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REVISTA DE ESTUDOS  
ANGLO-PORTUGUESES  
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-PORTUGUESE STUDIES

N.º 24

Centre for English, Translation and Anglo-Portuguese Studies  
Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas da Universidade Nova de Lisboa  
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Lisboa  
2015



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## EDITORIAL

O número 24 da *Revista de Estudos Anglo-Portugueses/ Journal of Anglo-Portuguese Studies* retoma, em vários dos artigos aqui apresentados, a problemática da Escrita de Viagens entendida como forma de (des)encontro entre o Eu e o Outro e de (des)construção de imagotipos, marca distintiva da investigação em Estudos Anglo-Portugueses. Recorde-se que as primeiras dissertações de mestrado realizadas nesta área de estudos reportaram-se justamente à análise de relatos de viajantes britânicos em Portugal, sobretudo durante os séculos XVIII e XIX. Os resultados das pesquisas que conduziram a essas dissertações encontram-se disponíveis numa base de dados intitulada “Viajantes Ingleses em Portugal” (VIP), consultáveis *online*: [www.fcsh.unl.pt/ceap/pesquisaVIP.htm](http://www.fcsh.unl.pt/ceap/pesquisaVIP.htm). Recentemente, os trabalhos sobre Escrita de Viagens têm assistido a um certo rejuvenescimento no âmbito internacional, sobretudo devido à publicação de novas reflexões de cariz teórico sobre a matéria, não raro associadas à “Imagologia (Revisitada)” de Beller & Leerssen e de Zacharasiewicz. Inserindo-se, em grande medida, nesta “nova vaga”, os artigos de Mariana Gonçalves – “Travelling through Portugal at the End of the Seventeenth Century: William Bromley’s Impressions of the Portuguese Kingdom” –, de Rogério Miguel Puga – “O Romance Epistolar enquanto Escrita de Viagens: o Imagótipo Luso e a Dimensão Anglo-Portuguesa em *The Forest of Comalva, a Novel; Containing Sketches of Portugal, Spain and France* (1809), de Mary Hill –”, de Maria Zulmira Castanheira – “The Victorian Traveller as Other: Stereotypes and Humour in the Periodical Press of Portuguese Romanticism” – e de Teresa Pereira – “The Enchantments of the Portuguese Countryside’: Escrita de Viagens e Propaganda Turística” – vêm demonstrar que a investigação neste campo se encontra longe de esgotada, existindo ainda um extenso caminho a desbravar no respeitante aos relatos de viajantes/turistas britânicos em Portugal e também aos de portugueses nos países de língua inglesa, sobretudo nos séculos XX e XXI. Quanto a estes últimos, em breve poderá também consultar-se o *E-Dicionário de Escrita de Viagens*

*Portuguesa* em [www.fcsh.unl.pt/.../e-dicionario-de-escrita-de-viagens-portuguesa-e-dictionary-of-portuguese-travel-writing-cetaps-1](http://www.fcsh.unl.pt/.../e-dicionario-de-escrita-de-viagens-portuguesa-e-dictionary-of-portuguese-travel-writing-cetaps-1), que contará decerto com entradas atinentes a relatos de viajantes portugueses por países anglófonos.

Se o texto de Teresa Pereira já articula a escrita de viagens com a propaganda turística do Estado Novo, o artigo de Maria Zulmira Castanheira, por seu turno, enquadra-a no contexto da imprensa periódica, fonte inesgotável de novos dados sobre as relações luso-britânicas em diferentes épocas e, portanto, também objecto de estudo de algumas teses de doutoramento e dissertações de mestrado realizadas no âmbito dos Estudos Anglo-Portugueses. Os artigos de John Clarke e José Baptista de Sousa – “The Reception of the Braganças in England as Recorded in the British Press, 1827-1851” –, de Paulo de Oliveira Ramos – “Robert Bisset Scott e os seus ‘Roman Remains at Lisbon’” – e de António Lopes – “A Voz do Mineiro [*The Miner’s Voice*]: Raising the Working-Class Consciousness in a British-Owned Mine in Southern Portugal – a Discursive Approach” – centram-se justamente na análise das imagens dos portugueses tal como foram veiculadas na imprensa britânica dos séculos XIX e XX, confirmando a importância do periodismo enquanto espaço privilegiado para qualquer investigador interessado na análise do discurso jornalístico e, portanto, na (des)construção das imagens do Eu e do Outro.

O contínuo debate entre o uno e o diverso, constituindo uma premissa indissociável da comparação entre culturas que amplia decididamente a percepção da identidade, configura-se como uma temática amplamente discutida, embora de formas diversas, nos artigos de Miguel Alarcão, “*Identity Matters: Notas para uma (In)Definição de Identidade Inglesa no Relato sobre a Conquista de Lisboa (1147)*”, em torno da hibridez da identidade anglo-normanda a propósito da tomada de Lisboa; de Karen Bennett, “‘Like a Candle under a Bushel’: Rhetorical Identities in Portugal and England (16<sup>th</sup> - 21<sup>st</sup> centuries)”, centrado nas estratégias discursivas associadas à construção das identidades protestante (inglesa) e católica (portuguesa); e, ainda, na recensão crítica de Carlos Ceia, “*Landeg White: Letters from Portugal*. Kondwani Publications, 2014”, um apelo à busca da identidade lusa.

A índole comparatista que se encontra na base de qualquer trabalho em Estudos Anglo-Portugueses, a par da análise da influência de autores britânicos em escritores portugueses (ou vice-versa), revela-se de grande acuidade no artigo de Madalena Lobo Antunes, “*Modernism’s Novel Approaches to the Novel in the Book of Disquiet and Ulysses*”, dedicado justamente a

explorar as interferências de James Joyce (e também de Herman Melville) na obra de Fernando Pessoa.

A apropriação de personagens e de espaços (*déplacement*) portugueses em obras literárias britânicas com a intenção de veicular mensagens de cariz político-social e, sobretudo, imatgotipos positivos de Inglaterra através da manutenção de este-reótipos lusos, marca transversal a textos que têm sido objecto de análise em Estudos Anglo-Portugueses, torna-se claramente visível no artigo de Laura Martínez-García, “A Defence of Whig Feminism in Centlivre’s Portuguese Plays *The Wonder! A Woman Keeps a Secret* (1714) and *Mar-plot; or the Second Part of The Busy Body* (1710)”.

Como ficou definido no Editorial do número 23, a REAP/JAPS visa divulgar o resultado do trabalho de todos aqueles que se dedicam aos Estudos Anglo-Portugueses, mas propõe-se também apontar novas sugestões de pesquisa (em curso ou futuras), nomeadamente na secção intitulada “Projectos”. Neste número, o Professor George Monteiro, em “Towards a Bibliography of Alberto de Lacerda (1928-2007)”, agracia-nos com uma panóplia de referências sobre esta figura anglo-lusa cujo levantamento bibliográfico irá decerto dar azo à elaboração de múltiplos trabalhos, porventura destinados a encontrar um lugar privilegiado num próximo número.

*Lisboa, 30 de Setembro de 2015*  
*Gabriela Gândara Terenas*

## EDITORIAL

Issue no.24 of *Revista de Estudos Anglo-Portugueses/Journal of Anglo-Portuguese Studies* returns, in several of the articles, to the study of Travel Writing, understood as a form of div(con)vergence between the Self and the Other, involving (de)construction of imagotypes, an hallmark of research in Anglo-Portuguese studies. It will be recalled that the first Masters' dissertations carried out in this area dealt precisely with the accounts of British travellers to Portugal, particularly in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The results of this research are now available on a database entitled "English Travellers to Portugal" (VIP) which can be consulted online at: [www2.fcsh.unl.pt/ceap/pesquisaVIP.htm](http://www2.fcsh.unl.pt/ceap/pesquisaVIP.htm). Recently, work on Travel Writing has enjoyed something of a revival at the international level, stimulated by the publication of new theoretical works on the subject, many linked to Beller and Leerssen's "Imagology (Revisited)", and the writings of Zacharasiewicz. A series of articles published here, by Mariana Gonçalves – "Travelling through Portugal at the End of the Seventeenth Century: William Bromley's Impressions of the Portuguese Kingdom" –, by Rogério Miguel Puga – "O Romance Epistolar enquanto Escrita de Viagens: o Imagótipo Luso e a Dimensão Anglo-Portuguesa em *The Forest of Comalva, a Novel; Containing Sketches of Portugal, Spain and France* (1809), de Mary Hill" –, by Maria Zulmira Castanheira – "The Victorian Traveller as Other: Stereotypes and Humour in the Periodical Press of Portuguese Romanticism" – and by Teresa Pereira – "The Enchantments of the Portuguese Countryside': Escrita de Viagens e Propaganda Turística" – which may be considered, essentially, as part of this *nouvelle vague*, clearly demonstrate that research in this field is far from being played out and that plenty of scope remains, particularly as regards twentieth and twentieth-first-centuries accounts of British travellers/tourists in Portugal and those of their Portuguese counterparts in English-speaking countries. Researchers will soon be able to consult the *E-Dicionário de Escrita de Viagens Portuguesa* online at [www.fcsh.unl.pt/.../e-dicionario-de-escrita-de-viagens-portuguesa-e-dictionary-of-portuguese-travel-writing-ce-taps-1](http://www.fcsh.unl.pt/.../e-dicionario-de-escrita-de-viagens-portuguesa-e-dictionary-of-portuguese-travel-writing-ce-taps-1) which will undoubtedly include pertinent information concerning the accounts of Portuguese travellers in English-speaking countries.

Teresa Pereira's article, on the one hand, examines the association between travel writing and the tourist propaganda of the Estado Novo, whilst Zulmira Castanheira situates her analysis of travel writing within the framework of the periodical press,

an apparently inexhaustible resource for new data on Anglo-Portuguese relations over different historical periods, and which, as a consequence, was chosen as the focus for several Masters and Doctoral dissertations in the area of Anglo-Portuguese Studies. The articles by John Clarke and José Baptista de Sousa – “The Reception of the Braganças in England as Recorded in the British Press, 1827-1851” –, by Paulo de Oliveira Ramos – “Robert Bisset Scott e os seus ‘Roman Remains at Lisbon’” – and by António Lopes – “A Voz do Mineiro [*The Miner’s Voice*]: Raising the Working-Class Consciousness in a British-Owned Mine in Southern Portugal – a Discursive Approach” – deal with the analysis of the image of the Portuguese as portrayed by the British press in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, confirming the importance of British periodical journalism as a privileged resource for any researcher who is interested in the analysis of journalistic discourse and consequently the (de)construction of images of the Self and the Other.

The ongoing debate on the question of unity and diversity, a premise which significantly amplifies the perception of identity and is indissociable from any comparison between cultures, is an issue which is thoroughly discussed, albeit from different angles, in the articles by Miguel Alarcão, “ ‘Identity Matters’: Notas para uma (In)Definição de Identidade ‘Inglesa’ no Relato sobre a Conquista de Lisboa (1147)”, on the hybrid nature of Anglo-Norman identity against the background of the Siege of Lisbon; by Karen Bennett, “‘Like a Candle under a Bushel’: Rhetorical Identities in Portugal and England (16<sup>th</sup> - 21<sup>st</sup> centuries)”, focussing on discursive strategies associated to the construction of Protestant (English) and Catholic (Portuguese) identities; and Carlos Ceia’s review of Landeg White’s *Letters from Portugal*. Kondwani Publications, 2014”, an appeal to the quest for Portuguese identity.

The comparative element, which is a constant feature of any work in the field of Anglo-Portuguese Studies, together with the analysis of the effects of British writing on Portuguese authors, or vice-versa, is adroitly exploited in Madalena Lobo Antunes’ article on the influence of James Joyce (and also Herman Melville) on Fernando Pessoa.

Laura Martínez-García’s article, “A Defence of Whig Feminism in Centlivre’s Portuguese Plays *The Wonder! A Woman Keeps a Secret* (1714) and *Mar-plot; or the Second Part of The Busy Body* (1710)” clearly reveals the appropriation of characters and spaces (*déplacement*) in British literary works to convey social or political messages and, in particular, positive imago-types of England, whilst maintaining Portuguese stereotypes,

a transversal feature of texts analysed in Anglo-Portuguese Studies.

As set down in the previous Editorial (no.23), REAP/JAPS will continue to publicise the work of all those who are working in the area of Anglo-Portuguese Studies, whilst, at the same time, identifying new areas of research (in progress or future), especially in the section entitled "Projects". In this issue, Professor George Monteiro, in "Towards a Bibliography of Alberto de Lacerda (1928-2007)", generously shares with our readers a plethora of bibliographical references, which will undoubtedly provoke a flurry of new work concerning this outstanding Anglo-Portuguese figure, which we hope to see occupying a privileged position in our next issue.

*Lisboa, 30<sup>th</sup> September 2015*  
*Gabriela Gândara Terenas*

PROJECTOS  
PROJECTS

TOWARDS A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF ALBERTO DE LACERDA  
(1928-2007)

*George Monteiro*  
*Brown University (Providence, R.I., U.S.A.)*

Who Stands Next to Alberto?

Alberto loves his world  
of things; and people,  
too, he adds thoughtfully.  
Letters and cards and  
pictures and paintings,  
good for autography  
and signatures varied,  
in good-taste testimony.  
Rene Char, Pomar, Marianne  
and Drummond and  
many, many counted others.  
No Jorge, no Mécia, though  
he, Alberto, stood sponsor  
to one of the children,  
though chez Sena fed and  
sheltered him, though  
Jorge wrote and wrote and wrote  
on Alberto's behalf to  
wheedle patronage  
for this poet, who can wring  
the changes on the word  
*maravilha* and loves  
a good glass of water.

May 10, 1991 G.M.

It was *Alberto de Lacerda: o Mundo de um Poeta*, the catalogue of the poet's prized possessions, published by the Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian / Centro de Arte Moderna in May 1987, to accompany the Lisbon exhibition honoring the poet as collector of manuscripts, books, and the objet d'art, that prompted me to start gathering information for a bibliography of the writer Alberto de Lacerda. Going through this fascinating catalogue also led to set down the lines that appear here as an epigraph.

I was only slightly acquainted with Alberto de Lacerda himself. It is doubtful that we exchanged greetings at lectures or exhibitions in Providence or Cambridge as much as a half-dozen times. We never held what might be called a conversation, though he once took it upon himself to chastise me for wasting my time translating the poetry of Jorge de Sena, since, he said, annoyed and annoyingly, "Sena was *no* poet." So I can provide no telling or amusing memories of the man or poet. Any anecdote that I might ferret out of my memory would prove to be inconsequential and not bear telling. In their place, however, I do recommend the fine tributes he received after his death, especially those by John McEwen, a friend, in *The Independent*, and by Jhumpa Lahiri, the well-known writer who was a student of his at Boston University, in *Poetry* magazine.

## I. Primary

### 1. Books, Chapbooks, Broadides (Poetry)

1.1. *Poemas*, "Cadernos de Poesia," No. 8. Second series. Lisboa: 1951.

1.2. *77 Poems* (bilingual edition), trans. Alberto de Lacerda and Arthur Waley. London: Allen and Unwin, 1955. [Reviewed in the *TLS*.]

1.3. *Palácio: Poemas*. Lisboa: Delfos, 1961.

1.4. *Agonia, Soneto* (illustrated by Charrua). Lisboa: Edição Gravura, 1963.

1.5. *Exílio*. Intr. Antonio Ramos Rosa. Lisboa: Portugália, 1963. [Series: Coleção Poetas de Hoje 13]

1.6. *Selected Poems* (bilingual edition), trans. Alberto de Lacerda. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1969.

1.7. *Manuel Cargaleiro* (illustrations by Cargaleiro). Lisboa: Gráfica Brás Monteiro, 1973.

1.8. *Austin*. Santander: Páblo Beltrán de Heredia, 1977.

1.9. *Tauromagia* (illustrations by Júlio Pomar). Lisboa: Contexto, 1981.

1.10. *Oferenda I*. Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional - Casa da Moeda, 1984.

1.11. *Elegias de Londres*. Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional - Casa da Moeda, 1987.

1.12. *Lisboa*. Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional - Casa da Moeda, 1987. The numbered edition of two hundred copies contains an original serigraph by Vieira da Silva.

