently to incur the displeasure of the Inquisition and a short imprisonment. Upon his release, in 1756, he determined to remove to Italy, the great refuge of Inquisition victims and there provide by his modest economies for the education of his three children, especially that of his son, José, who though but six years of age, already gave promise of the great savant whose restless spirit and liberal leanings were to earn for him, from the same Holy Office, the persecution visited upon the father.

Accordingly, the Corrêa family took up its residence in Naples, where the learned Abbé Genovesi undertook the education of the future scientist. The boy revealed such extraordinary talents and progressed so rapidly that he soon acquired a local reputation. When the Abbé’s efforts were finished, the Corrêas removed to Rome where José was matriculated in the University. He was graduated in 1775 with a degree of doctor in canon law, and ordained a priest. During this latter period he made the acquaintance of Dom João de Bragança, Duke of Lafoès, whose protection gave him an immediate entrée into the scientific world.

The Duke (uncle of the reigning mad Queen Maria I) had been obliged by court intrigues to follow the his-


11 Silva, op. cit., iv, p. 337.
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toric example of the Infante Pedro of wandering about Europe from court to court. During these years of voluntary but prudent exile, he had interested himself in the progress of science in every country visited, and conceived the idea of giving stimulus to learning in his own country by royal help. Returning home by way of Naples, he was so impressed by reports current in the city regarding the brilliant achievements of the youthful Correia da Serra, then in Rome, that he pushed on to that place and there made the acquaintance of the budding sage. The acquaintance ripened into a lifelong friendship: Correia became the Duke’s mentor and guide, while Dom João, by means of personal encouragement, a pension, and active protection at court advanced his protégé to a foremost position among his countrymen and placed him on the road to European recognition.

Correia returned to Portugal with his family the same year, and was some months afterward joined by the Duke in Lisbon. The young priest apparently never devoted much time to his calling, for at this early date he was installed in the royal palace by the Duke and set to the task of drawing up the statutes of the learned corporation which Lafaes was so earnestly intent upon establishing. By an aviso régio of December 24, 1779, the institution was granted a charter under the name of The Royal Academy of Sciences of Lisbon, and has continued its profitable labors into our own times. The Duke, of course, was made the first president, and although Correia was not immediately given office as specific reward for his services, he was a little later made perpetual secretary. Under his direction a

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Silva, op. cit., IV, p. 337.
large number of cabinets on natural history were assembled, and a great many studies published. Due to royal favor, the memoirs of the Society were exempted from clerical censorship, and Corrêa took advantage of this dispensation to publish several philosophical works of a pronouncedly liberal character. Their appearance was a signal for clerical hostility to the Academy, and particularly to its presumptuous secretary. Corrêa's position became so untenable that even the Duke's protection was unavailing and he was obliged to flee the country in 1786.¹⁵

He took refuge in Paris, then gaily occupied with liberal doctrines, and, as always, a haven for rebellious intellectuals. There he frequented the best scientific and philosophical circles, and is said to have collaborated for some time on the Biographie Universelle.¹⁶ In the bewildered, highly-thrilled, and insouciant society of the years leading up to '93, Corrêa was eagerly sought after for his learning, amiability, piquant sayings, and unvarying enmity to the old order of things.

Some time after the death of Dom Pedro III, he was allowed to return to Portugal, and peacefully resumed his labors at the Academy. Chief among these was the editing of a series of old chronicles published by the Academy from 1790 to 1824, and entitled Collecção de Livros Ineditos de Historia Portugueza, in five volumes, covering the reigns of Dom João I, Dom Duarte, Dom Affonso V, and Dom João II. The material on the reign of Dom João II, the monarch ruling at the time of Columbus' discovery, has been found to be of particular value to American scholars. Suddenly in the midst of his industry he was again forced to abandon his country, this time for a long exile of twenty-eight years.

¹⁵ Lavradio, op. cit., p. 217; Larousse, Grande Dictionnaire du siecle.
¹⁶ Silva, IV, 340.
During his residence in Paris he had been on terms of intimate friendship with the celebrated physician and scientist, Broussonet. The latter had taken an active part in the politics of those stirring times, and on the fall of the Girondists, in 1792, sought refuge in flight. He made his way to Portugal, and Corrêa concealed him in the Academy Building. There Corrêa, the Duke of Lafões, and a select number of Lisbon scientists visited him daily. All went well until some royalist emigrés recognized the old Girondist, and denounced both him and Corrêa to the authorities. The two friends fled, first to Gibraltar, and then to England.\(^{17}\)

In London Corrêa appears to have speedily won his way into the best scientific circles, for he was made a member of the Royal, Linnaean, and Antiquaries Societies. Besides, he formed an intimate friendship with Sir Joseph Banks, then the genial arbiter of things scientific in England. During this period Corrêa published in the annals of the Royal and Linnaean Societies some important papers on plant physiology, soil formation, and submarine forests, he being the first to write on the last named subject.\(^{18}\)

In 1797 he made his first trip to America, coming as chaplain to Kosciusko, and arrived in Philadelphia on August 18th of that year.\(^{19}\) While in the city, the party (which also included the poet Julius Ursin Niemciewicz), was extensively entertained, and that Corrêa left, in 1798, well impressed by the capital of the young republic we know from later correspondence. Nothing could have been more natural. The Abbé’s engaging manners and profound learning, lyrically described

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\(^{17}\) Lavradio, *op. cit.*, p. 217; Larousse; Silva, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, 337.


by John Quincy Adams, won for him friends and respect wherever he went, and Philadelphia must have presented to his idealist's eyes many of the characteristics of the traditional American Utopia which died so hard among the European intelligentsia. In his survey of the United States at the beginning of the nineteenth century, Henry Adams declares: "The only true democratic community then existing in the Eastern States . . . was Pennsylvania;" and that "for ten years Philadelphia had attracted nearly all the intelligence and cultivation that could be detached from their native stocks."

In a letter to Dr. Caspar Wistar, dated September 27, 1813, Corrêa said: "... in looking on the globe, I find that no spot except Paris is more to my taste than your friendly city." This was written during his second stay in this country, as the date indicates, and it is evident from his correspondence that even while Minister at Washington, he contrived, in spite of bad roads, to spend a great part of his time in the "friendly city."

After his return to England, his fortunes began to rise in Portugal. His friend Dom Rodrigues de Souza became Minister of Marine, and by the decree of April 18, 1801, obtained his appointment as secretary to the Portuguese Embassy in London. Due to the personal antipathy of the Ambassador, Corrêa was unable to enter upon his duties. With the Peace of Amiens in the next year, he once more went to Paris. By this

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21 Wright, op. cit., p. 94.
23 Wistar Papers, Manuscript collection in the library of the American Philosophical Society.
24 Silva, op. cit., IV, p. 337.
26 Silva, op. cit., IV, p. 337.
time he was a distinguished personage, and was soon made a corresponding member of the Institute of France, the Société Philomatique, and a number of provincial bodies. There he also published some botanical studies, a sketch on Moorish agriculture in Spain, a survey on the state of science and letters in contemporary Portugal, and an article on the Order of Christ. Although he left no great works, his scattered articles contained a fund of entirely new and accurate information that contributed notably to the progress of science.27

Although in the enjoyment of a high degree of popularity and appreciation in Paris, he was determined to visit America again, but found an obstacle in his status of a political refugee in an enemy country. On September 4, 1805, he wrote to Mr. Skipworth, a friend in Philadelphia and former American consul at Paris, reiterating to him his ardent wish “to live in America,” and saying that “the only means of doing it and getting rid of all contrariétés, is to be invited by the Government of the United States, and my passport to be asked officially by their Minister.” He then proceeded to enumerate the services which his preparation and circumstances would permit him to render education in this country, free of any remuneration. There was no spirit of boastfulness in this: it was rather a résumé, almost apologetic in tone, made for the purpose of furnishing Skipworth with the details that would have to be embodied in the petition he solicited.28 Of course, he was doomed to disappointment in expecting our Government to take such a step, and was obliged to postpone his trip for six years.

In the meantime his fortunes took another favorable

28 In the Dreer Autograph Collection, of the Pennsylvania Historical Society, quoted by Griffin, *op. cit.*, p. 131.
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turn in Portugal, and he was knighted on August 6, 1807. For some reason, probably on account of the war which broke out a few months later between France and Portugal, he did not avail himself of his improved position to request a passport, and only began to make preparations for the long-contemplated voyage in December, 1811. Late in that month, or early in January, 1812, he sailed for America provided with letters of introduction from La Fayette, von Humboldt, Minister Joel Barlow, Thoüin, Dupont de Nemours, and Consul D. B. Warden. The last of these was addressed to the famous Quaker doctor, Caspar Wistar, founder of the Wistar Party, and in many respects the man most spiritually akin to Corrêa in America.

The Wistar Party was a small circle of literary and public men who gathered every Saturday at the physician's home to engage in lively, brilliant conversation that covered the wide field of literary, philosophical, scientific, and current topics. All distinguished foreign visitors were taken to it, and Corrêa became "a constant attendant and the oracle of the party." To

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29 Silva, op. cit., IV, p. 337.
35 Wistar Papers, Warden to Caspar Wistar, Dec. 4, 1811.
38 Supra, Short's letter.
be a member of the Party one had first to be admitted to the American Philosophical Society (though membership in the latter did not confer, in itself, access to the former), and the records of the Society show that Corrêa was elected a member as early as January 17, 1812. This was just prior to his second arrival in the country, and was probably a welcoming tribute on the part of the Society to which he had long been known through his works. With Wistar himself he formed an immediate and lasting friendship, took tea at his home daily, and named the vine "Wisteria" to commemorate this friendship. After the doctor's death, the Wistar Party was continued, the members meeting at each other's homes, and Corrêa widened the circle of his intimate friends, two of a particularly constant character being John Vaughan and Robert Walsh.

In the summer of 1813 he paid Jefferson a visit at Monticello, and his host was so delighted with him that he wrote to Caspar Wistar, Jr.: "I found him what you had described in every respect; certainly the greatest collection, and the best digest of science in books, men, and things that I have ever met with and with these the most amiable and engaging character." To Dupont de Nemours, he also wrote: "... he was still beyond all the eulogies which yourself and other friends had preconized him. Learned beyond any one I had before met with, good, modest, and of the simplest manners, the idea of losing him again filled me with regret, and how much did I lament that we could not place him at the head of that great institution which

\footnotesize{\begin{align*}
\text{49} & \text{ Corrêa to Skipworth, cit.} \\
\text{40} & \text{Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, 1894, p. 93, cited by Griffin.} \\
\text{41} & \text{The Jefferson Papers, Vol. CXCIX, Jefferson to Wistar, Aug. 17, 1813.} \\
\text{42} & \text{Jefferson, Writings, Vol. XIV, p. 196, Jefferson to Dupont de Nemours, Nov. 29, 1813.}
\end{align*}}
I had so long nourished the hope of seeing established in my country...”

“The idea of losing him again” referred to Corrêa’s intention to return to Europe which we find expressed in a letter to Madison of September 9, 1813, in which he also thanks the President for his cordial friendship. Prior to his departure, however, he made a tour through New England, and during its course experienced a change of disposition, for on September 27th we find him writing the letter to Dr. Caspar Wistar, Jr., already referred to, in which he declared his predilection for Philadelphia.

During the late summer and fall of 1814 he made a long journey across Pennsylvania and through Kentucky in the company of Walsh and returned by way of Monticello to visit Jefferson. Thence he proceeded to Philadelphia, and George Ticknor, author of the history of Spanish literature, gives an interesting account of a passage of wit which the recounting of his trip occasioned.

“... I dined at Mr. Hopkinson’s brilliant party... the Abbé Corrêa, who was one of the most remarkable men of the time, for various learning, acuteness, and wit, and for elegant, suave manners, had just returned from a visit to Mr. Jefferson, whom he much liked, and giving some account of his journey, which on the whole had been agreeable, he mentioned that he had been surprised at not finding more gentlemen living on their plantations in elegant luxury, as he had expected. It was quietly said, but Randolph (John) could never endure the slightest disparagement of Virginia, if ever so just, and immediately said with some sharpness, ‘Perhaps, Mr. Corrêa, your acquaintance was not so much with that class of persons.’ Corrêa,
who was as amiable as he was polite, answered very quietly, 'Perhaps not; the next time I will go down upon the Roanoke, and I will visit Mr. Randolph and his friends.' Mr. Randolph, who was one of the bitterest of men, was not appeased by this intended compliment, and said, in the sharpest tones of his high-pitched, disagreeable voice, 'In my part of the country, gentlemen commonly wait to be invited before they make visits.' Corrêa's equanimity was a little disturbed; his face flushed. He looked slowly round the table until every eye was upon him, and then replied, in a quiet, level tone of voice, 'Said I not well of the gentlemen of Virginia?'

On his way back from Virginia, he was accompanied by Francis Gilmer, Jefferson's protégé, who on later occasions was to abandon his law practice to follow the Abbé on his scientific journeys. Some idea of Gilmer's exaggerated respect can be gained from a letter written to his brother, Peachy Gilmer, from Richmond, on November 3, 1814, during the course of the first trip:

"... he is the most extraordinary man now living, or perhaps who has ever lived. None of the ancient or modern languages; none of the sciences, physical or moral; none of the appearances of earth, air, or ocean stand him with more chance than the Pope of Rome, as old Jonett used to say. I never heard him ask a question which he could not answer; never saw him in company with a man who did not appear to be a fool to him; never heard him make a remark which ought not to be remembered. He has read, seen, understands, and remembers everything contained in books or to be learned by travel, observation, and the conversation of learned men."