1.13. *Meio-Dia*. Lisboa: assírio & alvim, 1988. [Series: Peninsulares/Literatura 29]

1.14. *Sonetos*. Veneza: Centro Internazionale della Grafica di Venezia, 1991. [Author's edition].

1.15. *Oferenda II*. Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional - Casa da Moeda, 1994.

1.16. *Atrio*. Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional - Casa da Moeda, 1997.

1.17. *Andrew Stahl: 3 April--10 May 1998*. U.K.: Flowers East, 1998.

1.18. *Horizonte*. Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional - Casa da Moeda, 2001.

## **2. Editions (Anthology, Issue)**

2.1. *Poesia Sempre I* (with Sophia de Melo Breyner Andresen). Lisboa: Livraria Sampedro, 1964. [Series: Coleção Nosso Mundo/Antologia, 5]

2.2. "Modern Portuguese Poetry". *Journal of the American Portuguese Society*, 12, no. 1 (Summer 1978).

## **3. Contributions to Periodicals and Books (essays, reviews, and letters)**

3.1. "Um lugar para a poesia". *Tavola Redonda*, fascículo 1 (1950) [p. 3].

3.2. “Festa Redonda’ de Vitorino Nemésio”. *Tavola Redonda*, fascículo 3 (1950) [p. 8].

3.3. “Sublinhados”. *Tavola Redonda*, fascículo 4 (1950) [p. 8].

3.4. “Cabral do Nascimento, à cerca da sua poesia”. *Tavola Redonda*, fascículo 6 (1950) [p. 4].

3.5. “Sophia de Mello Bryner Andresen, à cerca da sua poesia”. *Tavola Redonda*, fascículo 7 (1950) [p. 4].

3.6. [Reply to the question: “1901/1950: Quais os livros que vale a pena ler? Quais os livros que valeu a pena escrever?”] *Tetracórnio* (Feb. 1955), p. 73.

3.7. “Under Pressure in Portugal”. *Times Literary Supplement* (Aug. 16, 1957), pp. xx [unsigned].

3.8. “O Caso Mental Português”. *Jornal de Letras e Artes*, 2, no. 60 (Nov. 21, 1962), p. 15.

3.9. “The Cult of Mallarmé” [letter]. *Times Literary Supplement* (Oct. 4, 1963), p. 787.

3.10. “Que os meus poemas...” *Diário de Notícias* (Lisbon) (July 30, 1964), p. 13.

3.11. [Letter]. *The Guardian* (June 2, 1965). Written by de Lacerda; signed by Bertrand Russell, Arthur Waley, Stephen Spender, Christopher Middleton, and R. B. Kitaj.

3.12. “Cartas de Londres: Romeu e Julieta -- Nureyev e Fonteyn”. *Diário de Notícias* (Lisbon) (June 10, 1965), pp. 17, 18.

3.13. “Paula Rego nas Belas Artes”. *Diário de Notícias* (Lisbon) (Dec. 1965).

3.14. “Fragmentos de um poema intitulado Paula Rego”. *Paula Rego* (Lisbon: SnBA, 1965).

3.15. “5 Poemas [in Spanish]”. *Nothing Doing in London: 1* (London: Anthony Barnett, 1966).

3.16. “Cartas de Londres: A Grande Martha Graham: uma Entrevista”. *Diário de Notícias* (Lisbon) (Apr. 27, 1967), pp. 17, 18.

3.17. "A Poesia Portuguesa Entre 1950 e 1970: Notas Para Um Estudo". *Studies in Modern Portuguese Literature. Tulane Studies in Romance Languages and Literature*, no. 4 (1971), pp. 38-56.

3.18. "García Lorca e o poema como superfície plana". *Colóquio/Letras*, no. 16 (Nov. 1973), pp. 64-65.

3.19. "Montaje para um surrealista portugueses". *Plural*, 21 (1973), pp. 33-36.

3.20. "Uma revolução que é poesia". *Diário Popular* (June 9, 1980). [unseen; not this date]

3.21. Review of "Portuguese Art Since 1910" at the Royal Academy. *London Art Monthly*, no. 20 (Oct. 1978), p. 12.

3.22. "Apontamentos a lapis para um ensaio sobre Jorge Guillen". *Homenaje a Jorge Guillen: 32 estudios crítico-literarios sobre su obra*. Intr. Justina Ruiz de Conde, Stasys Gostautas, Elena Gascón-Vera, and Mary H. Lusky. Wellesley: Wellesley College/ Madrid: Insula, 1978, pp. 295-301.

3.23. "Os *Lusiadas* e Os *Maias*: um Binómio Português?" *Colóquio/Letras*, no. 72 (Mar. 1983), pp. 29-40.

3.24. "Os *Lusiadas* e Os *Maias*: um Binómio Português?" *Empire in Transition: The Portuguese World in the Times of Camões*. Ed. Alfred Hower and Richard A. Preto-Rodas. Gainesville, Florida: University of Florida Press/Center for Latin American Studies, 1985, pp. 219-30.

3.25. "O Aspecto Visionário em 'O Deus Nu(lo)' de António Ramos Rosa". *Colóquio/Letras*, no. 109 (May/June 1989), pp. 89-91.

3.26. "Las Meninas de Velázquez". *Colóquio Artes*, no. 85 (Jan. 1990), pp.44-45.

3.27. "L'Aspect visionnaire dans Le Dieu nu(l) d'Antonio Ramos Rosa" (translated by Ilda Mendes). *Courrier du Centre International d'Etudes Poétiques*, 185-86 (Jan.-June 1990), pp. 97-100.

3.28. "A Poesia de Mário de Sá-Carneiro: Tragedia sem Suporte". *Colóquio/Letras*, nos. 117-18 (Sept. -Dec. 1990), pp.153-55.

3.29. "Realism and the Romantic Intrusion: The Fiction of Eça de Queiroz and Machado de Assis". *Portuguese Studies*, 10 (1994), pp. 72-84.

3.30. "Sobre a Poesia de Luís Amorim de Sousa: Algumas Observações".

*Tabacaria*, no. 8 (Summer 1999), pp. 84-85.

3.31. “Maria da Graça Amado da Cunha: Uma Grande Pianista”. *JL: Jornal de Letras, Artes e Ideias*, 21 (4 to 18 April 2001), pp. 38-39.

3.32. “Cartas [to Luís Amorim de Sousa]”. Ed. Luís Amorim de Sousa, *Jornal de Letras* (2-15 Jan. 2008), p.16.

#### **4. Contributions to Periodicals, Books, etc. (poems)**

4.1. “Princípio,” “Andar Contigo,” “Destino,” “Lago,” “Narciso,” and “Ver-te”. *Tavola Redonda*, fascículo 1 (1950) [p. 7].

4.2. “Dois,” “Bibe Rasgado,” and “Imagem”. *Tavola Redonda*, fascículo 5 (1950) [p. 1].

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4.5. “Poema”. *Arvore*, I (Autumn 1951), p. 53.

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4.10. “Who” (translated by the author). *The Listener*, 55 (Jan. 12, 1956), p.50.

4.11. “Arcano,” “A Uma Prostituta,” and “Lugar Comun”. *Pentacórnio* (Dec. 31, 1956), p. 19.

4.12. «Douze Poèmes» [«Le tigre qui marche dans mes gestes,» «Mon silence garde à jamais,» «Sereinement comme la mer inonde,» «Corps à

corps, lutte --,» «Rue sans jambes et sans bras,» «Ce que la vie refuse, assise, de profil,» «Clair-Obscur,» «Quel ange, quelle porte, quel long silence,» «Scherzo,» «Les navires, ce sont des rythmes,» «A Une Prostituée, «Il y a toujours beaucoup de monde dans mes poèmes] (trans. into French by Henri Thomas and the author). *Botteghe Oscure*, Quaderno XX (Roma: Via della Botteghe Oscure, 32, 1957), pp. 98-192.

4.13. “Ma Chanson de Paris”. *Colóquio - Revista de Artes e Letras*, Nos. 5 and 6 (Nov. 1959), p. 88.

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4.15. “Lago Niassa.” *A Voz de Moçambique* (Jan. 31, 1963), p. 6.

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4.17. “Inedit Poem” (translation by Luís Amorim de Sousa). *Agenda*, 6 (Autumn-Winter 1968), p. 56.

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4.25. “New York.” *Gávea-Brown*, 1, no. 1 (Jan.-June 1980), p. 28.

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Filhos cegos dos gregos,  
a noite de seu Dia é que nos vê.

Alberto de Lacerda

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13.43. Ana Vitória, "Findou-se 'a vertigem solar' do poeta Alberto de Lacerda." *Jornal de Notícias* (Aug. 26, 2007). <http://jn.sapo.pt/2007/08/28/cultura>

13.44. "O Poeta Expatriado." *Da Literatura* (Aug. 28, 2007). <http://daliteatura.blogspot.com>

13.45.1. Miguel Mora "Alberto de Lacerda." *El País* (Sept. 1, 2007) [www.elpais.com/articulo/agenda/ Alberto/Lacerda/poeta/](http://www.elpais.com/articulo/agenda/Alberto/Lacerda/poeta/)

13.46. John McEwen, "Alberto de Lacerda: Acclaimed Poet, Artist and Critic." *The Independent* (Sept. 4, 2007); reprinted (in Portuguese) as "Retrato do Poeta." *Jornal de Letras* (2-15 Jan. 2008), pp. 14-15. [www.independent.co.uk/news/obituaries](http://www.independent.co.uk/news/obituaries)

13.47. "Letteratura: è morto il poeta Alberto de Lacerda." *Vita.it* (Sept. 5, 2007) [www.vita.it/artiulo/index.php3](http://www.vita.it/artiulo/index.php3)

13.48. "Alberto de Lacerda, Poet." *Washington Post* (Sept. 10, 2007), p. B06.

13.49. [Luis Amorim de Sousa], "Alberto de Lacerda." *London Times* (Sept. 27, 2007). <http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tal/comment/obituaries>

13.50. D. E. P., "El casual encuentro como método de perfeccionar la vida." *El blog de José Andrés Prieto* (Oct. 9, 2007). <http://blogs.perio->

disudig.com/josenadresprieto.php

13.51. “Alberto de Lacerda, 1928-2007.” *Da Literatura* [2007].  
<http://daliteratura.blogspot.com/search/label/In%20Memoriam>

13.52. Eugénio Lisboa, “Luís Amorim de Sousa, ‘Conversar é divino.’” *Jornal de Letras* (10-23 Oct. 2007), p. 23.

13.53. Jhumpa Lahiri, “Closing the Circle.” *Poetry* (Jan. 2008), 191: 364-66. [www.encyclopedia.com/doc](http://www.encyclopedia.com/doc)

13.54. Jhumpa Lahiri, “Alberto de Lacerda: A Remembrance.” *Agni*, no. 67 (2008): 220-25.

13.55. Gregory Cowles, “The Shoulders of Giants.” *Paper Cuts: A Blog About Books* (April 3, 2008). <http://papercuts.blogs.nytimes.com/2008/04/03/the-shoulders-of-giants>

13.56. Luís Amorim de Sousa, “O Último Encontro.” *Jornal de Letras* (2-15 Jan. 2008), p. 15.

13.57. [Luís Amorim de Sousa.] “Hipótese de ‘Casa’ em Cascais: O ‘Acervo’ de Lacerda.” *Jornal de Letras* (2-15 Jan. 2008), p. 15.

13.58. [Manuel Bandeira], “Uma Casa ‘Fantástica.’” *Jornal de Letras*

13.59. “Letteratura: è morto il poeta Alberto de Lacerda.” *Vita.it* (Feb. 11, 2008). <http://vita.it/articolo/index.php3?NEWSID>

13.60. “Remembering Alberto de Lacerda.” *Poets.org*, Feb. 2008. [www.poets.org/viewevent.php/prmEventID](http://www.poets.org/viewevent.php/prmEventID)

13.61. “Alberto de Lacerda.” *Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia* [en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alberto\\_de\\_Lacerda](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alberto_de_Lacerda)

13.62. David Watmough, “Alberto de Lacerda.” *Myself Through Others: Memoirs* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 2008), pp. 91-94.

13.63. Alexandre Pomar, “Colecções 5/28/2009: Alberto Lacerda, Londres, uma Colecção, Duas Colecções.” <http://alexandrepoem.typepad.com>

13.64. Luís Amorim de Sousa, “A Note for English Speakers,” 2009. <http://www.fmsoares.pt/aeb/dossier14/english.asp>

13.65. *Colecção Alberto de Lacerda – Um Olhar* (Lisbon: Assirio e Alvim, 2009).

13.66. Adrian Dannatt, “Alberto de Lacerda: A Poet Amongst Artists” [review of the exhibition “Insolent Grace”] *artcritical*, [www.artcritical.com/2011/05/04/alberto\\_de\\_lacerda](http://www.artcritical.com/2011/05/04/alberto_de_lacerda)

13.67. *Such Conjunctions: Robert Duncan, Jess, and Alberto de Lacerda*. Ed. Luis Amorim de Sousa and Mary Porter de Sousa (Buffalo: BlzaVO, 2014).

13.68. Scott Laughlin, “The Strange Question of Alberto de Lacerda.” *Post Road*, Issue 25 (2014), [www.postroadmag.com/25/recommends/laughlin.phtml](http://www.postroadmag.com/25/recommends/laughlin.phtml)

## **14. Poems**

14.1. Alexandre O’Neill, “A um Poeta ‘ausente’.” *Vertice* (Mar. 1952).

14.2. António Ramos Rosa, “ Alberto de Lacerda, ‘A metamorfoses do Orfeu-I (elogios a oito poetas portugueses),’” *JL: Jornal de Letras* (Aug. 3, 1994), p. 19.

14.3. George Monteiro, “Who Stands Next to Alberto?” *Comunidades*, Feb. 25, 2015. <http://ww1.rtp.pt/icmblogs/rtp/comunidades>

## **15. Thesis**

15.1. Luísa Manuela Quirino Rosa da Cunha Borges, *Alberto de Lacerda: Arte Amorosa, Arte Poética*. Dissertação de Mestrado em Literatura e Cultura Portuguesas, Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas, Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 1990.

## **16. Books Dedicated to Alberto de Lacerda**

16.1. Edith Sitwell (compiler), *Swinburne: A Selection*. New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1960.

16.2. Arthur Waley, *Ballads and Stories from Tun-Huang: An Anthology*. London: George Allen & Unwin, 1960.

16.3. Anne Beresford, *The Curving Shore*. London: Agenda Editions,

1975.

## **17. Poems Dedicated to (or about) Alberto de Lacerda**

17.1. Edith Sitwell, "The Yellow Girl." *The Listener*, vol. 6, no. 1577 (June 18, 1959), p. 1058; *Atlantic Monthly*, vol. 210, no. 5 (Nov. 1962), p. 64. Reprinted in Sitwell collections: *The Outcasts* (London: Macmillan, 1962); *Selected Poems*, chosen by John Lehmann (London: Macmillan, 1965), pp. 36-37; *Collected Poems of Edith Sitwell* (New York: Vanguard, 1968), p. 413.

17.2. Edith Sitwell, "Song." *Collected Poems of Edith Sitwell* (New York: Vanguard, 1968), pp. 438-39.

17.3. Jorge de Sena, "Ode a Alberto de Lacerda." *40 Anos de Servidão* (Lisbon: 1979; 2d ed., rev. 1982), p. 73.

17.4. Carlos Drummond de Andrade, [an untitled inscription poem]. *Alberto de Lacerda: O Mundo de um Poeta* (Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian/ Centro de Arte Moderna, May 1987).

17.5. Manuel Bandeira, "Elegia de Londres." *Estrela da Vida Inteira* (Rio de Janeiro: José Olympio, 1988), p. 241.

## **18. Sound Recording**

18.1. *Portuguese poet Alberto de Lacerda reading from his work*, 1977. LC Call no. Lalo 9835.

## **19. Letter**

19. 1. Excerpt, José Régio to Alberto de Lacerda, 31 May 1949. *Páginas do Diário Intimo*, 2nd ed., intro. Eugénio Lisboa (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional – Casa da Moeda, 2000), pp. 145-46.