The news of the Peace of Ghent filled Jefferson with

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45 Carson, op. cit., p. 12.
46 Martin, op. cit., p. 131.
the fear that the cessation of hostilities might take Corrêa back to Europe, and he wrote to him on March 6, 1815, urging that he remain in America and spend his summers at Monticello. Jefferson's library, which had formerly been such an attraction for the Abbé, had been turned over to the Library of Congress to serve as a substitute for the collection destroyed during the burning of Washington, but he reminded him that the fields and forests about Monticello offered great opportunities for botanical research.\textsuperscript{47} He was reassured on this score by Dupont de Nemours;\textsuperscript{48} but on January 1, 1816, again wrote Corrêa painting a doleful picture of the European "volcano," and begging him to stay here.\textsuperscript{49} To the end of Corrêa's life, and best in the bitter, final years, Jefferson remained his faithful, appreciative, and generous friend.

During the summer of 1815 Corrêa delivered a course of lectures on "elementary and philosophical botany," in Philadelphia, at the University of Pennsylvania. He was offered a professorship, but declined it.\textsuperscript{50} He also prepared for his class a "reduction of all the genera of plants contained in the Catalogus plantarum Americae Septentrionalis of Dr. Muhlenberg" according to Jussieu's system.\textsuperscript{51} Although Jussieu's natural order had appeared in 1789, this was the first time that it had been received in Philadelphia, and in all probability, in America.\textsuperscript{52}

In September he was again at Monticello with Gilmer, and the two set out on a journey through Tennessee and Georgia, equipped with a military pass through the Indian country from President Madison, and a

\textsuperscript{47} The Jefferson Papers, Vol. CCIII, Jefferson to Corrêa, March 6, 1815.
\textsuperscript{48} Ibid., Vol. CCIV, Jefferson to Corrêa, June 28, 1815.
\textsuperscript{49} Ibid., Vol. CCV, same to same, Jan. 1, 1816.
\textsuperscript{50} Lavradio, op. cit., p. 219.
\textsuperscript{51} See appended list of works.
\textsuperscript{52} Harsberger, John W., The Botanists of Philadelphia and Their Work, Philadelphia, 1899, p. 8.
letter of introduction to Governor Milledge, of Georgia, from Jefferson, the latter describing Corrêa as "plain as a country farmer." Corrêa seems to have been astonished at the ease with which he was able to travel through vast stretches of territory, and declared his intention of taking Madison's letter back to Europe as an illustration of the Republic's lack of concern respecting the movements of travelers.

Early the next year an event came to interrupt the whole course of his easy-going but industrious existence. The Prince Regent, Dom João VI, by decree of January 31, 1816, appointed him Minister at Washington. It was not, however, until May 15th, that the news became known here, and then in the columns of the National Intelligencer, of Washington. Jefferson, upon reading the notice, wrote gleefully to Gilmer: "... This, I hope, will give him to us for life. Nor will it interfere with his botanical rambles or journeys. The government of Portugal is so peaceable and inoffensive, that it never has any altercations with its friends. If their minister abroad writes them once a quarter that all is well, they desire no more." But Corrêa's case, unfortunately, proved to be otherwise, and his mission would have certainly ended in war, had Portugal been able to wage one.

That he was highly pleased with the appointment there is no doubt, and the following letter addressed to President Madison on July 10, 1816, can be considered a sincere expression of his gratification:

"You know too well my respectful, and I beg leave to say friendly sentiments towards you, and my personal feelings toward the Nation..."

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55 Silva, op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 337.
of which you are the head, to be persuaded without difficulty that of all the diplomatic missions in which my sovereign would employ me, none could have more allurements to me, as that near the United States. You have long ago known my nomination to it, and I have already to thank you for the kind expressions which I am informed, you have manifested on that occasion. A few days ago I received via England my nomination and credentials, and would have immediately set out for Washington and Montpelier, if a fit of rheumatism, of which I had flattered myself to have got the better, had not redoubled with increased severity. As soon as I will be able to move with less pain, I will hasten to go and pay you my respects, and as credentials have not yet passed, you will I hope permit me to come in the same unceremonious philosophical friendly manner, as in my last visit, and treat me with the same manner, as nothing can be more flattering to me than your personal friendship. As to the future, I have the fond expectation that (during my mission at least) the Portuguese Minister will be found for the United States a sort of family minister. Our nations are now in fact both American powers, each in his part of this new continent. I have the conscience also that no foreign minister ever came to the United States with such heartfelt attachment to this nation as myself, nor is it likely that any such, will come for ages. I entreat you to present my best respects to Mrs. Madison, and to accept the best assurances of high esteem and respects with which I am, Sir, Your most obedient, humble servant.

Joseph Corrêa de Serra.

Jefferson’s assumption that the appointment would not interfere with Corrêa’s interest in botany proved true for a time, because when the above letter was written he was again lecturing on that subject at the University of Pennsylvania, and, in spite of his rheumatism, set out for the country every day in a gig to obtain specimens. He also, at Jefferson’s re-

67 The Portuguese Court was transferred to Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, on November 29, 1807, as a result of the Napoleonic invasion of the Peninsula. Oliveira Lima, Manoel de, Dom João VI no Brasil, 2 vols., Rio de Janeiro, 1908, Vol. I, p. 29.

68 The Madison Papers, Vol. LVIII, Corra to Madison, July 10, 1816. Corra’s signature indicates that he had reconciled himself to the general unfamiliarity with regard to the Portuguese contraction “da,” and the only instance of his name being correctly spelled in America is to be found in an eulogy written after his death by Editor Walsh, in the National Gazette, of Philadelphia, issue of March 15, 1824.

quest, was engaged in a search for the journals of the Lewis and Clark transcontinental expedition—a task in which he was only partially successful.

But a small cloud on the political horizon, which he at first regarded as only of routine interest, came to take all the peace out of his existence. At that time Uruguay, under the leadership of José Artigas, was struggling for its independence. Fearing that the rebels would invade the Brazilian province of Rio Grande do Sul, and desirous of securing once more Portugal’s former possession of the Banda Oriental, Dom João VI, on June 4, 1816, ordered the occupation of Montevideo, and communicated his act to all European powers, declaring that he was acting in the interests of Spain and for the abatement of a nuisance. Spain replied that the Uruguayan revolt was its own affair, and demanded the withdrawal of the Portuguese forces. Dom João, taking advantage of Spain’s helpless condition, ignored the demand, and prosecuted the war with the utmost vigor. Within a short time Montevideo was blockaded by a large fleet, and besieged on land by an army. Finding himself powerless against sea forces, Artigas decided to have recourse to privateering in order to free himself of the blockading fleet, and issued an invitation to foreigners to enter his service. The commissions were signed by him in blank, and sold to adventurers in foreign ports, principally in Baltimore. From that port, as well as those of Europe, vessel after vessel flying the flag of Uruguay, a country which most of the privateers never

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saw, sallied forth and harried the seas for Portuguese shipping.  

There was nothing original about Artigas' scheme: it was already in active employment by the revolutionary Governments of Buenos Aires, Colombia and Mexico against Spanish shipping. De Onis, the envoy of the Spanish National Government, was unable to bring these facts directly to the attention of the American Government because of its refusal to recognize him, but stimulated the Spanish consuls to libel prizes and cargoes brought into American ports. "The results of the suits brought . . . before the American judges and tribunals, was, in general, a confirmation of the robbery and the triumphant impunity of its authors."  