## **20. Mss in Archives**

20.1. Letters, etc. at Stanford University. To Nathaniel Tarn: 16 letters, 8 postcards; 35 pages & copy including 5 original typescript translation of Pessoa with hologr. Notes by Lacerda; 2 original photos of Lacerda and Tarn in Boston; hologr. Notes by Tarn on Lacerda, 1957-72. [http://www.sul.stanford.edu/depts/hasrg/ablit/amerlit/Tarn\\_correspondence.html](http://www.sul.stanford.edu/depts/hasrg/ablit/amerlit/Tarn_correspondence.html)

20.2. A. de Lacerda letters (1955-60) among the Bryher Papers, Beinecke Library of Rare Books and Manuscripts, Yale University.

20.3. Ms, translation of Jorge de Sena's review of Edith Sitwell's poetry, Edith Sitwell Papers, Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, University of Texas, Austin, Texas.

20.4. "Coleção Alberto de Lacerda." Fundação Mário Soares. Lisbon, Portugal.

## **APPENDIX: LEADS AND NOTES**

1. French translation of Lacerda poem(s?) in Belgian journal *Jornal des Poètes*?
2. Lacerda poem(s) translated by Octavio Paz for his journal *Vuelta*?
3. Lacerda poem(s) translated by Jorge Guillén in his book *Y otros poemas*?
4. Lacerda contributions to *Portucale* (beginning before 1953)?
5. Alberto de Lacerda, "As Velhinhas Inglesas." *Diário de Noticias* (Lisbon) (pages? date?)
6. Fernando J. B. Martinho says he devotes eight pages or so to Alberto de Lacerda's poetry in the 1950s in his tese de licenciatura (or is it his doctoral dissertation?) – a copy of which he says can be found at the Faculdade de Letras, Universidade de Lisboa. Martinho suggests checking at the Faculdade (Centro de Estudos Portugueses?) or at the Biblioteca Nacional. Thinks the former the better bet.
7. Check out crônicas by Manuel Bandeira (displayed by Lacerda at the Centro de Arte Moderna in 1987): (1) "Correio do Craveiro." *Jornal do Brasil* (1957?); (2) "Alberto de Lacerda"; and (3) "Chelsea."
8. In *Edith Sitwell: Selected Letters*, E.S. writes to Mary Campbell (23 Sept. 1957): "I am furious that what I wrote of him [Roy Campbell] and gave to Alberto (at his request) to translate into Portuguese, was never printed. Neither he nor I know why" (p. 217). Published?
9. Poem by David Wevill dedicated to Lacerda (see *Alberto de Lacerda: O Mundo de um Poeta* [Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian/ Centro

- de Arte Moderna, May 1987)).
10. Listed in the Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa is *O Mundo Português* (José Monteiro Cardoso, José de Oliveira Boléo, Alberto Nery Capucho, and Alberto Correia de Lacerda). 3 ed. Braga: Cruz, 1958.
  11. A. de L. helped Sophia de Mello Breyner Andresen select her bibliography (Bibliography de Sophia de Mello Breyner Andresen, 140-141 Avr. Sept. 1996. Title of journal? Pages nos.?)
  12. Under Obras Publicadas on web, we find:  
*Poesia em Moçambique*, 1951 (Moçambique);  
*Monografia de Moçambique*, 1971;  
*No Reino de Caliban III*, 1986.  
 I have not traced these.
  13. In 1980, when Josef Skvrecky won the Neustadt Prize, Luis Amorim de Sousa, serving as a juror that year, nominated Alberto de Lacerda.
  14. Untraced: A. de L. contribution to *L'Arc*, no. 73 (Francis Bacon).
  15. Untraced, two translations by Alexis Levitin: "The Quotidian in Majesty." *Verse* (1996? 1997?) and "Students." *Confrontation* (date?)
  16. In *Oceanos* Jan/Mar 1996, no. 23, there is a ref. to de Lacerda in "Mapeamento Onírico para a descoberta da 'Rua do Fogo'" by Luís Carlos Patraquim.
  17. Boston address: Alberto de Lacerda, 214 Bay State Road, Boston, MA 02215 (phone: 617 266 0362)
  18. "Quatorze Poemas." *Esprit* (1963-1973), pp. 1040-45.
  19. Poetry (trans. Anthony Rudolf) included in *Mother Tongues* (Mar. 2001). (*Mother Tongues* continues *Modern Poetry in Translation*.)
  20. Elizabeth Bishop to Emmanuel Brasil, Tuesday AM [no other date or place] – letter at Vassar College]: "Oh – Lacerda's 'marvellous' [sic] review has appeared in some University Quarterly – he said he'd put it in my mail-box, but hasn't yet. The one rejected by the NY Times – I have been so mean to poor Alberto – who wanted me to have dinner with him NOW! – after I've ignored him all year – I'm amazed he still wanted to publish the review. If it comes before I go I'll try to send that – and anything that turns up about the BOOK [*Anthology of Twentieth-Century Brazilian Poetry* (1972)]. But maybe the Academy gets everything anyway?" Luis Amorim de Sousa tells me that de Lacerda's

- review appeared in the *Boston University Journal*.
21. In *Delos*, 1 (1968), 241, A. de L. is listed as working on translating "Pessoa, Fernando. Poems". Did he publish more translations of Pessoa than the few (done in collaboration with David Wevill) published in *Delos*, 5 (1970), 138-45?
  22. There are translations of A. De L.'s poems in two Mexican anthologies: *Antologia breve de la poesia portuguesa del siglo XX*. Ed. Mario Morales Castro (México: Instituto Polytécnico Nacional, 1997); and *Antologia de poesia portuguesa contemporânea*. Ed. Fernando Pinto do Amaral (México: Editorial Aldus e Universidade Nacional do México, 1998).
  23. "Triumph" (poem translated into German) <http://mitglied.lycos.de/beschka/inhalt/trlacerda.htm>
  24. "B.B.C. Broadcasts." *The Times Weekly Review*: Feb. 14, 1957, p. 14 (Feb. 17-23)  
Lists for "Friday" (the "Letter from London," by A. de Lacerda (22 Feb.) Feb. 16, 1956, p. 14  
"Letter from London" "Alberto de Lacerda"  
A. Lacerda  
"Arts Magazine." *Times Weekly Review* (Sept. 9, 1954), p. 16 A. Lacerda (Oct. 7, 1954), p. 14.
  25. Fernando J. B. Martinho, "Petarca na Poesia Portuguesa Contemporânea." *Letras*. (date? pages?) [http://www.triplov.com/letras/petrarca\\_02.htm](http://www.triplov.com/letras/petrarca_02.htm)
  26. Fernando J. B. Martinho has something on A. de L. in *Biblios*, II, pp. 1324-26.  
Additional bibliographical information would be useful.
  27. "Ilha de Moçambique" and "Austin Revisited." *Jornal de Poesia*. <http://www.secrel.com.br/jpoesia,alsO.3.html>
  28. There is an entry on A. de L. in *Dicionario Cronológico de Autores Portugueses*, V, 596-98. Further bibliographical information required.
  29. There is an entry on A. de L. in *Dicionario de Literatura Portuguesa*, pp. 257-58. Further bibliographical information required.



*IDENTITY MATTERS: NOTAS PARA UMA (IN)DEFINIÇÃO DE  
IDENTIDADE‘INGLESA’NO RELATO SOBRE A CONQUISTA  
DE LISBOA (1147)*

*Miguel Alarcão (FCSH-UNL/CETAPS)*

À/em memória de Luís Krus (1954-2005)

**Palavras prévias:**

Quinze anos atrás, tivemos o grato prazer de convidar o Professor Doutor Luís Krus para participar no I Congresso Internacional de Estudos Anglo-Portugueses (6-8 de Maio de 2001) organizado pela unidade de investigação antepassada do actual CETAPS. A resposta, afirmativa, traduzir-se-ia numa comunicação intitulada “Dom Gilberto, o bispo inglês de Afonso Henriques”.<sup>1</sup> Contudo, e apesar de diversas tentativas nesse sentido, não nos foi nunca possível recolher e publicar o respectivo texto; e a morte – a todos os títulos, prematura... – de Luís Krus terá inviabilizado, talvez para sempre, a localização do mesmo, como se depreende da sua não inclusão no volume de publicações e inéditos editado pelo Instituto de Estudos Medievais (Krus, 2011), do qual foi fundador e primeiro Director.

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<sup>1</sup> Curiosamente, a chefia da diocese lisboeta, por Gilbert of Hastings, entre 1147/48 e 1162 (vejam-se, sobre este ponto, as notas aduzidas por José da Felicidade Alves in José Augusto de Oliveira, trad., 93, n.50, Aires A. Nascimento, ed., 173-174, n.201 e Charles Wendell David, ed., 178-180, n.5), é parcialmente contemporânea do único pontificado exercido por um Papa inglês (Adriano IV, 1154-1159), um aspecto merecedor de mais investigação por parte de historiadores e paleógrafos especialistas ou interessados nas relações diplomáticas afonsinas com a Santa Sé.

Esta nossa incursão por temáticas afins visa, pois, homenagear o Colega (mas sobretudo o Amigo) na passagem do 10º aniversário do seu desaparecimento físico.

## I

Parece-me que a problematização da ‘identidade’ é a questão central dos estudos de cultura contemporâneos.<sup>2</sup> A palavra serve inúmeros propósitos de análise, quer se fale no texto literário, quer em outras manifestações e representações do cultural e do social. ‘Identidade’ masculina ou feminina, ‘identidade’ social com a classe ou grupo a que se ‘pertence’, ‘identidade’ étnica ou (...) religiosa – a palavra cobre um vasto espectro de *assumptions* sobre aquilo que é comum a vários sujeitos, ou ‘identifica’ como membros de um grupo, e os distingue de outros. (Faria 159)

Não sendo nosso objectivo retomar aqui, a propósito – ou a pretexto – de qualquer “universal” a que chamemos hoje “identidade”,<sup>3</sup> as vetustas querelas medievais entre “nominalismo” e “realismo”, os filósofos e os linguistas saberão, melhor do que nós, testar a tese de que tal como a realidade precede a linguagem, os referentes antecedem os significantes que os nomeiam. A ser assim, é possível argumentar que, enquanto conceito e/ou objecto de estudo, a “identidade” de que nos fala Luísa Leal de Faria antecederá também, com esse ou outro nome, a atenção que os “estudos de cultura contemporâneos” merecidamente lhe dedicam.<sup>4</sup> Até que ponto não será, pois,

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<sup>2</sup> Chris Barker corrobora esta ideia, ao escrever: “The anti-essentialist conception of identities that understands them in terms of discursive constructs is the dominant strain of thinking in contemporary cultural studies.” (243)

<sup>3</sup> Ainda segundo Barker, “identities are not things that exist; they have no essential or universal qualities. Rather, they are discursive constructions, (...), made, rather than found, by representations, notably language.” (*Ibidem* 11); “Identity is our creation. It is something always in process, a moving towards rather than an arrival.” (*Ibidem* 217), “(...) not a fixed thing that we possess, but a becoming.” (*Ibidem* 245) Esta componente dinâmica, em permanente devir, é também acentuada por John Storey, ao apresentar identidade “(...) not as something fixed and coherent, but as something constructed and always in a process of becoming, but never complete – as much about the future as the past. Most significantly of all, it is a concept (...) constituted in history and culture and not something inherited from nature. It is also a formulation in which the concept (...) itself is replaced by the concept of identities, that is, multiple and mobile identities.” (79)

<sup>4</sup> A inexistência de um verbete próprio em *Keywords* (1976), de Raymond Williams (1924-1988), é um tanto surpreendente; em contrapartida, são inúmeros os pensadores, teorizadores e analistas de cultura, britânicos e não só, que, no âmbito, entre outros, dos estudos filosóficos, sociológicos e de cultura, têm vindo a reflectir e escrever sobre identidade(s), como, além dos citados na nota precedente, Paul Ricoeur

legítima uma leitura identitária do relato inglês anónimo sobre a conquista de Lisboa – o mais extenso de todos os produzidos<sup>5</sup> e cuja importância é assinalada pelo Professor José Mattoso<sup>6</sup> – com vista à determinação de possíveis sinais de uma identidade ‘inglesa’ em meados do séc. XII?<sup>7</sup>

Embora largamente dilucidadas, graças sobretudo aos estudos assinados por Rui de Azevedo e Harold V. Livermore,<sup>8</sup> questões como as da autoria e datação do texto *De Expugnatione Lyxbonensi*<sup>9</sup> merecem ainda uma rápida evocação. Socorrer-nos-emos aqui, para as edições/traduições portuguesas consultadas, dos paratextos de José da Felicidade Alves (in José Augusto de Oliveira, trad., 7-13) e Maria João V. Branco (in Aires A. Nascimento, ed., 9-51), bem como dos de Jonathan

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(1913-2005), Stuart Hall (1932-2014), Elaine Showalter (1941-), Eli Hirsh (?-), Bellhooks (1952-), Judith Butler (1956-), etc.

<sup>5</sup> Carta de Duodechino (ou Dudechino), padre de Lahnstein, a Cuno (ou Cuono), 4º abade do Mosteiro de Disibodenberg (versão latina in Pimenta, ed., I, 124-130); relatório anónimo atribuído ao colonense Vinando (versão latina in *ibidem* 131-132); e carta do flamengo Arnulfo a Milo (ou Milão), Bispo de Théroanne (versão portuguesa in *ibidem* 133-140); pelas suas semelhanças, estes três textos compõem aquilo que Charles Wendell David (49) designou de “fonte teutónica”. Curiosamente, Théroanne fica a pouco mais de 50 km de Boulogne-sur-Mer, de onde Stephen (1139-1154), o monarca inglês coevo da conquista de Lisboa, havia largado para tomar o trono de sua prima Matilda (ver *infra*, 11-12) e a auto-estrada que, a oriente, ladeia a cidade (A26) é ainda hoje conhecida como *Autoroute des Anglais*.

<sup>6</sup> “O relato da conquista de Lisboa (...) pelo cruzado anglo-normando (...) é um dos documentos mais emblemáticos de toda a historiografia medieval relativa a Portugal. Quem o lê não pode deixar de ficar impressionado pelo contraste que o opõe a todas as fontes medievais portuguesas até hoje conhecidas. (...) Nenhuma fonte portuguesa permite uma reconstituição dos factos com um rigor comparável com o da conquista de Lisboa.” (*D. Afonso Henriques* 239)

<sup>7</sup> Uma questão análoga é formulada por Maria João V. Branco, ao escrever: “Is it acceptable to apply the label ‘foreign or international relations’ to the complex process of inter-institutional relationships which united the men of power of that time [12<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> centuries] in associations that involved tacit and explicit agreements of all kinds, without falling into the anachronism of trying to define them as something which in their time they never were? There is a total absence of appropriate terminology to describe how the men of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries conceived of this relationship and of its place in their thinking.”(231)

<sup>8</sup> Agradecemos à Doutora Patricia Anne Odber de Baubeta (Universidade de Birmingham) o prontíssimo envio deste artigo em suporte electrónico.

<sup>9</sup> Texto incluído no manuscrito 470 (fos. 125r-146r) da biblioteca do *Corpus Christi College*, Cambridge, referido por um tal Cooperem 1832 como “Expeditio francorum, anglorum et variarum nationum...” (*On Public Records*, I, 166), transcrito por N. E. Hamilton e publicado em 1861 (ou 1856?) como “Crucesignati [ou Concesignati?] anglici Epistola de Expugnatione et Olisiponis” em *Portugaliae Monumenta Historica – Scriptores* (391-405) e por William Stubbs em 1864-65, nas *Chronicles and Memorials of the Reign of Richard I* (cxlii-clxxxii). As datações e titulações dubitativamente colocadas entre parênteses são da responsabilidade de José da Felicidade Alves (7) e divergem das fornecidas por Charles Wendell David(48) e Maria João V. Branco (42, n.17).

Phillips (in Charles Wendell David, ed., xi-xxxiii) e do próprio David (in *ibidem* 3-51) para a sua congénere em língua inglesa, a única existente até à data. Tendo em conta a componente anglística da Revista e o desejo de não optar entre (as) duas traduções portuguesas, tomaremos aqui como fonte primária a edição bilingue (em latim e inglês), originalmente publicada pelo professor e investigador norte-americano C. W. David (1885-1984) em 1936 e reeditada em 2001.