In December, 1815, as soon as he was recognized by the Washington Government, he entered a protest "against this organized system of pillage," enumerating a great number of violations of American neutrality, and asking the Government to refuse entry into our ports of privateers flying the flags of the colonies. Secretary of State Monroe replied that this exclusion could not be made because of the frequent changes of authority in the colonies and the consequent impracticability of making the flag a criterion.  

At the same time inquiry was made of the United States district attorney for the district of Louisiana regarding alleged violations of our neutrality at New Orleans by agents of Mexico. District Attorney Dick replied by submitting a report on his activities during 1815, when eight persons were prosecuted, six ships libelled, and nine restored to their

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65 Ibid., p. 426, Monroe to de Onis, January 19, 1816.
owners because of illegal seizure. These facts were communicated to de Onis, but he continued to report further violations.

Finally Corrêa learning of instructions given Captain Fisk, of the ship *Romp*, under the flag of Buenos Aires, to cruise against the subjects and commerce of Spain, and, in case Buenos Aires became involved in the Banda Oriental's war with Portugal, to act in like manner with respect to the subjects of His Most Faithful Majesty. This was prior to the appearance of the Artigan privateers. Corrêa wrote Monroe on December 20, 1816, acquainting him with the fact, and, while explaining that he could have no interest in the matter as far as Spain was concerned, yet the conditional instructions given Fisk required that he should not wait silently until they found possible employment. After describing the open manner in which these ships were fitted out and cleared at Baltimore, and declaring his faith in the Government's strict neutrality, he pointed out that deficiencies in the existing neutrality laws provided a safe loop for these disreputable enterprises, and requested that the President ask Congress to enact a new law that would meet the demands of the situation.

Secretary of State Monroe replied on December 27, 1816, saying that the recommendation had been accepted, and would be communicated to Congress by the President. On March 3, 1817, the suggestion was embodied in a law entitled "An Act more effectually to preserve the neutral relations of the United States," and better known as the Neutrality Law of that date.

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On the 13th of the same month, Acting Secretary of State Richard Rush wrote to Corrêa transmitting a printed copy of the act and saying: "The President feels sure that your sovereign will perceive in the spirit and scope of its provisions a distinguished proof of the desire which animates this nation to maintain with his dominions and subjects the most harmonious relations." Writing to John Quincy Adams on August 3, 1820, when the privateering question had become very acute, Monroe recalled that credit for the Act was due to Corrêa, and that "nothing could then have been done at the instance of Mr. Onis."

This triumph of Corrêa's, a Pyrrhic victory, had not been won without a prolonged and bitter struggle in Congress where sympathy with the South American cause had found unqualified expression during the debates, particularly from Speaker Henry Clay, then well astride his "South American warhorse," and it had been found difficult to keep the real issue of neutral obligations the one under consideration. De Onis was suspected of having inspired the bill, and a Congressman from Maryland extended him a vigorous invitation to leave the country. Corrêa's part only became known some time later when a garbled version of his letter to Monroe was published, and led Clay to complain that the Government had permitted itself to be "teased." This opposition, of course, had manifested itself in some degree upon the enactment of every neutrality measure since Genet's arrival in this country.

Laws to preserve our neutrality had been passed in

72 Now Monroe.
73 Monroe, Writings, Vol. VI, p. 147.
75 Ibid., 15, 1, p. 1406.
76 For a good account of this opposition see Fenwick, Charles G., The Neutrality Laws of the United States, Washington, 1913, p. 17.
1794, 1797, and 1800, and two presidential neutrality proclamations were issued at the beginning of the South American wars for independence. But they had little effect, for popular sympathy with the insurgents nullified the officially proclaimed attitude. Protected by the friendly disposition of the country at large, adventurers took South American privateering commissions, fitted out vessels, enlisted American crews, and swept the seas for Spanish commerce first, and then Portuguese as well. Much American, French, and British property was also taken as contraband, and in one instance the captain of a British vessel was murdered for resisting.\textsuperscript{78} De Onis has been quoted as saying that trials for such offences, when brought, uniformly resulted in acquittal. Aside from the alleged partiality of the judges, the port officials were accused of great laxity in the apprehension of vessels illegally fitted out for the purpose of engaging in what was, from a candid point of view, piracy. \textit{Niles' Register} for the decade 1815–1825 contains an almost continual chronicle of evasions, crimes, and robberies practiced by these freebooters. Even when the consuls or ministers obtained sufficient evidence to compel trial, recourse, in the last resort, could be had in the plea that the prohibition of cruising under the "commission of a foreign prince or state" (as existing legislation read) did not extend to those issued by unrecognized colonial governments.\textsuperscript{79} The law being of a penal nature and the accused having the benefit of the doubt in such cases, the judges, by their "hollow logic" considered a doubt as existing. The Act of March 3, 1817, removed this excuse by adding "or of any colony, district, or people."

Withal the depredations continued. Baltimore became the great haven of the privateers, and no base of

\textsuperscript{79} Case of Gelston \textit{v. Hoyt}, 3 Wheaton, 246.
operations could have been more propitious. The United States District Attorney, Glenn, was hopelessly incompetent; McCulloh, the Collector, though honest, was an enthusiastic partisan of the South American cause and disposed to wink at evasions; the District and Circuit Judges, Houston and Duval, were weak, impressionable men completely cowed by William Pinkney, attorney for the privateers and their backers; the merchants of the city were involved in these profitable enterprises; the populace was almost entirely in sympathy with them; even the postmaster, Skinner, was indicted for complicity in a case that reached trial and resulted in acquittal; and "almost every officer of the United States in the place was infected." 80

In many instances the privateers contented themselves with merely robbing a vessel of its cargo, forging a new set of covering documents, and, after transshipping the goods to their own ship or a tender, returned to Baltimore where they were auctioned off at public sale. Thus legal action was made difficult for lack of proof. The Portuguese consuls all over the world were kept extremely active, and managed to submit to Corrêa a vast amount of evidence. 81 He, as well as de Onis and Hyde de Neuville, made extraordinary efforts to secure convictions, and in one instance the Abbe offered Attorney General Wirt a fee for his assistance. 82 John Quincy Adams' diary for these years records all Corrêa's griefs with a great deal of sympathy and indignation. On one occasion, Adams, who was then Secretary of State, became so incensed with a court's pretext for dismissing a clear case, that he took the resolution never to accept a judicial appointment. 83

83 Ibid., p. 362.
At the outset Corrêa had the cordial support of his friend, President Monroe; but very early in the fight, May, 1817, an event came to produce a coolness between them and to influence the President's later attitude. On March 6th of that year a revolution broke out in Pernambuco, in the north of Brazil, and a republic was proclaimed. The provisional government decided to seek the recognition and assistance of the United States, and sent as Minister Antonio Gonçalves da Cruz, better known in Brazilian history by his nickname "Cabugá." Da Cruz arrived in Boston on May 16th, visited John Adams, who described him to Jefferson as "respectable" and felt a sympathetic interest in his mission, and then started southward to meet the President who was on a tour of the country. Monroe did not consider it politic to receive him, and sent an agent, Caesar A. Rodney, who interviewed da Cruz at Philadelphia on June 6th. Rodney informed the Pernambucan envoy that the United States was not prepared to recognize the new republic, but would admit to our ports ships bearing its flag, and would permit the shipment from this country of supplies. Da Cruz had to content himself with this satisfaction, and availed himself of it to the extent of sending two ships out of Baltimore, which, however, arrived after the downfall of the Republic. He also secured the appointment of one Joseph Ray, a friend of his and partisan of the Republican cause, as American Consul.