No que toca à autoria de *De Expugnatione Lyxbonensi*,<sup>10</sup> apenas identificável pela inicial “R”, estamos já muito longe da posição expressa, em meados dos anos 30, por José Augusto de Oliveira, ao notar: “ (...) o mistério continua a envolver, denso e pesado, essa velha figura da História, que se nos oculta e nos escapa dentro do mutismo esfingico duma consoante.” (Anónimo, *Conquista*, 1936, 167) De facto, graças à investigação desenvolvida sobretudo pelo Professor Harold Livermore, é hoje consensual a atribuição do texto ao padre ou presbítero Raul (Raol, em inglês),<sup>11</sup> capelão das forças anglo-normandas acampadas na zona ocidental do arrabalde (Monte Fragoso ou de S. Francisco) e chefiadas, entre outros,<sup>12</sup> por Hervey de Glanvill,<sup>13</sup> membro de uma família influente de East Anglia e responsável pelos homens

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<sup>10</sup> Recorde-se que, ainda em 1935 (i.e., um ano antes do aparecimento da edição de David), H. A. R. Gibb apresenta Osberno como o autor (e não o receptor) do relato manuscrito (in Prestage, ed., 5 e 10). Na *Crónica do Cerco de Lisboa* (1989), de José Saramago (1922-2010), romance intertextualmente unido à reedição coetânea da tradução de José Augusto de Oliveira, pode ler-se: “(...) Osberno, entrado na imortalidade das letras graças ao cerco e tomada de Lisboa e às histórias que deles se contaram (...)” (39).

<sup>11</sup> Ao longo do tempo, a bibliografia disponível sobre a tomada de Lisboa e o relato em apreço tem-nos oferecido outros nomes possíveis, como Ranulf, Randolph, etc. Vale a pena evocar de novo, sobre este ponto, a inimitável prosa saramaguiana: “Quem é indubitavelmente estrangeiro (...) é aquele frade ruivo e sardento (...) a quem agora mesmo ouvimos chamar Rogeiro, mas que realmente tem por nome Roger, o que deixaria em aberto a questão de ser ele inglês ou normando, se não fosse ela despicienda para o assunto que nos ocupa. Avisara-o o bispo do Porto de que estivesse pronto para escrever, o que significa que veio Roger ou Rogeiro de cronista, como agora se evidencia ao sacar ele dos alforjes os materiais de escrita, só os estiletos e as tabuinhas, já que como menear da mula se derramaria a tinta e esparramaria a letra (...)” (191).

No tocante aos ermitões da Serra de Ossa contemporâneos do início da nacionalidade, escreve o cisterciense Frei António Brandão (1584-1637): “Passados alguns anos e correndo a fama da santa vida que faziam aqueles [sic] santos ermitões, se retirou à mesma serra um cavaleiro principal da milícia de Évora (...) e se dizia Fernão de Anes, o qual levou consigo um capelão chamado Rogeiro, de nação irlandês, e devia ser dos eclesiásticos que vieram na armada inglesa ao cerco de Lisboa.” (147)

<sup>12</sup> Simão (Simon) de Dover, comandante dos barcos de Kent, um tal André (Andrew), dos de Londres e Sahério (Saher) de Ar(s)chelle(s), de todos os restantes.

<sup>13</sup> Nome também ocasionalmente grafado como Hervé, Herveo ou Herveu de Glanville, embora, por razões de uniformidade e coerência, utilizemos sempre as grafias adoptadas por C. W. David.

de Norfolk e Suffolk. Além da composição do relato, R(aul) teria construído uma pequena ermida ou capela no local de sepultamento dos cruzados ingleses,<sup>14</sup> dedicando-a à Virgem Maria e doando-a posteriormente ao Mosteiro de Santa Cruz em Coimbra e aos cônegos regrantes de Santo Agostinho nele residentes, conforme carta traduzida e transcrita na edição de Aires A. Nascimento (202-205). Quanto ao destinatário, “Osborne De Baldr.”, crê-se que teria sido Osberno (ou Osberto) de Bawdsey,<sup>15</sup> possivelmente um religioso próximo da família Glanvill.

Em termos de datação, o texto constante do manuscrito de Cambridge será muito provavelmente uma cópia redigida na 2ª metade do século XII (Livermore 3), quiçá nas décadas de 1160 ou 1170 (Phillipsin Charles Wendell David, trad., xxi), a partir de um original que se perdeu, mas decerto contemporâneo da própria conquista de Lisboa, dada a inclusão de discursos proferidos por diferentes personalidades durante a campanha. Subsistem, no entanto, algumas dúvidas, como refere David na sua introdução:

On paleographical grounds the manuscript should (...) be assigned to the second half of the twelfth century, and more probably to the fourth quarter than to the third; but (...) the possibility that the manuscript is actually contemporary with the events which it records should perhaps be allowed, as should also the possibility that it belongs to the early years of the thirteenth century.(32)<sup>16</sup>

(...) the existing manuscript of *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi* is almost certainly not the original of a news letter written from Lisbon at the time of the siege, but a copy made at some later date (...). But if this be the case, where and under what circumstances was the text produced of which it is a copy? And is the text as it exists today substantially in the form in which it was originally written, or has it been subjected to a later revision? (*Ibidem* 36)

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<sup>14</sup> Na zona da actual Igreja de Nossa Senhora dos Mártires, ao Chiado, muito próximo, portanto, do acampamento.

<sup>15</sup> Povoação de Suffolk, situada ligeiramente a Nordeste do porto de Felixstowe.

<sup>16</sup> Esta possibilidade de alargamento ao início do século XIII é também avançada por Rui de Azevedo, ao escrever, respaldado noutros especialistas: “ (...) parece-me dever renunciar-se definitivamente à hipótese de que o exemplar existente (...) seja o arquétipo elaborado em Lisboa em 1147. Não pode (...) haver dúvidas de que o Manuscrito está escrito numa letra de pequeno formato, usada em códices, muito vulgar em Inglaterra à volta de 1200, devendo a feitura deste não ser anterior a 1180 nem posterior a 1220.” (*Apud* José da Felicidade Alves in José Augusto de Oliveira, trad., 10)

A tradução que utilizamos, copiosamente anotada por C. W. David, surge enriquecida por um prefácio de Jonathan Phillips, um dos principais historiadores da mal sucedida 2ª Cruzada (1146-1148), marcada pela derrota cristã nas estradas de Damasco e na qual a tomada de Lisboa se integra,<sup>17</sup> conforme nos recorda “um épico de outrora”, na expressão de Cesário Verde (1855-1886):

Lá do Germânico Álbis e do Reno  
E da fria Bretanha conduzidos,  
A destruir o povo Sarraceno  
Muitos com tenção santa eram partidos.  
Entrando a boca já do Tejo ameno,  
Co arraial do grande Afonso unidos,  
Cuja alta fama então subia aos céus,  
Foi posto cerco aos muros Ulisseus.  
(*Os Lusíadas*, III, estr. 58)

Em contexto peninsular ou ibérico, este duelo entre a Cruz e o Crescente enquadra-se, de facto, nas campanhas de reconquista dos territórios hispânicos ocupados pelos Mouros desde o séc. VIII (Guadalete, 711); e, no especificamente português, de expansão afonsina do reino,<sup>18</sup> do Médio em direcção ao Baixo Tejo, apoiada pelo Papado (Eugénio III, 1145-1153),<sup>19</sup> na ins-

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<sup>17</sup> “The only success which emerged from this otherwise disastrous crusade was an expedition in which the English played a prominent part” (Poole149) ou, na sugestiva imagem de Pedro Gomes Barbosa, “Do naufrágio que foi a Segunda Cruzada, esta acção militar [a conquista de Lisboa] foi a tábua que conseguiu flutuar” (82). O mesmo autor proferiu, sobre este tema, uma conferência integrada no I Curso “As Cruzadas”, organizado pelo Centro de História da Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Lisboa entre 18 de Fevereiro e 18 de Março do corrente ano.

<sup>18</sup> “The conquest of Lisbon is an event of capital importance, not only in the history of Portugal, but in the history of the West. It ensured the survival of what had hitherto been an extended county, over which Afonso Henriques had assumed the title of Rex Portugalensium [sic] some seven years earlier. (...) It was perhaps the only positive achievement of the Second Crusade.” (Livermore 1) Páginas adiante, o insigne historiador reitera esta ideia, ao escrever: “Although the conquest of Lisbon was the most, if not the only, enduring achievement of the Second Crusade, the connection between the two undertakings remains insufficiently explored.” (*Ibidem* 8) Manda, porém, a verdade que se acrescente que este reparo perdeu actualidade face à edição eruditíssima de *De Expugnatione Lyxbonensi* por A. A. Nascimento, enriquecida pelo texto introdutório de Maria João V. Branco.

<sup>19</sup> Tenham-se aqui em conta, adaptadas à balbuciente nação portuguesa, as palavras de Guy Hermet: “ (...) por um efeito (...) da sua táctica, que consistia em mostrar alguma complacência no fortalecimento dos pequenos reinos periféricos que bloqueavam a expansão do Santo Império, a Inglaterra e a França em particular, a Igreja contribuiu involuntariamente para a consolidação das primeiras monarquias em vias de seculari-

piração teocrática e nas prêdicas de S. Bernardo, o abade cisterciense de Claraval (1090-1153), autor da célebre carta 308 a Afonso Henriques,<sup>20</sup> e nas então ainda recentes ordens militares, como nota Maria João Branco na sua introdução:

(...) no caso do rei português, a estratégia (...) basear-se-ia (...) na tentativa de alicerçar (...) um reconhecimento pontifício na prossecução (...) de uma luta de conquista bem sucedida, que serviria os interesses da monarquia nascente, porque lhe conferiria uma legitimidade inquestionável, e (...) os interesses do papado, que necessitava de afirmar a sua superioridade sobre os poderes temporais.

(...)

A guerra de conquista (...) iria ser a base em que se fundamentaria toda a acção diplomática (...), tendo em vista reclamar para Afonso Henriques o direito a ser reconhecido como rei, (...) por causa do inquestionável sinal do favor divino: a vitória ininterrupta sobre o infiel. Missão sagrada, apoio divino, direito ao território conquistado e à soberania sobre ele, por servir a Deus e (...) a Roma, como *miles Petri*.

(...)

durante os anos de 1136 a 1142, o esforço de fixação e conquista, apoiado pelos cavaleiros templários, é prodigamente recompensado com privilégios régios, cartas de protecção e forais e pela construção de uma linha de fortificações defensivas que protegiam a linha do Mondego e Coimbra, (...) Para que a segurança dessa linha pudesse ser mais estável, urgia prosseguir a conquista territorial para Sul e aplicar à linha do Tejo o mesmo tipo de estratégia que se aplicara à do Mondego. É nesse contexto que a tomada de Santarém e Lisboa (...) era tão vital para um rei que parecia traçar o seu percurso a régua e esquadro. (in Aires A. Nascimento, ed., 24-25 *passim*)<sup>21</sup>

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zação (...). Em virtude da sua tolerância (...) que visava dividir para reinar, ajudou-os a temperar a força de uma legitimidade política extra-religiosa, por sua vez geradora de identidades pré-nacionais para as quais os soberanos agiram com método.

(...) é não menos razoável pensar, por outro lado, que as 'identidades de estado' dotadas de uma certa coerência tiveram mais oportunidade de se afirmar em países de tamanho pequeno ou médio do que em imensidades niveladas na aparência apenas por autoridades monolíticas." (29-30 *passim*)

<sup>20</sup> Sobre este documento e assunto, vejam-se, por exemplo, Oliveira, Livermore 9-12, Maria João Branco in Aires A. Nascimento, ed., 26-27 e Mattoso, *D. Afonso Henriques* 232-234.

<sup>21</sup> A data do início do 'proto-reinado' (ou, pelo menos, da governação) de D. Afonso Henriques (1109-1185) poderá variar, consoante as fontes, entre 1128 (vitória do moço infante em S. Mamede sobre os partidários de D. Teresa), 1139 (ano da tão discutida ba-

ou, páginas adiante,

O feito surge indissoluvelmente ligado à luta do primeiro rei português para afirmar a soberania do seu domínio, interna e externamente, no aspecto político, material e simbólico. Reflete o conhecimento profundo e actualizado (...) das estratégias mais adequadas para alcançar algum eco político do esforço bélico com base no qual Afonso Henriques consolidara as suas pretensões (...) A construção do reino e do rei far-se-ia aliando a prática à teoria, (...) a conquista territorial no terreno à busca de um reconhecimento que (...) o legitimasse em termos mais perenes do que aqueles que decorriam (...) do sucesso militar de um *dux*. (in *ibidem* 35)<sup>22</sup>

Com efeito, no quadro ideológico subjacente à teorização e formulação doutrinárias de “guerras justas” e das “guerras santas” – as *jihads* cristãs? –, “ (...) fighting in the península could be a part of the journey to the earthly Jerusalem, and perhaps, in an allegorical sense, to the heavenly one as well.” (Phillips in Charles Wendell David, ed., xv) Dito de outro modo: se bem que num plano e numa escala mais geográfico-espacialmente circunscritos, as campanhas peninsulares e portuguesas poderiam assumir-se e funcionar, *mutatis mutandis*, como algo equivalente ao resgate dos lugares sagrados ainda hoje disputados pelas três grandes religiões monoteístas; mais precisamente, dessa Jerusalém terrestre que alguns exercícios medievais, mais ou menos fantasiosos, de ‘cartografia teocêntrica’ tendiam a colocar no coração do mundo.<sup>23</sup> Não surpreendem, assim, dos pontos de vista substancial e formal, a carga e a força argumentativas, oratórias e retóricas subjacentes à defesa da “guerra justa” e da “guerra santa” no sermão/discurso – um dos vários que integram *De Expugnatione Lyxbonensi* – proferido por D. Pedro Pitões, Bispo do Porto, perante as muitas e desvairadas

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talha de Ourique) ou 1143 (data do reconhecimento efectivo de Afonso Henriques como rei, pelo seu primo Afonso VII, no tratado de Zamora); o reconhecimento papal viria apenas em 1179, através da bula *Manifestis Probatum*, emitida por Alexandre III (1159-1181). Esta matéria transcende em muito o nosso âmbito e objectivo, mas consultem-se, por exemplo, Marques 64-67, Serrão 81 e 85-86 e Mattoso, *História* 57-58 e 62-64.

<sup>22</sup> No dizer da historiadora, “Na verdade, o auxílio dos cruzados servia uma dupla finalidade: fornecia os contingentes de homens necessários e aproximava ainda mais a guerra de reconquista à guerra santa de Cruzada, acrescentando, com isso, (...) tonalidades à imagem do rei português que ia sendo veiculada para Roma, conforme ao modelo (...) que se estabelecera ao tentar fazer depender o rei e o reino da soberania da Santa Sé e da autoridade divina.” (in Aires A. Nascimento, ed., 25-26)

<sup>23</sup> Cf., por exemplo, o mapa que integra um saltério do início do século XIII, depositado na *British Library* e reproduzido in Loyn, ed., página não numerada.

gentes recém-chegadas à urbe da qual houve nome Portugal:

(...) by God's inspiration you are bearing the arms [of righteousness] by means of which murderers and robbers are condemned, thefts are prevented, acts of adultery are punished, the impious perish from the earth (...). Therefore, brothers, take courage with these arms, (...) either to defend the fatherland in war against barbarians or to ward off enemies at home, or to defend comrades from robbers; for such courage is full of righteousness. Indeed, such works of vengeance are duties which righteous men perform with a good conscience. Brothers, be not afraid. For in acts of this sort you will not be censured for murder or taxed with any crime; (...) 'Indeed, there is no cruelty where piety towards God is concerned.' Engage in a just war with the zeal of righteousness, not with the bile of wrath. 'For a war is just,' says our Isidore, 'which is waged after a declaration, to recover property or to repulse enemies'; and since it is just to punish murderers and sacrilegious men and poisoners, the shedding of their blood is not murder. Likewise he is not cruel who slays the cruel. And he who puts wicked men to death is a servant of the Lord, for the reason that they are wicked and there is ground for killing them. (David, ed., 81)

Como nota Maria João Branco,

No (...) discurso, traduzido nas diversas línguas vernáculas (...), descobre-se um conhecimento profundo e preciso de toda a teoria da guerra santa tal como ele enformara a obra de Ivo de Chartres e o *Decretum* de Graciano, revelando nisso (...) não só contacto (...) com os meios culturais franceses (...), mas a consciência de que a mensagem a transmitir (...) não deveria ser a da Reconquista peninsular, provavelmente sem qualquer ressonância nas suas consciências de homens do Norte, mas sim um apelo a despertar neles o estímulo (...) do incitamento à guerra santa e à cruzada. (in Aires A. Nascimento, ed., 36)

Além da já referida existência de outros relatos estrangeiros (Cf. *supra*, n.5), cujo confronto com *De Expugnatione Lyxbonensi* evidentemente se justifica (vejam-se, por exemplo, Barbosa 82-87 e Mota 43-49),<sup>24</sup> é possível colher informações colaterais

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<sup>24</sup> Para João Paulo Mota, " (...) o cruzado R(aul) viu de uma forma muito diferente esse confronto entre mouros e cristãos. Deparamos com um autor atento à organização da expedição, à convivência entre os cruzados, às diferentes motivações e sentimentos

de outras fontes de extensão e fidedignidade variáveis, como o *Indiculum foundationis Monasterii Beati [ou Sancti] Vincentii Ulixbone*,<sup>25</sup> a *Chronica Gothorum*<sup>26</sup> e a *Historia Anglorum*, de Henry of Huntingdon (c.1088-1150s?), 'editada' por volta de 1129 e 'reeditada' c. de 1139 (i.e., contemporânea do recontro de S. Mamede, da tomada afonsina da governação do Condado Portucalense e da batalha de Ourique). É, aliás, da *Historia Anglorum* que, dadas as origens anglo-normandas do autor, transcrevemos o seguinte excerto:

Meanwhile a naval force that was made up of ordinary, rather than powerful, men, and was not supported by any great leader, except Almighty God, prospered (...), because they set out in humility. For although few, they had God's help in their battles, and thus captured from the many a city in Spain [sic] which is called Lisbon, (...). Truly, 'God resists the proud, but gives grace to the humble'. (...) no host had been able to withstand the poor men of

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suscitados por esta guerra, que procurou justificar e inserir na doutrina da guerra santa (...), valorizando a conquista da cidade não só numa perspectiva guerreira, mas também religiosa, política e simbólica." (*Ibidem* 49)

<sup>25</sup> Parcialmente traduzido e publicado como "Crónica da Fundação do Mosteiro de São Vicente" in Pimenta, ed., I, 141-146; transcrição latina e tradução portuguesa in Aires A. Nascimento, ed., 178-201. A título ilustrativo, reproduzimos aqui duas passagens:

"E foy fama e voz per toda a terra que el rey dõ Afõso de portugaliazia sobre Lixboa: e que cada dia cõ as cõpanhas dos christãos que cõ el estauã: fazia grãdes batalhas cõ os mouros. Entõ os christãos do senhorio de Frãça e de Bretanha: e de Quitania: e as nações dos Theutonicos: vendo elles que era grade seruiço de d's: e saluaçã das almas dos christãos: o que el rey dom Afonso de Portugal fazia: ouuerõlheenucia: e quiserõ ser participantes em tal guerra como esta: porque tal enuecia como dito he: cabe em d's que heuecia de se auerdacrecentar o seu seruiço. Entõ cada hua destas nações de getes: se aparelharõ com muytas naues que ouuerõ: e vierõ todos iuntamete a Lixboa cõ grades cõpanhasbe armadas: e prestes pera batalhar: e deseiauumuyto de auer vitoria dos emigos da santa fe catholica: e levantar o nome e voz da payxom do nosso senhor Jesu Christo: e dar sangue por amor de Jesu Christo. (...) Despõys que el rey ouue estas nouas que ditas som: logo sem outra detardança começou de cõbatercõ suas gentes: (...) tão fortemente e com tanta deuaçõ chamando Jesu Christo: e Santiago: que per força darmas com ajuda de deos ouuerom de romper os muros e entrar per força a dita cidade. E matarom na etrada tantas cõpanhas de mouros: que os rios do sangue corriã pellas praças da dita cidade." (Pimenta, ed., I, 143-144) e "Tinha [D. Afonso Henriques] na sua companhia um punhado de homens fortes e seleccionados, que o Senhor lhe enviou em auxílio e que, abrasados no seu zelo, chegavam, vindos de diversas regiões do Norte, (...) atendo-se cada qual, no entanto, à sua gente e à sua língua.

Assim, (...) os ingleses e a restante gente da Bretanha e da Aquitânia assentam arraiais nos subúrbios a ocidente da cidade, depois de escorraçarem de lá os pagãos." (Aires A. Nascimento, ed., 179-181)

<sup>26</sup> Parcialmente transcrita e publicada em latim como "História dos Godos" in Pimenta, ed., I, 22-47.

whom I spoke above, and the large forces who attacked them were reduced to weakness. The greater part of them had come from England. (Henry of Huntingdon 86)

Apesar de sucinto, este depoimento deverá recordar-nos que “the usefulness of English sources for Portuguese historians should not be underestimated, nor should we overlook relevant documents housed in official English archives.” (Oder de Baubeta 201) Porém, a ‘utilidade’ e a ‘relevância’ de que nos fala a académica escocesa aplicam-se também no plano interno, pois, como lembra H. A. R. Gibb, “His [Osbern’s; sic] narrative (...) has the further interest for us of being the first known work dealing with the Crusades by an English writer.” (in Prestage, ed., 10) e “(...) the capture of Lisbon was probably the decisive event in the creation of the kingdom, and we do well to recall (...) the share of our countrymen in this half-forgotten exploit (...)” (*Ibidem* 22)<sup>27</sup> Cabe, pois, acrescentar que as traduções/edições de C. W. David (1936) e J. Augusto de Oliveira (1935) constituem, respectiva e merecidamente, os itens 1 e 2 da exposição “Lisbon and the English”, patente ao público no Instituto Britânico entre 10 e 23 de Maio de 1947.<sup>28</sup> Desse mesmo ano data também o seguinte testemunho:

Lusitanos, romanos, bárbaros, berberes, quantos passam ou se demoram, continuam. – A História é esta continuidade, o encontro de todos na mesma tarefa, a cooperação das raças, das religiões, das gerações sucessivas.

Na terra, soterrados ou visíveis, perduram documentos, ruínas. No sangue, no património dos espíritos, tudo se conserva.  
(...)

Escrevo estas páginas na hora em que se preparam as comemorações do VIII Centenário da Conquista de Lisboa aos Mouros.

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<sup>27</sup> Segundo Luiz Vieira de Castro, que transcreve, por sua vez, Pedro de Azevedo, “ (...) desde as primeiras horas andam ligados à nossa história os povos do norte da Europa que costeavam a parte ocidental da península hispânica e que esse contacto habituou os portugalenses a ver nos normandos, nos cruzados e, finalmente, nos ingleses, aliados naturais que lhes aumentavam o território e lhes mantinham a independência.” (31-32). Curiosamente, esta obra é dedicada em francês a um contemporâneo de Afonso Henriques: Thomas Becket (1117-1170), Chanceler e Arcebispo de Canterbury no reinado de Henry II (1154-1189).

<sup>28</sup> E descrita no respectivo catálogo como “An exhibition of books, pictures and historical documents relating to the English connection with Lisbon. This exhibition has been organized by the Lisbon branch of the English Historical Association and the British Institute, and associates these two bodies with the centenary celebrations of the taking of Lisbon from the Moors.”(Anónimo s.p.)

(...)

Um pensamento construtivo me determina: – afirmar para lá da continuidade que faz a história na permanente cooperação dos homens através do tempo, – a minha certeza do sentido humano, criador, generoso que (...) já orientava, ao surgir a Nacionalidade, os chefes que ajudavam a sua eclosão. (Casimiro 13-14)

Mais recentemente, ultrapassados que estão os investimentos e as apropriações, representações e celebrações de datas como 1139, 1140, 1143 e 1147 por parte do Estado Novo, Maria João Branco viria, entre balanços e perspectivas, a traçar o seguinte ponto de situação:

It is (...) quite difficult to find, for this period [12<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup>centuries], studies that devote themselves exclusively to bilateral relations between Portugal and other realms, although some papers sporadically address the topic, where the settlement of agreements or peace pacts and the circulation of nobles among peninsular courts is the primary focus. An exception to this void is the conquest of Lisbon, which has aroused (...) far more interest than other themes, (...) as well as the correlated universe of the Portuguese reconquest, a case in which the multitude of foreign participators and the contribution of the Crusaders has already opened doors to research in which the collaboration of these men is obvious and enlightening and where some pioneering work is currently in progress. (Branco e Farelo 243-244 e n.38)

Parte importante das investigações em curso (ou a fazer) passaria também, em nossa opinião, por mais estudos e análises filológico-textuais comparativos, tendo em mente a eventual reconstituição de modelos discursivos e tradições oratório-retóricas e dos seus respectivos meios e circuitos de difusão no Ocidente medieval. Comparem-se, a título de exemplo, a fala atribuída pelo abade cisterciense Ailred of Rievaulx (c. 1155-57) a Walter Espec, na batalha do estandarte (*Battle of the Standard*, 1138),<sup>29</sup> e, escassos nove anos mais tarde, a resposta do velho

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<sup>29</sup> "(...) why should we despair of victory, when victory has been given to our race, as if in fee, by the Almighty? Did not our ancestors invade a very large part of Gaul with a small force and erase the very name of Gaul from it with their people? How often did the Frankish army flee before them? How often did they snatch victory, even against great odds, from the man of Maine, Anjou or Aquitaine? And as for this island which once upon a time the most glorious Julius won after (...) great slaughter of his men, (...) our fathers and we ourselves have conquered it(.), have imposed our laws upon it, and disposed of it at our will. We have seen (...) the King of France and his whole army

mouro lisboeta a D. João Peculiar (1100?-1175), Arcebispo de Braga:

How many times (...) have you come [hither] with pilgrims and barbarians to subdue us and drive us hence? (...) But get you hence, for entry into the city lies not open to you except through trial of the sword. For your threats and the tumults of barbarians (...) are not highly valued among us. (David, ed., 121-123)

Ao qual, por sua vez, responde de novo a vática voz:

Que cidade tão forte porventura  
Haverá que resista, se Lisboa  
Não pôde resistir à força dura  
Da gente cuja fama tanto voa?  
(*Os Lusíadas*, III, estr. 58, vv. 1-4)

## II

É, pois, chegado o momento de nos centrarmos na tradução/edição em inglês de *De Expugnacione Lyxbonensi*, a partir da qual procuraremos propor algumas notas identitárias, parcialmente apoiadas em termos e conceitos tributários dos estudos de cultura. Antes, porém, impõe-se um brevíssimo enquadramento histórico, tendo em conta uma delimitação do período anglo-normando entre 1066 e 1154.

Com efeito, a tomada afonsina de Lisboa (1147) tem lugar cerca de oitenta anos após a conquista guilhermina de Inglaterra (1066) e apenas sessenta sobre a morte de William I (1087), cujas disposições testamentárias, de acordo com as práticas sucessórias normandas, ditariam a divisão, respectivamente, dos patrimónios territoriais herdado e conquistado entre o primogénito – Robert Curthose (1054?-1134), receptor do ducado da Normandia – e o segundo filho (William II ou *Rufus*, 1087-1100, rei de Inglaterra). Como se compreenderá, o testamento do Conquistador viria desestabilizar profundamente os sentimentos de lealdade vassálico-feudal de uma recentíssima classe baronial de aquém- e além-Mancha, marcando a agenda

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turn their backs upon us (...) Who has conquered Apulia, Sicily and Calabria but your Norman? (...) Who, therefore, would not laugh, rather than be afraid, when against men such as these, the vile Scot comes rushing into battle with his half-naked natives?" (*Apud Davis* 66-67)

político-militar dos reinados de *Rufus* e de Henry I (1110-1135) e, a bem dizer, as problemáticas sucessões de todos os monarcas da 1ª dinastia, incluindo a de Henry pelo seu sobrinho Stephen (1135-1154), em detrimento dos herdeiros indigitados e presuntivos (Matilda e Geoffrey, Condes de Anjou).<sup>30</sup>

No decurso deste último reinado – contemporâneo das primeiras conquistas afonsinas e da consequente expansão do reino de Portugal –, existem dois factos importantes a sublinhar: desde logo, a disputa do trono entre Stephen e a sua prima Matilda, particularmente acesa no período 1139-1147/8, que terá certamente aguçado a destreza bélica anglo-normanda e que D. Afonso Henriques ganharia, portanto, em arregimentar, se possível, para a causa da reconquista portuguesa. Paralelamente, em 1144, o ducado da Normandia, outrora conquistado por Henry I a Robert Curthose em Tinchebrai (1106), é tomado de Stephen pelos condes de Anjou (Poole, 1951: 160-161), regressando à posse da Coroa inglesa após a subida ao trono do filho de ambos (Henry II).

Por todos estes motivos, e embora a 1ª metade do séc. XII possa ter caminhado nessa direcção, seria pouco credível esperar que este relativamente curto, mas acidentado, espaço de tempo histórico assistisse à instauração e consagração **plenas** de uma identidade nacional ‘inglesa’, não tomando este termo numa acepção ainda retrospectiva e parcelar (i.e., como equivalente ou sinónimo dos anglo-saxões derrotados em Hastings), mas já prospectiva e transversal a anglo-saxões e normandos.<sup>31</sup> Com efeito, tendo em conta a natureza e a estrutura oligárquicas do poder social e político implantado em Inglaterra em 1066 e tipificado na tese do jugo normando, a eventual gestação, em apenas oitenta anos, de uma identidade anglo-normanda, razoavelmente coesa, harmoniosa e socialmente igualitária, afigurar-se-nos-ia já, com algum optimismo, a melhor *via media* possível...Era, aliás, para essa comunhão ou fusão que apontava, se bem que com evidente tacticismo, o preâmbulo da Carta de Coroação, outorgada por Henry I em 1100, na velha ‘capital’ do histórico, mas também mítico, rei saxão, Alfred de Wessex (871-899).<sup>32</sup> Assim se explicam talvez algumas avaliações globais do

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<sup>30</sup> Respectivamente filha e genro de Henry I, primos de Stephen e pais do futuro Henry II.

<sup>31</sup> Para já não falar dos angevinos, cuja ascensão ao trono (1154, como se disse) é posterior em escassos sete anos à empresa de Lisboa (1147).

<sup>32</sup> “Henrique, **rei dos Ingleses**, saúda de Winchester (...) todos os barões e fiéis súbditos seus **tanto de origem francesa como inglesa**.” (*Apud* Carvalho219; negritos nossos) Para acesso a uma introdução, tradução e a notas em português, acompanha-

reinado de Henry, ele próprio esposo de uma descendente da antiga casa real saxónica (justamente a de Wessex)<sup>33</sup> e o único dos filhos do Conquistador a nascer em Inglaterra:

He [Henry I] had reunited the Anglo-Norman state, kept the peace in England, successfully defended his (...) frontiers, and instituted notable administrative advances. A perceptive (...) scholar [Richard Southern, 1912-2001] speaks of the reign in these words: 'Looking to the future, it is here, we feel that the history of **England** begins – a history which is **neither that of the Norman conquerors, nor that of the Anglo-Saxons, but a new creation.** (Hollister 144)

Em capítulo intitulado “When was England England?”, o historiador, jornalista e documentarista Michael Wood problematiza:

'The Making of England' is a very old-fashioned idea these days, something that seems to belong in the books of Winston Churchill and Arthur Bryant. But it is worth a fresh look, especially now that the Scots and Welsh are poised to go their own way, and the English find themselves in need of a new history, not as Britons, but as English. When was England? (104)

Para, logo adiante, concluir:

The Anglo-Saxons created England; the Normans and their successors attempted to create Great Britain, not succeeding half so well, despite their long attempts to dominate the cultures and societies of Ireland, Wales and Scotland. (...) It was the Normans who tried to subdue the whole island, and their failure has finally been acknowledged in the late twentieth century. England, on the other hand, is the creation of the Old English. (*Ibidem* 105)

Numa época de uma ainda muito relativa (in)definição de 'nações', no sentido moderno do termo<sup>34</sup> – e, por extensão, de

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das da transcrição do original em latim, cf. *ibidem* 211-229.

<sup>33</sup> Edith Matilda, filha do rei escocês Malcolm III ou Malcolm Canmore (1058-1093) e de St. Margarete, bisneta, pelo lado materno, de Edmund Ironside (1016).

<sup>34</sup> Segundo Guy Hermet, “Embora ousado do termo nação, na sua acepção medieval, tenha sido frequente até ao século XVII, não designou durante muito tempo senão a origem de um grupo estrangeiro amalgamado pela população em que se inseria. (...)