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at Pernambuco. While recognition of the rebels was never accorded by the United States, and at no time during the short-lived existence of revolutionary government did this step seem likely, in view of our neutral policy with regard to the wars in all Latin America, yet there was a danger that Pernambuco might follow the example of the others in issuing privateering commissions to foreigners. Thoroughly alarmed by the arrival from Pernambuco (before Cruz) of an Englishman named Bowen, who was reported in the press to be an agent of the revolutionary government, he hurried to Washington from Philadelphia, and sought to forestall the reception of Pernambuco envoys in any character whatever. In presenting a note to Acting Secretary of State Rush on May 13, 1817, which contained a strong protest against such possible action and a denunciation of the movement which was hardly in accord with the liberal principles he had suffered for, he proceeded to antagonize Rush, who, as he wrote Madison, had been counting a great deal upon this opportunity to become acquainted with the celebrated Abbé, by informing him that the situation offered the United States an excellent chance to correct the impression in Europe that we were the fomenters of all the revolts in Latin America. Rush took exception to this, and the interview came to an unsatisfactory close. Yet Corrêa’s explanation that he had at heart the good

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90 He remained in the United States until 1826, Muniz Tavares, *op. cit.*, note by Oliveira Lima, p. 86.
name and reputation of the United States was accepted by Rush.\textsuperscript{92}

Unfortunately, and without any supporting official information, he caused a notice to be published in the *National Intelligencer*, of Washington, on May 22nd, to the effect that the Port of Pernambuco and the adjacent coast were in a state of strict blockade. An exchange of correspondence between himself and the State Department ensued. Corrêa explained his action by saying that he had reason to believe that a blockade was in effect, and wished to warn innocent parties of the fact. Rush, in a note dated May 28, 1817,\textsuperscript{93} dealt out a severe reprimand to the Abbé for ignoring the Government and addressing himself directly to the public—a violation of long established usage—and closed by making sarcastic definition of the character of the information given out. Although his conduct was deemed irregular, Rush wrote to Minister Sumter, at Rio de Janeiro, that no further notice was taken of it, and the intercourse between him and the Government continued to be the most harmonious.\textsuperscript{94} It was subsequently learned that the blockade had really been in existence, but this, of course, did not alter the nature of Corrêa’s procedure nor the Department’s view of it.\textsuperscript{95}

Still, the incident had serious consequences. It is probable that Monroe’s later coldness toward him,\textsuperscript{96} in contrast to his early intimacy,\textsuperscript{97} dated from this time,

\textsuperscript{92}The Monroe Papers, Vol. XVI, Rush to Madison, June 14, 1817.
\textsuperscript{95}Ibid.
\textsuperscript{97}Ibid., p. 23.
although he always strove to make no discrimination between foreign Ministers, while President.\textsuperscript{98} But Corrêa was an important personage to the Presidential Trinity, as he called the group composed by Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe,\textsuperscript{99} and Rush, probably acting under instructions from Monroe, wrote Madison a long, detailed defense of the Government’s course of action, requesting that he show it to Jefferson.\textsuperscript{100} In his reply, Madison expressed his entire approval of the attitude taken by Rush, and declared that it was both “illiberal and impolitic” for Corrêa to impose upon the Secretary of State a conflict between the consideration to be extended to him personally and as Minister. Rush at once communicated Madison’s reply to Monroe.\textsuperscript{101}

Apparently the constantly increasing duties imposed on him by the activities of the Artigan privateers, prevented him from making his annual pilgrimage to Monticello that year, as contemplated in his letter of September 20th,\textsuperscript{102} but he continued to manifest keen interest in Jefferson’s projected foundation of the University of Virginia.\textsuperscript{103} That he was still a favorite of Philadelphia also seems certain, for in that year H. M. Brackenridge, staunch supporter of the South American cause,\textsuperscript{104} dedicated his \textit{Views on Louisiana

\textsuperscript{98} Adams, \textit{Memoirs}, Vol. IV, p. 327.
\textsuperscript{99} Ibid., p. 12.
\textsuperscript{100} The Monroe Papers, Vol. XVI, Rush to Madison, June 14, 1817.
\textsuperscript{102} The Jefferson Papers, Vol. CCXII, Corrêa to Jefferson, Sept. 30, 1817.
\textsuperscript{103} Ibid., Corrêa to Jefferson, Oct. 31, 1817; Jefferson to Corrêa, Nov. 25, 1817.
\textsuperscript{104} Brackenridge, H. M., \textit{Voyage to South America performed by Order of the American Government in the years 1817 and 1818 in the Frigate “Congress”, Baltimore, 1819}; and \textit{South America, a letter on the present state of that country addressed to James Monroe by an American Citizen}, London, 1818.
Corrêa da Serra.

"The Chevalier Jose Corrêa de Serra . . . the most enlightened foreigner who ever visited the United States."

The Act of March 3, 1817, was to be of two years' duration only, but the situation which it had been designed to meet showing no signs of abating, it was substantially embodied in a general codification of all existing laws on the subject, and known as "The Neutrality Act of April 20, 1818." This act constitutes our present neutrality law, and comprises, with adapted phraseology, Sections 5281–5291 of the Revised Statutes of the United States. As a measure for meeting our neutral obligations, it was somewhat less effective than the body of previous legislation, for it omitted reference to acts committed by American citizens beyond the jurisdiction of the United States against other than American citizens. This omission was directly due to sympathy for the South Americans.

Prior to its enactment, Corrêa, on March 8, 1818, made his first demand for indemnity. This was for the capture of three Portuguese vessels, concerning which he had secured a great mass of evidence. In his reply of March 18th, Secretary Adams said:

"... the documents to which you refer must of course be ex parte statements, which in Portugal or in Brazil, as well as in this country, can only serve for action in damages, or for the prosecution and trial of the persons supposed to have committed the depredations and outrages alleged in them. Should the parties come within the United States, there are courts of

105 Griffin, op. cit., p. 137.
106 An Act in addition to the Act for the punishment of certain crimes against the United States, and to repeal the acts therein mentioned. 3 Statutes at Large, 447.
108 1 H. ex. doc. 53, p. 165.
109 Ibid., and Adams, Memoirs, IV, p. 60.
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admiralty competent to ascertain the facts upon litigation between them to punish the outrages which may be duly proved, and to restore the property to its rightful owners should it also be brought within our jurisdiction and be found upon judicial inquiry to have been taken in the manner represented in your letter. By the universal law of nations the obligations of the American Government extend no further.\textsuperscript{110}