A designação de si mesmo não veio completar a noção de simples alteridade senão mais tarde, quando as sociedades reunidas ou não sob a mesma coroa (...) tomaram

identidades ‘nacionais’ e proto-sentidos de ‘Estado’ que o mundo feudal tanto poderia retardar quanto favorecer, como lembram, entre outros, Carl Stephenson,<sup>35</sup> F. L. Ganshof<sup>36</sup> e Guy Hermet<sup>37</sup> – , esperar-se-ia que outras formas gregárias de identidade pudessem sobressair e afirmar-se: por exemplo, além das sociais, de classe ou de grupo, das étnicas, religiosas, etc., referidas por Luísa Leal de Faria no excerto inaugural (cf. *supra*, 1-2), uma identidade cruzadística, simultaneamente militar e cristã, na qual todas as outras se subsumissem ou diluíssem em nome de

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confusamente consciência do seu destino partilhado. No entanto, (...) esta consciência (...) pouco tinha a ver com a ideia moderna de nação e menos ainda com o nacionalismo. Inicialmente, as nações medievais designavam comunidades expatriadas. Depois, identificaram (...) grupos humanos particulares no seio da Europa, cada vez mais frequentemente ligados a uma determinada coroa e possuindo uma certa capacidade (...) de imaginar raízes comuns em relação a um passado mitificado.” (52) M. T. Clanchy recorda-nos também que “A ‘nation’ meant a kindred group and hence by extension it was applied to the people of each distinctive country; for example, students at medieval universities were divided into nations for mutual protection.” (242)

<sup>35</sup> “Feudalism, it is often asserted, was politically baneful in that it necessarily led to the disintegration of the state. But this opinion seems to have originated with historians who restricted their attention to the Carolingian Empire and the major kingdoms into which it was broken. (...) If we turn from them to the French duchies of the tenth and eleventh centuries, we gain a very different impression. (...) We may therefore conclude that the feudal state, one whose government largely depended on feudal tenure, had to be small because such tenure presupposed a close personal relationship between a lord and his vassals.” (*Medieval Feudalism*, 75-76; cf. também *ibidem*, 84-86 e, numa perspectiva mais orientada para o caso inglês, *idem*, “Feudalism and its Antecedents in England”)

<sup>36</sup> “A evolução das relações entre o Estado e o feudalismo na Inglaterra apresenta características muito particulares; (...) O feudalismo inglês é uma criação da conquista normanda de 1066; as relações feudovassálicas que existiam no ducado da Normandia foram introduzidas na Inglaterra por Guilherme-o-Conquistador e ampliadas pelos seus sucessores (...) de forma a servir os interesses da realeza. (...) as instituições feudovassálicas não foram necessariamente [sic] um factor de desagregação do Estado; (...) Havia no direito feudal elementos que permitiam o desenvolvimento da autoridade real. A realeza inglesa e a realeza francesa conseguiram utilizá-los; (...)” (215-218 *passim*)

<sup>37</sup> “(...) uma sociedade legitimamente organizada na fragmentação feudal e nos seus interstícios urbanos ou eclesiásticos, preexiste nesta parte da Europa [ocidental] ao desenvolvimento dos Estados monárquicos centralizadores. (...) Seria abusivo estabelecer uma ligação entre este ímpeto libertador das sociedades ocidentais e a emergência de identidades políticas à envergadura de um país. Pode até dar-se o caso de o haver retardado, reforçando antes as liberdades e solidariedades locais, (...). Em compensação, não há dúvida de que a antiguidade da componente cívica do sentido nacional na Europa Ocidental deve muito a esta origem medieval (...)” (31). Algumas páginas adiante, num subcapítulo com o sugestivo título de “Identidades sem território”, o mesmo autor acrescenta: “Sem dúvida que as obrigações de fidelidade política medievais eram desprovidas dos atributos de cidadania das nacionalidades modernas. Mas (...) é preciso perguntar se elas não se situam, apesar dessa ausência, na continuidade dos planos de construção de Estados que fragmentaram para se apropriarem da noção de soberania, até então monopolizada pela memória de um Império Romano de pretensão universal.” (*Ibidem* 39-40)

um ideal maior do que todos os reinos deste mundo. Talvez por isso, como nota Jonathan Phillips,

(...) the notion of unity – a vital element in the crusaders’ success – is consistently expressed. (...) References to unity pervade the text, arising whenever tensions between the various contingents threatened the crusaders’ military strength and moral force. In demonstrating these points, Raol also revealed his strong allegiance to the Anglo-Normans and highlighted their powerful sense of group identity as distinct from the Flemings and the Rhinelanders. His frequent antipathy toward the latter groups was based on their alleged greed and duplicity (...), which might have provoked a split in the crusaders’ unity. Raol’s hostility might also have reflected regional rivalries from northern Europe. (in David, ed., xxii-xxiii)

Dentro, porém, do grupo anglo-normando, C. W. David, citando outro autor, alude a uma aparente maior identificação de “R.” com o campo normando (40), o que parece efectivamente apontar para o cenário acima esboçado: o de uma ainda incompleta harmonização ou homogeneização dos dois povos – ou das “duas nações”, tomando de empréstimo a famosa expressão vitoriana – numa “comunidade imaginada” inglesa, sob uma identidade nacional partilhada e reconhecidamente comum.<sup>38</sup> Já sem introduzir nesta complexa equação étnico-histórica um outro factor ou uma outra variável: o(a) francês(esa)... Algumas transcrições ajudar-nos-ão a ilustrar um pouco melhor esta caledoscópica realidade:

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<sup>38</sup> Tendo em mente possíveis aplicações críticas aos passos seleccionados (ver *infra*, 17ss), recordem-se aqui as “(...) duas definições provisórias e bastante rudimentares (...)” do conceito de nação avançadas pelo sociopolitólogo Ernest Gellner (1925-1995): “1. Dois homens pertencem à mesma nação se e só se partilharem a mesma cultura, a qual representa (...) um sistema de ideias, signos e associações, bem como modos de comportamento e comunicação; 2. Dois homens pertencem à mesma nação se e só se se *reconhecem* como pertencentes a uma mesma nação. Por outras palavras, *as nações fazem o homem*. As nações são os artefactos das convicções, lealdades e solidariedades do homem. Uma simples categoria de indivíduos (por exemplo, os habitantes de um dado território ou os que falam uma determinada língua) transforma-se numa nação se e quando os membros dessa categoria reconhecem firmemente uns aos outros determinados direitos e deveres mútuos em virtude da qualidade comum de membros dela. É esse reconhecimento mútuo, enquanto membros do grupo, que os transforma numa nação, e não os outros atributos comuns, quaisquer que eles sejam, que distinguem essa categoria dos que não são membros dela.” (19-20)

In the Bayeux Tapestry, the invaders are not described as 'Normans' but as 'Franci', that is 'Franks' or 'Frenchmen'. Similarly the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle describes them as 'Frencyscan'. In its account of the events of 1066 King Harold defeated the Normans (the 'Normen', that is, the Norwegians) at Stamford Bridge, before (...) being killed by the French at Hastings. Similarly the Norman kings of England (...) addressed their people in charters as 'French and English' and not as 'Normans and English'. These usages raise doubts about **the cohesion of Norman identity** (...). The solution lies in the relative position of the observer. The Normans were generally described as Frenchman in England to distinguish them from the Northmen and because they came from France (Francia). Furthermore a fair number of the 'French' who fought at Hastings were not Normans anyway, but men from Brittany, Maine, Picardy and Flanders. In France itself (...) they were described as Normans to distinguish them from Angevins, Poitevins, Gascons and so on. Although the Normans are called a 'race' (gens) by some contemporaries (...), **their cohesion lay essentially in their beliefs about themselves** rather than in genealogy or blood relationships. (Clanchy 40; negritos nossos)

(...) until the end of the eleventh century most Normans were indifferent to whether they called themselves Norman or French, using the words *Galli* or *Franci* as synonyms for *Normanni*. But in the course of time there was a reaction against this assimilation. It is first found in William of Jumièges,<sup>39</sup> but **in general it belongs to the twelfth rather than the eleventh**, and it is obvious from the way in which writers use the terms *Franci* and *Normanni* as antonyms. In one sense this is strange, because (...) the Normans were even more French in the twelfth century than they had been in the eleventh. But **the more French they became, the more desperate they were to establish their identity**, laying more and more stress on their Danish ancestry and the heroic deeds of **Hasting** and Rollo in the days when they really had been 'different'. (Davis 54; negritos nossos)

Em função de todos estes dados, resta saber até que ponto a ligação anglo-normanda, historicamente iniciada após a batalha de Hastings (e qual, a propósito, a relação com Hasting?), não terá contribuído ela própria, de alguma maneira, para esse afastamento ou essa dissociação psico-identitário(a) dos normandos relativamente aos franceses, conduzindo gradualmente,

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<sup>39</sup> Nascido c.1000, falecido em data incerta e autor da *Gesta Normannorum Ducem* (c.1070).

ao longo do séc. XII, a uma fusão **com os** ingleses<sup>40</sup> e, a partir da centúria seguinte, já **como** ingleses<sup>41</sup>...

As transcrições seguintes afiguram-se-nos não menos eloquentes:

This sense of Englishness (...) survived the cataclysm of 1066, even though the ruling class of Anglo-Saxon England was wiped out by the Normans. This (...) was rapidly understood by the Normans themselves. In the historical writing of the twelfth century, both by Normans and by half-Englishmen like William of Malmesbury, we find an English *res publica*, not a French or Norman state. A long French poem, '*Le stoire Des Engles*', was even compiled by Geoffrey Gaimar for his Norman patrons to help them understand their English identity. So Englishness was the creation of the Anglo-Saxons, and it was they who made England. (Wood 100)

Orderic Vitalis, the greatest of Norman historians,<sup>42</sup> was born in England. His mother was English and his father a French priest in the service of a Norman lord, but at the age of ten he was sent to Normandy to become a monk of Saint-Evroul. Thereafter he had **two patriotisms**. Though he proudly called himself 'English-born' (*Angligena*) and viewed Duke William's conquest of English with bitterness, he had no doubt that he was a Norman monk and belonged to Normandy. (Davis 58; negritos nossos)

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<sup>40</sup> "Unlike Scotland and Wales, England did not have to create a new national identity bounded by the authority of its ruler but to restore that idea from the Anglo-Saxon past. The Norman conquerors had to be absorbed and to identify with England instead of France. Generally speaking by the end of the twelfth century the Normans had been absorbed by intermarriage." (Clanchy 252) Cf. também Poole 1-2.

<sup>41</sup> "Under the feudal convention lords with lands in England and Normandy could go back and forth between them and do their best as individuals to keep the peace. But once Norman lands were thought of as English the risk of war between 'England' and 'France' increased. The polarization of loyalty between England and France also put the English kings in a difficult position because they were the inheritors of lordships on both sides of the Channel." (Clanchy 252-253) Não é, porém, possível, como se compreenderá, abordar aqui a natureza e evolução do feudalismo anglo-normando *vis-à-vis* a suserania francesa (sécs. XI-XII), a desagregação e a perda inglesas do "império angevino" durante o reinado de John (1199-1216), o falhanço da reconquista da Normandia, tentada em Bouvines (1214), e a Guerra dos Cem Anos (1337-1453).

<sup>42</sup> Orderic (ou Ordericus) Vitalis (c.1075-1143?), autor da *Historia Ecclesiastica* (c.1124). O monge beneditino William of Malmesbury (1090/96?-c.1143?), autor, entre outras obras, da *Gesta Regum Anglorum* (c.1125), era igualmente de ascendência anglo-normanda. Existem sempre, infelizmente e consoante as fontes, flutuações e variantes no tocante a datas de nascimento e morte de autores, de composição das obras e mesmo à própria grafagem onomástica.

Considerando todas estas observações, bem como outros depoimentos veiculados por especialistas consagrados como, por exemplo, Marjorie Chibnall (208-219),<sup>43</sup> não poderíamos concordar mais com Maria João Branco, quando, no tocante ao autor de *De Expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, faz notar: “Discute-se até hoje se se trata de um anglo-normando ou de um franco-normando. A ter em conta as múltiplas miscigenações entre as duas componentes populacionais a que a Normandia dos séculos XI a XIII foi sujeita, esta distinção faz muito pouco sentido.” (in Aires A. Nascimento, ed., 41)<sup>44</sup> O que não significa, como é óbvio, que essas “duas componentes populacionais”, apesar de tudo, não existam...Diríamos mesmo mais: a avaliar pelo relato em apreço, o que faz sentido, em nossa opinião, é **justamente** esse indefinido (ível?) grau de (in)distinção, sinal de alguma “hibridez” ou porosidade étnica e de processos de (re) construção ou (re) configuração identitários em devir e em curso na Inglaterra de meados do século XII. De resto, ancoradas nas movediças areias da história, seja ela colectiva ou pessoal, “(...) our identities are formed between memory and desire; between memory, with which we seek to ground ourselves in a known past, and desire, which propels us through the present into an unknown future.” (Storey 79). Como adverte José Mattoso:

(...) não é possível examinar historicamente nenhuma nacionalidade sem a conceber como um processo escalonado no tempo. Por isso, não é possível isolar um momento em que se possa surpreender a passagem do não ser para o ser: a nação não tem certidão de nascimento. (*Formação* 7)

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<sup>43</sup> “By the **mid-twelfth century** the Normans in England were appropriating English history as part of their own tradition, alongside the annals and legends of their own people. Inter-marriage was taking place at all levels from the king downwards. **The two cultures became increasingly intermingled** during an age of rapid change. (...). **By the reign of Henry II [1154-1189] an Anglo-Norman culture and society had emerged** and was to survive.” (*Ibidem* 5; negritos nossos) No capítulo “Normans and English”, a mesma autora transcreve as palavras de Richard FitzNeal (ou FitzNigel), Bispo de Londres, 1189-1198, Tesoureiro de Inglaterra entre 1195 (ou 1196) e 1199 e autor do *Dialogus de Scaccario*: “(...) ‘nowadays, when English and Normans live close together and marry and give in marriage to each other, **the nations are so mixed that it can scarcely be decided** (I mean in the case of freemen) **who is of English blood and who of Norman**’ (...).” (*Apud Ibidem* 209; negritos nossos)

<sup>44</sup> Na já referida *Crónica do Cerco de Lisboa*, pode ler-se, após uma longa enumeração de personagens: “(...) uns franceses, outros flamengos, outros normandos, outros ingleses, ainda que seja duvidoso, em alguns casos, que assim de nação se identificassem quando perguntados, considerando que naquele tempo, e por muito tempo mais, um homem fosse ele fidalgo ou plebeu, ou não sabia de que terra era ou ainda não tinha tomado a decisão final.” (Saramago 122)

Como primeiro exemplo dos momentos de tensão, desunião ou discórdia entre os cruzados de 1147 seleccionámos o debate em torno da prestação (ou não...) de auxílio bélico a D. Afonso Henriques,<sup>45</sup> ficcionalmente revista e reescrita pelo protagonista da *História do Cerco de Lisboa*.<sup>46</sup> Segundo *De Expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, a principal voz contra tal colaboração teria sido a de William Viel, cuja nacionalidade não é indicada, mas decerto um inglês;<sup>47</sup> contudo, a sua posição desestabilizadora é combatida pelo discurso simultaneamente conciliatório e mobilizador de Hervey de Glanvill, que se assume, pois, como voz e consciência moral do projecto e do ideal cruzadísticos e guardião/portador de uma identidade deontológico-militar normanda (ou, quando muito, anglo-normanda), mais do que apenas (ou já...) 'inglesa':

(...) now that so great a diversity of peoples is bound with us under the law of a sworn association, (...) each of us ought to do his utmost in order that in the future no stain of disgrace shall adhere to **us who are members of the same stock and blood**. (...) For the glorious deeds of the ancients kept in memory by posterity are the marks of both affection and honor. If you show yourselves worthy emulators of the ancients, honor and glory will

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<sup>45</sup> Aparentemente nascida de uma colaboração anterior (em 1140 ou 1142, consoante as fontes), mas que, por algum motivo, não teria corrido bem.