This was to be our position throughout the controversy, which only ended in 1850.\textsuperscript{111} No claims were ever entertained: but the Executive branch of the government stood ready to assist Corrêa in prosecutions. As examples of this assistance may be cited the action of the State Department in advising the Abbé that the notorious privateer, John D. Daniels, had returned to the United States, and suggesting that he confer at once with the United States District Attorney for the District of Maryland in order that prosecution could be instituted;\textsuperscript{112} the Attorney General was sent to Baltimore to assist in prosecutions;\textsuperscript{113} Corrêa was given advice;\textsuperscript{114} and informed that when he was able to secure sufficient evidence to warrant action, instructions would be given the Maryland District Attorney to begin suit.\textsuperscript{115}

But about the same time Monroe, for reasons of domestic politics, made two appointments that practically nullified all assistance heretofore given. These were the placing of Theodoric Bland as Judge of the Maryland District Court, and the appointment of one John Adams Webster as commander of the revenue cutter operating out of Baltimore. Bland was strongly sus-

\textsuperscript{110} 1 H. ex. doc. 53, p. 166.
\textsuperscript{111} Ibid., pp. 179–200.
\textsuperscript{112} Ibid., p. 173.
\textsuperscript{113} Ibid., p. 168.
\textsuperscript{114} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{115} Ibid., p. 167.
pected of being involved in privateering enterprises, and his claim for the position had been warmly endorsed by William Pinkney, the attorney for the privateers. Attorney General Wirt qualified the appointment as "a general license for the pirates," and Bland, once on the bench, lost no time in confirming this judgment. Webster, who commanded the revenue cutter—the only check on the movements of these disreputable craft—had served aboard a privateer just three months before his appointment came under consideration. The success of repressive and punitive efforts thenceforth may well be imagined.

But so bad was the existing situation that it was almost impossible for it to become worse. As an example of the Government's impotence may be cited the case of Daniels, already referred to. He was indicted under the Act of March 3, 1817. It will be remembered that this law was to be but of two years duration. When repealed by the Act of April 20, 1818, it was clearly stated that prosecutions might be made for offenses committed against it as if it had not been repealed. The indefatigable Pinkney argued that if the law had not been repealed, it would have expired by limitation; that if it had expired, no action could have been commenced or continued under it; and that, therefore, the prisoner should be discharged. The case was dismissed. A few restitutions were made, and the case of the *Gran Para* occasioned one of Chief Justice Marshall's most famous opinions; but these were libel actions carried to the Supreme Court on Portuguese appeal. No record can be found of criminal convictions

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for depredations upon Portuguese shipping for the simple reason that these acts could not be appealed against the defendants.

The Portuguese Government became more and more incensed at the failure of its Minister to obtain satisfaction, and when the representatives of the Holy Alliance convened at the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle, in the fall of 1818, it was decided to bring the matter before that body for appropriate action, since Portugal was too weak to attempt to influence the United States. Accordingly, on November 11th, Count Palmella, the Portuguese envoy, presented a strongly worded Memoir on "the piratrys exercized by a band of scoundrels navigating under un-recognized flags." He proposed that all colonial powers should close their ports to these vessels, that those serving aboard be declared pirates, and that the Ministers of the Powers in Washington should join the Portuguese Minister there in making representations to the American Government for the re-enactment of the "Act of August 3, 1793," with such additional provisions as might be deemed necessary for the suppression of the nuisance. He did not fail, however, to point out that the Act of March 3, 1817, was the result of Corrêa's solicitations.

The Congress adopted the first and third proposals, but rejected that relating to the definition of

122 Cresson, William Penn, The Holy Alliance, the European Background of the Monroe Doctrine, New York, 1922, p. 81. (Quotes Russian foreign office manuscripts.)
125 Cresson, op. cit., p. 81.
piracy. Though approved, the joint representations to the United States were never made. The Duke de Richelieu, acting independently, instructed Hyde de Neuville to enter a strong protest in the name of his Government, and the Minister also showed Adams, in an almost casual manner, a copy of Palmella's memoir. Adams sought to forestall combined action by impressing upon the returning British Minister, Bagot, the earnestness with which we were seeking to suppress the practice.

Connected with the expected protest was a typical Holy Alliance scheme called the "League to Suppress Piracy," which was to employ the fleets of the Powers against the Barbary pirates and the South American freebooters. Unfortunately for its success, the only Power in the possession of a good fleet was England, and she had nothing to gain by making the seas safe for the unconvoyed merchantmen of small nations. By assuming an indifferent attitude, she obtained the abandonment of the proposal. It is not likely that the activities of this League, in so far as they were confined to their announced purpose, would have precipitated any conflict with the United States, for our Government was not at that time disposed to protect offenders against its own neutrality, and had already witnessed the spectacle of the British Admiralty sending out a warship to capture a notorious American privateer of Portuguese birth, one José Almeida who had received his schooling in the War of 1812. But

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130 Ibid., p. 333.
131 Ibid., p. 334.
132 Cresson, op. cit., p. 81.
133 Later administrations pressed the claims of privateers against the Succession States of New Granada until 1885, when they were disallowed by a commission. Cf., Moore, J. B., International Arbitrations, Vol. III, p. 2729.
it was not difficult to discover the further purposes of the organization in respect to the colonial régime in South America, and its demise must have brought relief to our statesmen.

The Government of Portugal was thus compelled to deal directly with us and alone. It began by collecting evidence itself through the Royal Board of Commerce, in Lisbon, reviewing claims, and presenting complete cases to Corrêa. On July 17, 1820, he sent Adams a note containing a list of 19 Portuguese ships, which, with their cargoes, had been taken by privateers fitted out in American ports, and proposed that a joint commission be appointed by the two governments to examine the claims, which amounted to $616,158.

In an interview with the Abbé, on August 29, 1820, Adams informed him that the United States would probably not accede to his proposal to create the commission, and observed that our courts were competent to handle all the cases enumerated. Corrêa did not accept this statement as final, and asked for an official reply.

He had received an appointment to Dom João's cabinet, and as the Court was still at Rio de Janeiro, planned to embark shortly for Brazil. Before leaving he hoped to settle the claims question through the institution of the commission proposed by his government, and while waiting for the reply went off to Monticello to pay Jefferson a farewell visit. While there he urged his proposal strongly, but Jefferson told him that the scheme was out of the question. Thereupon the harassed Corrêa surprised his host by throwing off his usual amiable manner and indulging in some frank speech. The astonished Virginian endeavored to

135 Niles' Register, June 26, 1819.
138 Ibid., pp. 175, 177.
persuade him that the Government was doing its utmost to assist him and that a distinction should be made between the nation and a few scoundrels. Happily the little debate did not mar the pleasure of the visit, and the two parted as friendly as ever.\textsuperscript{139}

Corrêa's ultimatum placed Monroe in a quandary, but the President was determined not to yield. The Abbé did not always choose his ground well in his notes to Adams, and made a fatal mistake in insisting that the Uruguayan commissions were not valid because Artigas was not in possession of a seaport,\textsuperscript{140} a contention unsupported by any authority on international law for the simple reason that the situation was unique and unprecedented.\textsuperscript{141} Monroe recommended that Adams make the best of Corrêa's bad management, but to be careful to avoid giving the Minister's partisans in this country ground for criticism of the administration.\textsuperscript{142} Adams records in his diary the feelings that these instructions caused him: "I do this with reluctance; I think we have something to answer for to Portugal in this case on the score of justice, and that we shall answer for it, soon or late, by our own sufferings."\textsuperscript{143}

In his reply of September 20, 1820, Adams stated that the appointment of commissioners, for this purpose would not be "consistent with the Constitution of the United States, nor with any practice usual among civi-
lized nations," that remedy was to be had in suit before American tribunals, and that the Government of the United States was not responsible for acts of its citizens committed beyond its jurisdiction. He reviewed the policy of the Government with regard to the whole war from which the issue rose, and declared that every possible measure would be taken to obtain justice for Portugal if Corrêa could submit evidence of the personal incompetency of any of our judicial or naval officers involved, as alleged.144

Corrêa received this letter in New York on the eve of his departure, and answered that he found so much in it to reply to that he would first have to take it up with the Council of State.145 The transmission of Adam's note to that body only seemed to have the effect of increasing its determination to obtain redress and through the commission. Its chargé, Amado Grehon, presented on December 4, 1820, in routine, a list of twelve new claims, duly reviewed by the Royal Board of Commerce. They totaled 80:772 $119, or roughly $100,000.146 Finally, on April 1, 1822, he addressed to Adams a categorical demand for the institution of the claims commission, and threatened commercial reprisals in case of rejection.147 In his now classic reply of April 30, 1822, Adams disposed of the commission so effectively that the proposal was formally not renewed for many years.148 It was vigorously revived in 1850 as a counter-irritant to the General Armstrong claim then being pressed against Portugal, but dismissed by Secretary Clayton and ignored by his successor Webster whose stony indifference dealt it the coup de grâce.149

145 Ibid., 1824, p. 3045, Corrêa to Adams, Nov. 9, 1820.
146 Ibid., p. 3045.
147 Ibid. p. 3047.
The attrition of these controversies transformed Corrêa into a diplomat. Walsh wrote to Jefferson: "....... all the happiness of Mr. Corrêa was destroyed by his appointment as minister. He became fretful, suspicious, valetudinary, and has been more or less wretched ever since. So much for reaching the summit of our wishes. All his philosophy vanished before the reason of State. Your example ought to have had a salutary effect upon his mind when he enjoyed your society . . . "150 In his interviews with Adams he frequently gave utterance to hasty expressions that could easily have led to a coolness between the two had not the Secretary skillfully met them on all occasions. For example, he once qualified Americans as a "most unmanageable crew," to which Adams immediately answered that they were quite as "manageable for every good purpose" as those of Portugal or Brazil. Corrêa could then only offer professions of appreciation.151 Again, after noting in his diary that Corrêa was a "man of extensive and general literature, of profound science, of brilliant wit, of inexhaustible powers of conversation, insinuating and fascinating in his manners and deportment, and, though sixty-eight years of age, as lively as if he were but twenty-five," his temper, however, was "not remarkable for equanimity." He was "quick, sensitive, fractious, hasty, and, when excited, obstinate."152 Another interview ended with this notation: "He fully admitted our right, but in the course of our discussion there was something like acerbity in the collision of our opinions. We parted, however, in mutual good humor."153 Of course, irritable Ministers were not strangers to the Depart-

150 The Jefferson Papers, Vol. CCXXIV, Robert Walsh to Jefferson, April 14, 1823.
152 Ibid., p. 328.
153 Ibid., p. 85.
ment of State which had to endure Stratford Canning at that time, and the informal rules governing them permitted frequent personal clashes. Monroe sought to place them all on the same footing of formality, as in Europe, and put an end to their custom of dropping in at the White House for tea, informally and uninvited.\(^{154}\) This sudden change caused some embarrassment in Corrêa's case,\(^ {155}\) because of his previous intimacy with Monroe, and the fact that President Madison had encouraged his visits.\(^ {156}\) But Monroe's kept him "at arm's length"\(^ {157}\) as much as possible, for he saw through the Abbé's stratagems. Nevertheless, Corrêa was so skillful that at the levées he managed to monopolize conversation with the President by means of his "peculiar talent for starting topics" and opening "a discursive field of conversation upon which the President then readily enters. None of the others have the faculty or inclination for this, and their interviews are merely dull and formal."\(^ {158}\) As a sample of his consummate diplomacy may be cited his New Year's letter to the suspicious Monroe, in 1820, in which he expressed cordial wishes for the "glory and prosperity of your administration" during the coming year, and permitted himself to touch upon the privateering question in such a manner as to cause the Executive some squirms of conscience regarding the sincerity of his public declarations on neutral obligations.\(^ {158a}\)

In the midst of his diplomatic wrangles, he did not lose interest in his earlier character of a visiting scientist. In 1818 we find him among those engaged in raising funds for the purpose of sending Nuttal on his

\(^{154}\) Adams, Memoirs, Vol. IV, p. 16.
\(^{155}\) Ibid., p. 22.
\(^{156}\) Ibid., p. 326.
\(^{157}\) Ibid.
\(^{158}\) Ibid., p. 314.
\(^{158a}\) The Monroe Papers, Vol. XVIII.
expedition to the Arkansas country. Nor did his enthusiasm for American institutions cool to any great degree in spite of the "unmanageable crew." An English visitor to Philadelphia, in 1819, gives convincing testimony of his warm affection for this country:

"The kindness with which he spoke of this nation, the admiration which he expressed of its character and of those institutions which he observed had formed that character, and were still forming it, inspired me, in a short conversation, with an equal admiration of the enlightened foreigner who felt so generously. As he walked home with me (for your character is not here fastened to a coach as Brydone found his was in Sicily) I chanced to observe upon the brilliance of the skies, which, I said, as a native of a moist and northern climate, had not yet lost to me the charm of novelty. He mildly replied: 'And on what country could the sun and stars shine brightly if not on this? Light is everywhere and is each day growing brighter and spreading farther.' "Are you not afraid," I asked, 'as the representative of royalty, of loving these republics too much?' He returned playfully: 'As the courtly Melville judged Elizabeth the fairest woman in England and Mary the fairest in Scotland, so I deem this the fairest republic, and Portugal, of course, the fairest monarchy.'

His cabinet appointment had been made in 1819, and Adams believed that the news brought him great relief, and that he was pleased with the prospect of a comfortable office in Brazil. His endeavors to settle the claims of his Government detained him, however, until November, 1820, when he embarked for England, there to take the Brazil packet.

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359 Harsberger, op. cit., p. 9.
360 Wright, Fanny, op. cit., pp. 94, 95.
Shortly before his departure, on October 12, 1820, he wrote Jefferson the prophetic letter already referred to:

"I cannot . . . leave your country without once more expressing to you my strong attachment to you, of which you shall have constant proofs as long as I live. . . . This dirty affair. I am resolved to let things have their course, and time will infallibly bring on the proper reaction of due retribution. If in the end it proves an unprofitable and ruinous trade, let the parties now concerned beware! the consequences of which they themselves are the manufacturers!"