<sup>46</sup> “ (...) Raimundo Silva está a sorrir neste momento, com uma expressão que não esperaríamos dele, de pura malignidade, (...) é evidente que acabou de tomar uma decisão, e que má ela foi, com a mão firme segura a esferográfica e acrescenta uma palavra à página, uma palavra que o historiador não escreveu, que em nome da verdade histórica não poderia ter escrito nunca, a palavra Não, agora o que o livro passou a dizer é que os cruzados Não auxiliarão os portugueses a conquistar Lisboa, assim está escrito e portanto passou a ser verdade, ainda que diferente, o que chamamos falso prevaleceu sobre o que chamamos verdadeiro, tomou o seu lugar, alguém teria de vir contar a história nova, e como.” (Saramago 48-49) Também João Aguiar, romancista e cronista licenciado em História, escreve o seguinte: “ (...) era eu pequenino, ensinaram-me na escola (...) que o primeiro bispo de Lisboa, fora D. Gilberto, um sacerdote inglês que viera com os cruzados. E nesta doce ilusão vivi longos anos, até que (...) li (...), a propósito de vocábulo 'Lisboa', que a cidade já tinha um bispo, moçárabe, quando foi conquistada aos Mouros e que esse bispo tinha sido morto a quando da reconquista cristã – só não fiquei a saber então que ele era um ancião de muitos anos e que lhe tinham cortado a cabeça os cristianíssimos combatentes vindos da Flandres e de Colónia; (...) Aliás, e ainda sobre o que me ensinaram na escola, a patranha foi dupla: porque não só tinha havido em Lisboa pelo menos um bispo moçárabe antes de Gilberto de Hastings, como, em épocas mais remotas, já a cidade era diocese; era-o sob o poder romano – há notícia de um bispo Potâmio, em meados do século IV – e continuou a sê-lo durante o período visigótico, pois estão catalogados, pelo menos, oito bispos entre 589 e 693. Então, eu pergunto: por que andaram a enganar-me?” (29)

<sup>47</sup> “Among whom William Viel, (...) and his brother Ralph and almost all the men of Southampton and Hastings (...)” (David, ed., 101 e 103).

be yours, but if unworthy, then disgraceful reproaches. Who does not know that the race of **the Normans** declines no labor in the practice of continuous valor? – **the Normans**, (...) whose military spirit, ever tempered by experience of the greatest hardships, is not quickly subverted in adversity, and in prosperity, which is beset by so many difficulties, cannot be overcome by slothful idleness; for it has learned how with activity always to frustrate the vice of idleness. (...) **we are all sons of one mother** (...) If this city should be taken by us, what will you say to that? Even though I remain silent concerning the sin of a violated association, you will become the objects of universal infamy and shame. Through fear of a glorious death you have withdrawn your support from **your associates**. The mere desire for booty yet to be acquired, you have bought at the cost of eternal dishonor. The race of **your innocent colleagues** will be held responsible for this (...) crime; and it is certainly a shame that **Normandy, the mother of our race**, must bear, and that undeservedly, in the eyes of so many peoples who are here represented the everlasting opprobrium of your outrageous action. (David, ed., 105, 107 e 109 *passim*; ne-gritos nossos)<sup>48</sup>

Segundo R. H. C. Davis,

When the history of a people develops into the history of a land, it almost inevitably becomes teleological. The land is represented as having a destiny (...), but whether expressed or implied, the idea is fundamental to the concept of a nation. No people can be a nation unless it can project itself into timelessness by linking its history to a particular land, and it has no chance of doing that unless it believes the link to be true. (59)<sup>49</sup>

What no nation can be without is an image or myth with which it can identify itself. This image can be provided by legend or history, religion, poetry, folklore, or what we more vaguely call 'tradition'. It need not be expressed in precise or absolute terms

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<sup>48</sup> Algumas páginas adiante, pode ler-se: "Meanwhile **our** forces, that is, **the Normans and the English** (...)" (*Ibidem* 129); "Meanwhile two churches were built by the Franks for the burial of the dead – one on the eastern side of the city by the men of Cologne and the Flemings, (...) the other on the western side by **the English and the Normans**." (*Ibidem* 133 e 135) e "Again **the Normans and the English** and those who were with them began the erection of a movable tower eighty-three feet in height." (*Ibidem* 143) Todos os negritos são da nossa responsabilidade.

<sup>49</sup> Recorde-se, a este propósito, a frase "You and the land are one!", proferida por Merlin a Arthur no filme *Excalibur* (1981), de John Boorman.

(...), but if a people is to be conscious of its identity it must have such an image, (...). (*Ibidem* 49)

Nesse processo, a “narração das nações” de que nos fala Homi Bhabba (1949-) e as suas respectivas (auto-)representações através – não só, mas também – da linguagem, da língua e da literatura têm, natural e literalmente, ‘uma palavra a dizer’...<sup>50</sup> Ora, a julgar pelo discurso de Hervey de Glanvill, curiosamente pontilhado por ecos, sugestões ou vestígios dos *boasts* da literatura inglesa (ou anglo-saxónica...) antiga, mas também por uma voz ou pulsão hegemónica normanda, restam poucas dúvidas de que determinação, perseverança, empenhamento e entrega estrénuosa/em acções militares compõem uma imagem de extrema eficácia bélica,<sup>51</sup> que, como documenta Davis para os séculos XI-XII (49-50), o cultivo de uma historiografia e literatura panegíricas viriam amplificar e converter numa (auto-)imagem de marca.

As diversas referências explícitas feitas por Hervey de Glanvill à Normandia e aos Normandos, povo que, num passado ainda recente (2<sup>a</sup> metade do séc. XI), havia logrado conquistar, além da Inglaterra, a Sicília, a região sul da península itálica e Antioquia, não excluem, como vimos, alusões implícitas a um outro povo, não nomeado, mas, obviamente, muito próximo enquanto “(...) members of the same stock and blood” e “(...) all sons of one mother (...)”.<sup>52</sup> No entanto, no ano da graça de Deus

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<sup>50</sup> “Nations are not simply political formations but systems of cultural representation by which national identity is continually reproduced through discursive action. (...) The symbolic and discursive dimensions of national identity narrate and create the idea of origins, continuity and tradition. (...) National unity is constructed through the narrative of the nation by which stories, images, symbols and rituals represent ‘shared’ meanings of nationhood.” (Barker 252-253). Também para Antony Easthope, “National cultures are material in that they are produced through institutions, practices and traditions which historians and sociologists can describe. But national cultures are also reproduced through narratives and discourses about which those social sciences feel inhibited but which recent work (...) makes a matter of coherent analysis.” (12)

<sup>51</sup> “As a foil to the decadent Anglo-Saxons, the Normans have sometimes been seen as supermen (either admirable or vicious according to taste) and this view (...) can be found in medieval sources in the Normans’ opinion of themselves: Orderic Vitalis describes them as a warlike race, who continually struggle for mastery, and in the battle speeches recorded by their chroniclers Norman leaders insist on their superiority.” (Clanchy 51-52)

<sup>52</sup> “The formation of ‘ethnic groups’ relies on shared culture signifiers that have developed under specific historical, social and political contexts. They encourage a sense of belonging based, at least in part, on a common mythological ancestry. (...) Thus, what we think of as our identity is dependent on what we think we are *not*. (...) Thus, metaphors of blood, kinship and homeland are frequently implicated in the formation and maintenance of ethnic boundaries.” (Barker 249) Por sua vez, como nota Adelaide

de 1147, que nome poderíamos historicamente atribuir a esses ‘outros quase nós’, enquanto filhos da mesma mãe? Ainda anglo-saxões? Ingleses, no sentido restrito que atrás apontámos? Anglo-normandos? Ou já todos ingleses – *les uns et les autres* –, nessa acepção englobante e lata que tantas vezes estendemos, apressada e inevitavelmente, aos povos e indivíduos não ingleses das restantes nações anglófonas do Reino Unido e das Ilhas Britânicas? Com efeito, o relato de 1147 sugere que, praticamente no final do período anglo-normando (1066-1154), ‘inglês’ (e/ou identidade ‘inglesa’) não incluiria(m) ainda os seus equivalentes normandos (cf. *supra*, 12ss), ideia que, como veremos, parece ser corroborada pelas transcrições subsequentes;<sup>53</sup> contudo, num quadro de formação dialéctica de identidades e alteridades, algumas notações pronominais – pessoais e possessivas – apontam já para proto-oposições binárias entre um “nós” heterogeneamente plural, constituído por ingleses e normandos, e um “eles” estrangeiro,<sup>54</sup> formado por colonenses e flamengos (ou flandrenses), mas, de certo modo, unificado (pelo menos da perspectiva veiculada pelo autor do relato) através de preconceitos e estereótipos.<sup>55</sup>

Seja como for, uma vez sanada a querela interna aberta por William Viel e retomada, já após a rendição da Lisboa mourisca, pela acção potencialmente nefasta de alguns marinheiros e de um padre de Bristol contra Hervey de Glanvill,<sup>56</sup> os diferendos

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Meira Serras, “ (...) os feitos heróicos e os sacrificios em prol da comunidade realizados em circunstâncias de perigo, potencial ou efectivo, (...) com o passar dos anos, (...) transformam-se em memórias colectivas, um património ideológico que reforça os laços comunitários, revestindo-se de um valor comparável ao vínculo de sangue.” (20)

<sup>53</sup> H. A. R. Gibb, por exemplo, utiliza indistintamente “Anglo-Normans” (in Prestage, ed., 9, 12 e 13), “(...) in the English camp (...)” (*Ibidem* 11), “the English” (*Ibidem*), etc.

<sup>54</sup> “All collective identity (clan, nation, region, ethnic group) identifies self by denying the other, demarcates inside from outside, stretches a distance between ‘us’ and ‘them’. The condition for collective identification – ‘my blood, my family, my kin, my clan, my nation, my race’ – is an ever-present and potentially violent expulsion of those who are not ‘my blood, my family, my kin, my clan, my nation, my race’.” (Easthope 219-220)

<sup>55</sup> “Portador de uma definição essencial do Outro, o estereótipo é o enunciado de um saber colectivo que se pretende válido, seja qual for o momento histórico ou político (...). Enfim, o estereótipo levanta o problema de uma hierarquia de culturas: ele distingue o Eu do Outro e, quase sempre, valoriza o primeiro termo em detrimento do segundo.” (Álvaro Manuel Machado e Daniel-Henri Pageaux 60).

<sup>56</sup> “(...) while we were in council (...), our seamen, together with other fatuous fellows of their own kind, assembled on the sand; for a conspiracy had been started (...) by a renegade priest of Bristol. (He was of the very worst morals, as we (...) learned when he was arrested among thieves.) And they began by degrees to be so excited by his humble speech that they ended in an uproar, bearing it as an indignity that so many men, and men so famous both at home and abroad, should be subject to the authority and rule of a few leaders, (...)

com (e as diferenças entre) os restantes contingentes são particularmente visíveis em dois outros momentos. Começamos por atentar na rígida (de)marcação territorial dos sectores operacionais, curiosa e aparentemente mais importante do que o sucesso das próprias acções, operações e manobras:

**The Normans and the English** came under arms to take up the struggle in place of their associates, supposing that an entrance would be easy now that the enemy were wounded and exhausted. But they were prevented by the leaders of the Flemings and the men of Cologne, who assailed them with insults and demanded that **we** attempt an entrance in any way it might be accomplished with **our** own engines; for they said that they had prepared the breach which now stood open for themselves, not for **us**. (David, ed., 147; negritos nossos)

Estas clivagens e rivalidades manifestam-se também nos comportamentos e nas atitudes assumidos quando da tomada dos saques, após a conquista da cidade:

**The Normans and the English**, for whom the vicissitudes of wars had been a heavy burden, and who were fatigued by the long siege, said that the concessions ought to be granted and upright conduct, not property or foodstuffs, preferred to the honor of taking the city. But the men of Cologne and the Flemings, in whom there is ever an innate covetousness of possessing, calling to mind the expenses of their long journey and the death of their men and that a long voyage yet lay before them, were determined that nothing could be left to the enemy. (*Ibidem* 171; negritos nossos)

(...) the gate having been opened and an opportunity of entering obtained for those who had been chosen for the purpose, the

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Now this tumultuous outbreak was directed against Hervey de Glanvill, because he had delivered the hostages to the king rather than to themselves, and also because he had adjudged certain of them who had been guilty of some base offence to have no share in the riches of the city. More than four hundred of them rushed out from camp under arms and made a wide search for him, (...) while they yelled, 'Away with the wretch, let the traitor be punished.' (...)

But the hostages, having learned that our forces were involved in a controversy among themselves, retracted the words of their first entreaty and resorted to dissimulation. So far as the king and his men were concerned, they said that they were willing to respect and to perform all the commitments which they had made; but for our forces they would not for their lives do anything, since these were base, faithless, disloyal, and cruel men, who did not even recognize an obligation to spare their own lords – a turn of events which covered our men with the greatest shame." (David, ed., 167-171 *passim*)

men of Cologne and the Flemings, contriving deception by a clever argument, obtained the consent of **our** men that they should go in first for the sake of their honor. And when they had thus obtained permission and an opportunity of entering first, more than two hundred of them slipped in along with those who had been designated, (...) besides others whom they had already introduced through the breach in the wall which stood open on their side. But none of **our** forces presumed to enter, except those who had been designated. (*Ibidem* 175)

There upon the men of Cologne and the Flemings, when they saw so many temptations to greed in the city, observed not the bond of their oath or plighted faith. They rushed about hither and thither; they pillaged; they broke open doors; they tore open the innermost part of every house; they drove out the citizens and treated them with insults, against right and justice; they scattered utensils and clothing; they insulted maidens; they made wrong equal with right; they secretly snatched away all those things which ought to have been made the common property of all the forces. (...) But **the Normans and the English**, for whom good faith and scruples of conscience were matters of the highest import, remained quietly at the posts to which they had been assigned, (...) preferring to keep their hands from all rapine rather than violate their engagements and the ordinances of the oath-bound association (...). (*Ibidem* 177)

Supostamente irmanados por ideais e sentimentos de unidade cruzadísticos, dir-se-ia, adaptando, para o efeito, o famoso aforismo de George Orwell (1903-1950) em *Animal Farm* (1945), que todos os cruzados são iguais, mas alguns são mais iguais do que outros... Paralelamente, é reconfortante notar o contraste existente entre a autocontenção e o sentido de *fair play* manifestados pelos cruzados de 1147 e os adoptados, em situações similares, por compatriotas seus, anteriores<sup>57</sup> e

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<sup>57</sup> "(...) when a band of English pirate-crusaders stopped off in Galicia in 1112 to give their services (...) in a rebellion against the Bishop of Santiago de Compostella [sic], their kind was already well known, and they were recognized as English a great way off. All along the Iberian coast, and even inland, they pillaged and plundered, murdered and violated churches, keeping up their shocking reputation as a people 'not seasoned with the honey of piety', a reputation not new, and well sustained throughout the crusading period." (Macaulay 18) No tocante a Lisboa, Gérard Pradalié (que, curiosamente, menciona os cruzados alemães, flamengos e ingleses, omitindo os normandos) observa: "Uma pilhagem geral assinala o seu retorno ao Cristianismo." (20) Enquanto Mário Domingues condena, em termos verbalmente violentos, o contingente militar chefiado

posteriores,<sup>58</sup> para já não falar dos homens vindos com o Conde de Cambridge, nas vésperas da chamada “crise” de 1383-1385,<sup>59</sup> ou de comportamentos contemporâneos adoptados por alguns súbditos de Sua Majestade em bares, ruas e recintos desportivos<sup>60</sup> ou de passagem, mais ou menos temporária, por Albufeira...As próprias multiplicidade e diversidade de obras publicadas, na viragem dos sécs. XX-XXI, em torno da identidade inglesa/britânica (para alguns exemplos, cf., Bassnett 183-184) constituem indicadores relativamente recentes de debates em curso e questões em aberto.

Quase em jeito de conclusão, recuperamos aqui as palavras de Ernest Gellner:

Se lançássemos ao mar, como se fosse uma rede, a definição de nações enquanto grupos que querem persistir como comunidades, a pescaria seria demasiado abundante. Ao recolhê-la, verificaríamos que incluiria (...) as comunidades que (...) podemos reconhecer como nações efectivas e coesas: estas nações genuínas querem realmente sê-lo e a sua vida pode (...) representar uma espécie de plebiscito contínuo, informal e (...) auto-afirmativo. Contudo, esta definição (...) também se aplica a (...) outros clubes, (...), bandos, equipas e partidos, para já não falar nas numerosas comunidades e associações da era pré-industrial que não foram recrutadas e definidas de acordo com o princípio nacionalista (...)