Jefferson's reply was another effort for conciliation:

". . . . Your letter was the first correction of an erroneous belief that you had long since left our shores. . . . I received your adieu with feelings of sincere regret at the loss we were to sustain, and particularly of those friendly visits by which you had made me so happy. I shall feel too, the want of your counsel and approbation in what we are doing and have yet to do in our University, the last of my mortal cares and the last service I can render my country. But turning from myself, throwing egotism behind me, and looking to your happiness, it is a duty and consolation of friendship to consider that that may be promoted by your return to your country. There I hope you will receive the honors and rewards you merit, and which may make the rest of your life easy and happy; there too you will render precious service by promoting the science of your country, and blessing its future generations with the advantages that bestows. Nor even there shall we lose all the benefit of your friendship; for this motive, as well as the love of your own country, will be an incitement to promote that intimate harmony between our two nations which is so much the interest of both. . . . During six and thirty years that I have been in situations to attend to the conduct and characters of foreign nations, I have found the govt. of Portugal the most just, inoffensive, and unambitious of any one with which we had concern, without a single exception. I am sure that this is the characters of ours also. Two such nations can never wish to quarrel with each other. Subordinate officers may be negligent, may have their passions and partialities, and may be criminally remiss in preventing the enterprises of the lawless banditti who are to be found in every seaport of every country. The late piratical depredations which your commerce has suffered as well as ours, and that of other nations, seem to have been committed by renegado rovers of several nations,

162 The Jefferson Papers, Vol. CCXVIII.
Correct, da Serra.

French, English, American, which they as well as we have not been careful enough to suppress. I hope our Congress now about to meet will strengthen the measures of suppression. Of their disposition to do it there can be no doubt; for all men of moral principle must be shocked at these atrocities. I had repeated conversations on this subject with the President, while at his seat in this neighborhood. No man can abhor these enormities more deeply. I trust it will not have been in the power of abandoned robbers, nor yet of negligent functionaries, to disturb the harmony of two nations so much disposed to mutual friendship, and interested in it. To this, my dear friend, you can be mainly instrumental, and I know your patriotism and philanthropy too well to doubt your best efforts to cement us. In these I pray for your success, and that heaven may long preserve you in health and prosperity to do all the good to mankind to which your enlightened and benevolent mind disposes you. Of the continuance of my affectionate friendship, with that of my life, and of its fervent wishes for your happiness, accept my sincere assurance.

TH. JEFFERSON."

To Madison, Jefferson wrote: "... No foreigner, I believe, has ever carried with him more friendly regrets."

It is difficult to trace the Abbé’s movements during the next two years. Although he had first planned to sail from England for Brazil, it is probable that the news of the assumption of power by the Portuguese Côrtes reached him in the former country, and that he went on to Lisbon, where, however, he only arrived in August, 1821. Returning from his long exile, he was reinstated as secretary to the Academy. After a short time he again left Lisbon for Paris where he was received with acclaim. But he was no longer the amiable philosopher "delighting kindred spirits, and so antagonized his old friends by his dictatorial, impatient manners that they turned from

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251 Ibid., p. 295, Jefferson to Madison, Nov. 29, 1820.
253 Lavradio, op. cit., p. 219.
him. Overcome with rage and resentment, he abandoned Paris for London.\textsuperscript{168} Apparently he did not remain there long either, for the following year he was elected deputy to the C\'ortes from the district of Beja.\textsuperscript{169} On account of bad health, he took but little part in the proceedings of that body, and his only notable speech was in defense of the Academy.\textsuperscript{170} It also appears that, while in favor at Court, he wielded little influence in the C\'ortes.\textsuperscript{171}

After his departure from this country he seems to have completely forgotten all his friends here, and wrote so seldom that information regarding him could only be obtained from travelers. His neglect of Jefferson was one of the most conspicuous and least pardonable examples of his indifference. Yet Jefferson was disposed to overlook this, and suspecting from reports received that all was not going well with the Abb\'e, he wrote to General Henry Dearborn, Minister at Lisbon:

"... I have a friend, of Portugal, in whose welfare I feel great interest, but whether there or where, I know not. It is the Abb\'e Corr\'ea who past some years in the United States and was a part of the time minister of Portugal at Washington. ... He writes to none of his friends, and yet there is no one on whose behalf his friends feel a more lively solicitude or wish more to hear from. If at Lisbon, and it should ever fall in your way to render him service or kindness, I should consider it as more than if done to myself. If things do unfavorably to him there, he would be received with joy into our University and would certainly find a comfortable and lucrative retirement."

\textsuperscript{169} Silva, \textit{op. cit.}, Vol. IV, p. 338.
\textsuperscript{170} Ribeiro, \textit{op. cit.}, Vol. II, p. 301.
\textsuperscript{171} The Jefferson Papers, Vol. CCXXXIII, William Short to Jefferson, Nov. 12, 1822.
Should he be in Lisbon, be so good as to say so to him...”

Dearborn had been sent to Portugal for the purpose of negotiating a treaty of commerce, no such agreement ever having been entered into with that country. On October 20, 1822, he had been informed by the Minister of State for Foreign Affairs that Corrêa had been appointed by the King to negotiate for Portugal. But Corrêa refused to accept the commission on the ground that it was incompatible with his character as member of the Cortes. He also "expressed his disapprobation of our government or of the present administration of it in strong and explicit terms on many occasions and has, and says he will, oppose any treaty with the United States, unless we offer to Portugal some very important advantages." Dearborn’s mission ended without a treaty being signed, though on account of Portugal’s relation to England rather than any hostility created by Corrêa.

Jefferson’s letter was received by Dearborn on February 1, 1823, and he communicated its contents to Corrêa in writing. Neither in Dearborn’s correspondence with Jefferson, nor in any of his numerous, detailed reports to Adams, can there be found any evidence of Corrêa’s having had the grace even to acknowledge this testimonial of sincere friendship. Yet this lack of appreciation does not seem to have affected Jefferson’s attachment to him, for four years

later we find him indulging in fulsome praise of his old friend.  

In the summer of 1823, Corrêa became seriously ill with diabetes, and sought relief at the baths of Caldas da Rainha, some fourteen leagues north of Lisbon. He employed the services of no less than five physicians, and made a brave, somewhat spectacular fight for his life, but died on September 11, 1823.  

He was alone at his death, and was buried without funeral honors. The sole mark to distinguish his grave was a rude wooden cross made by the sacristan of the local church, and bearing this simple inscription:

"Corrêa da Serra."

Thus came to a quiet end and almost to forgetfulness the stormy career of a notable figure in a stormy age.

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CORRÊA'S WORKS.

**Scientific.**


*On a submerged forest on the east coast of England*, *ibid.*, 1799, p. 145.


Reduction of all the genera of plants contained in the *Catalogus plantarum Americae Septentrionalis*, of the late Dr. Muhlenberg, to the natural families of Mr. de Jussieu’s system. For the use of the gentlemen who attended the course of elementary and philosophical botany in Philadelphia in 1815. Philadelphia, 1815.


*Historical, or of present historical interest.*

Colleccão de livros ineditos de historia portuguesa, Lisbon, 5 Vols., 1790–1824.


*Sur l'agriculture des arabes en Espagne,* *ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 239.