Qualquer definição de nação em termos de cultura comum

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por Hervey de Glanvill, apresentando-o como “(...) Britânicos de baixa condição, em sua maioria (...)” (195), “(...) turbamulta mercenária e tumultuosa (...)” (196) e acrescentando, em jeito de remate final, que “(...) os chefes que conduziam estas feras humanas não podiam considerar-se pessoas da melhor nobreza.” (*Ibidem*)

<sup>58</sup> No capítulo intitulado “Crusaders”, Rose Macaulay cita outros exemplos ocorridos já nos reinados de D. Sancho I (1185-1211) e D. Afonso II (1211-1223), mais precisamente em Alvor (1189), Silves (ainda 1189 e 1190), Lisboa (1190) e Alcácer do Sal (1217), concluindo “It is a relief not to have to record subsequent excesses on the part of our ancestors (...), whose em on this occasion to have behaved with no more impropriety than the situation warranted.” (32) Todos estes ataques são igualmente mencionados por Luís Saavedra Machado, que conclui: “Lançando um olhar retrospectivo à série de contactos que os intrépidos guerreiros setentrionais tiveram com a orla marítima peninsular, nota-se que quasi todos eles (...) se caracterizam por um cunho de extraordinária violência e audácia peculiar das irrequietas e vigorosas populações germânicas.” (24)

<sup>59</sup> “Esta gente dos Ingleses, (...) quando se instalaram em Lisboa, procedendo não como homens que tinham vindo para ajudar a defender a terra, mas como se tivessem sido chamados para a destruir e ocasionar todo o mal e desonra aos moradores dela, começaram a espalhar-se pela cidade e termo, matando, roubando e forçando mulheres, mostrando tal domínio e desprezo de todos que se diria que eram seus mortais inimigos e vinham para se assenhorear do Reino.” (Saraiva, ed., 135-136)

<sup>60</sup> Recorde-se, a este propósito, a frequente denominação ou apresentação do hooliganismo como *the English disease*...

corresponde a outra rede que produz igualmente uma pesca demasiado abundante. A história do homem é, e continua a ser, (...) dotada de diferenças culturais. Uma vez, as fronteiras (...) são bem definidas, outras, indistintas; os padrões, ora são claros e simples, ora sinuosos e complexos. Por todas as razões realçadas, habitualmente, esta riqueza de diferenças não converge (...) nem com as fronteiras das unidades políticas (as jurisdições de autoridades efectivas), nem com as fronteiras de unidades abençoadas pelos democráticos sacramentos do consentimento e da vontade.” (86-87)

Na linha das inúmeras formas de mobilidade “pré-industrial”, esta conturbada época de “identidades em movimento” (“*identities in motion*”),<sup>61</sup> na expressão feliz de Francis Mulhern (119); de decomposição e recomposição multiculturais de Estados e nações; de novas vagas e velhos fluxos migratórios; de povos e indivíduos em incertas travessias e (in)constantes diásporas (por motivos políticos, económicos, laborais, religiosos, étnicos, humanitários...), entrevendo quiméricos oásis para lá dos desertos e do Mediterrâneo; e, finalmente, de tantos nacionalismos, fanatismos e sectarismos, mais ou menos intolerantes, fundamentalistas, radicais ou persecutórios, esta época – dizíamos – convida-nos a um repensar permanente e atento de noções, sentimentos e consciências de “identidade”, “etnicidade”, “hibridez” e “pertença”, que transcendem em muito os estudos e as análises históricos, sociológicos, geopolíticos, etc., e forçosamente implicam, em teoria e na prática, reavaliações, renegociações e redesenhos.<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>61</sup> Retomando propostas de Stuart Hall, John Storey recorre ao par de homófonos *roots* e *routes* para evocar justamente a ideia de mobilidade ou movimento inerente a um conceito tão contemporaneamente plural (80ss); cf. também *supra*, n.3.

<sup>62</sup> Como lembra Chris Barker, “(...) ethnic, racial and national identities are contingent and unstable cultural creations with which we identify. They are not universal or absolute existent ‘things’. However, as regulated ways of speaking about ourselves, identities are not arbitrary either; rather, they are temporarily stabilized by social practice. Indeed race, ethnicity and nationality are amongst the more enduring ‘nodal points’ of identity in modern societies.” (247)

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‘LIKE A CANDLE UNDER A BUSHEL’: RHETORICAL  
IDENTITIES IN PORTUGAL AND ENGLAND  
(16<sup>TH</sup> –21<sup>ST</sup> CENTURIES)

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Anyone working today at the interface of Anglo-Saxon and Lusophone cultures is likely to be keenly aware of the differences between Portuguese and English academic writing styles. For while Portuguese tends to be very elaborate, with complex coordinated syntax, theatrical flourishes and high-flown diction, English is much more straightforward, employing a more down-to-earth vocabulary, simpler sentences and a clear linear style of argumentation (Bennett). In this paper, I argue that these differences may be traced back to the Early Modern period when Protestant and Catholic identities became clearly distinguished in the wake of the Reformation, and that they subsequently became *markers* of those identities, hotly disputed at moments of political or religious tension.

Even more obviously than in architecture, where the elaborate Baroque of the Catholics stood in stark contrast to the plain aesthetic favoured by the early Protestants (Levy), these two rhetorical styles accumulated around them a plethora of social, cultural and political values that persisted for centuries in Portugal, becoming one of the battlegrounds in the long-drawn-out conflict between “ancients” and “moderns” (Serrão 52). That is to say, as the “plain” style was gradually adopted in England in the 16th and 17th centuries as the only suitable vehicle for the “new science” that was being developed by figures such as Newton, Boyle and Hooke, it became associated not only with a progressive brand of politics that favoured the interests of the bourgeoisie above those of the landed aristocracy, but also with the forces of capitalism and democracy that were being ushered

in at the same time (Hill; Weber; Tawney). Over the coming centuries, religious and political leaders in the Catholic world showed their distaste for these developments by proscribing authors and ideologies associated with this progressive current and reinstating traditional epistemologies in their schools and universities. Hence, the elaborate “Ciceronian” style of rhetoric that had fallen out of favour in England with the onset of the scientific revolution remained for centuries the preferred style in Portugal (and indeed, elsewhere in the Catholic world), associated in people’s minds with “the virtues of distinction, elegance, nobility and classicism” (Timmermans 214) in direct opposition to the forces of socialism, liberalism and positivism.

This paper examines the historical circumstances that led up to this rhetorical schism, briefly tracing the developments of both English and Portuguese writing styles in their respective cultures. It then looks more closely at four distinct moments in history when these two rhetorical attitudes came into conflict, closing with a brief discussion of the rather different balance of power that exists today.

## 1. Historical Overview

The two styles in question (which, for convenience’s sake I shall here term the “traditional” and “modern” styles) have their origins in Classical Rhetoric, which played an important role in both Scholasticism and Humanism, the educational methods that were dominant all over Europe until the 17th century. Both of these philosophies differed from the modern scientific approach in that they believed knowledge to reside exclusively in words; consequently, schooling at pre-university level focused almost exclusively upon the exegesis of authoritative texts and training in the use of language. Indeed, for the humanists, language was a civilizing force, a God-given faculty, which could move men to virtue and bring about good, justice and liberty. Hence, eloquence was cultivated as an educational discipline and literary ideal, and abundant speech was valued as an indication of inner worth – “a magnificent and impressive thing, surging along like a golden river, with thoughts and words pouring out in rich abundance” (Erasmus 638).

Within this tradition, there were three aspects to language that the effective orator needed to consider: *logos*, the referential dimension; *ethos*, the moral dimension; and *pathos*, the emotive aspect. There were also three styles that he could choose from, ranging from the Grand Style, characterised by heightened

emotion, erudite diction and the use of richly ornate figures of speech, to the Plain Style, which was simple, direct and unambiguous, with the Middle Style falling somewhere between the two. A competent orator was expected to have command of all three styles, in order to be able to suit his words to a particular occasion and public.

However, after the Reformation, the Ciceronian grand style began to fall into disrepute in England. It was naturally distrusted by Protestants, who disliked ornamentation and artifice in all realms of life, and its appeal to the emotions began to be condemned as sophistry or unfair manipulation. Moreover, the early scientists, who were themselves Protestants (Merton), required a linguistic tool that was clear and simple, in order to provide a transparent window onto the physical world. Hence, of the three Classical styles, the plain style was gradually reified as the only worthy vehicle of the “truth” (Croll).

An important figure in this process was Francis Bacon who, in his *Advancement of Learning* (1605), attacked the very philosophy of language upon which the rhetorical and scholastic tradition was based, criticizing as “the first distemper of learning” the tendency to “study words, and not matter”.

It seems to me that Pygmalion’s frenzy is a good emblem or portraiture of this vanity, for words are but the images of matter, and except they have life of reason and invention, to fall in love with them is all one as to fall in love with a picture (3.284).

This was echoed by other men of the age, such as Ben Jonson, Hobbes and Locke, who also called for precision and economy in the use of language, priority to content over form, and the avoidance of fancy terms and “affected obscurities”. Then, when the Royal Society was formed in 1660, the plain style was made a prerequisite; Thomas Sprat, in his *History of the Royal Society* (1667), recounts how it specifically rejected “amplifications, digressions, and swelling of style” in favour of “the primitive purity, and shortness, when men delivered so many things, almost in an equal number of words” (113).

It should be pointed out that this was not just a question of linguistic taste. What was taking place here was nothing short of a major epistemological revolution, in which the text-based philosophy of the Scholastics and Humanists was being ousted by another that gave priority to “things” over words. The Scholastic deductive approach was replaced by an inductive one; observation and experimentation were installed as the only reliable methods for gleaning knowledge about the world; and

(perhaps most importantly for our purposes), the theory of signs that underpinned both Scholasticism and Humanism (Foucault 19-49) gave way to a philosophy of “linguistic realism”,<sup>1</sup> according to which “truth” could be accessed directly by the use of simple straightforward language that was believed to reflect the way things actually were in reality. The plain style was thus instituted as the only acceptable vehicle for “factual” or objective knowledge, which, over the course of the following centuries, became firmly demarcated from “fictional” or subjective representation. Today, as White (22) has pointed out, proficiency in it is felt to constitute basic literacy in the English-speaking world.

In Portugal, however, Enlightenment values never really took hold, due largely to the power of the Catholic Church supported by a succession of conservative political regimes. Scholasticism was reinstated by the Council of Trent (1545-1563) as the official intellectual method of the Catholic Church, and implemented by the Society of Jesus throughout their extensive network of educational establishments; and as a result, classical rhetoric retained an important role in the *curriculum* long after it had been abandoned in England. As the Jesuits’ goal was above all to impress and seduce, it was the elaborate Ciceronian style, with its emphasis upon pathos and beauty, that was favoured (Timmermans 123; Levy 46; Conley 152-157). It is not surprising, therefore, that this style should have become associated with the conservative ideology promoted by the Catholic Church and by social factions committed to preserving the *status quo* against the forces of change that were causing such upheavals elsewhere in Europe.

Over the coming centuries, these rhetorical identities came into conflict on a number of occasions. As we shall see, they were initially associated primarily with religious denomination, but later acquired broader political and ideological implications in the context of the Enlightenment and Catholic Counter-Enlightenment.

## **2. The Haddon/Osorius Controversy (1562)**

By the middle of the 16th century, connections were already being made between rhetorical style and religious identity. When the Portuguese bishop, Jerónimo Osório, wrote to the

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<sup>1</sup> This is defined by Michael Dummett as “the belief that statements (...) possess an objective truth-value independent of our means of knowing it” (146).

recently-crowned Queen Elizabeth of England in 1562 urging her to return to the Catholic fold, his richly ornate style (which had earned him the epithet of “the Portuguese Cicero”) became the target of satirical attack from Protestant opponents. Indeed, Bacon, in the *Advancement of Learning*, predictably included Osorius on his list of men who “hunt more after words than matter”.<sup>2</sup>

Following the publication of the epistle to the Queen, a controversy arose between Osorius and the distinguished English Latinist Walter Haddon (1516-1572) that to some extent served as the prototype for subsequent contentions. As Osorius’ attack on the English Reformation was rhetorical rather than theological (Ryan 143), Haddon, who was regarded as the best Latin orator, poet and epistolist of his generation, was selected by the English court to respond to the letter. Thus, with the honour of the nation to defend, Haddon set about demolishing Osorius’ argument point by point (Ryan 145-147).

Particularly interesting in the light of later developments in both English and Portuguese discourse was Haddon’s criticism that Osorius does not present any evidence to support his charges, but merely attacks with vague generalities. Indeed, Osorius accuses the modern “spoilers” of the church of leading unseemly lives, as well as preaching heretical doctrines; but he does not name a single modern reformer apart from Luther, and gives no indication of any familiarity with specifically English aspects of the Reformation (Ryan 146, 154 note 13). Haddon, for his part, takes care to support his own reply with references to specific historical figures (Ryan 146). Thus, we have here an early manifestation of a feature that continues to distinguish the two discourses today, namely the taste for abstract generalization typical of the “traditional” style, *versus* the insistence that assertions be supported by concrete evidence of particular instances in the “modern” style.

The reception that these two texts received outside England offers some insight into the cultural climate of the time. While Osorius’ letter enjoyed great popularity on the Continent, becoming the “rage of Paris” (Ryan 143), Haddon’s reply seems to have had very little circulation (Ryan 149). Nevertheless, the controversy attracted sufficient attention in learned circles for others to enter the fray, with the focus inevitably falling upon the quality of the prose rather than the content of the argument.

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<sup>2</sup> “Then grew the flowing and watery vein of Osorius, the Portugal bishop, to be in price” (Bk. I.iv.ii).

For example, the English Catholic Richard Shacklock described Haddon as “a candle vnder a bushell” compared “to the glistryng stares, whiche are this day in the Catholike church, and namely to Osorius, against whome he setteth hymselfe”(Shacklock 4, cit. Ryan 149)

Unfortunately, the fact that Osorius was writing in Latin means that we cannot readily compare his discourse with what is produced in Portuguese today. However, it is clear from the terms of the above controversy that a florid ornate style was already becoming a marker of Catholic identity. Over the next few centuries, this would become more pronounced, chiefly due to the remarkable influence of the Jesuits, who were fast becoming the most powerful educational force in the Catholic world.

### **3. Luís António de Verney and the Jesuits (1751)**

By the mid 18<sup>th</sup> century, the Society of Jesus had numerous colleges, seminaries and lower schools in Portugal, and Rhetoric, as a discipline, was a staple part of its *curriculum*. However, resentment was now beginning to grow against the order, which had become extraordinarily rich and powerful. Amongst its various critics were the *estrangeirados*, a heterogeneous network of Portuguese intellectuals that lived and studied abroad, but who nevertheless used the knowledge acquired there for the modernization of Portugal (Carneiro *et al.*). One of the most influential of these was Luís António Verney, an Oratorian friar based in Rome, whose *Verdadeiro Método de Estudar* is often credited with providing the theoretical impetus for the educational reforms implemented by the Marquis of Pombal between 1759 and 1772 (Marques 377).

This work, published clandestinely in Lisbon in 1751, and dedicated, ironically, to the Jesuits, consisted of 16 letters, supposedly addressed to a Professor of the University of Coimbra. The letters criticised Portuguese practice in a wide range of areas, including education, the use of Portuguese and Latin, science, medicine, philosophy, law and rhetoric. Not surprisingly, this earned the author the wrath of the Jesuits, to the extent that there were calls for an *auto-de-fé* for him and his works (Ferreira 16-18).

Verney advocated replacing the verbalism of the Scholastics with more modern scientific methods, and often does so in terms not unlike those used by Bacon and the other representatives of the “New Philosophy” in England: “Este é o comum vício dos Aristotélicos: toda a sua Física é mistério; são altíssimas

contemplações, cobertas com o véu de palavras pouco comuns e fora do significado usual.”(173)

As for historiography, this, he claimed, should employ a concise linear style uninterrupted by the kinds of ornamental digressions that so delighted orators of the age.

O estilo da história pede clareza e brevidade: aquela, para explicar todos os acidentes da matéria; esta, para que – sem longas frases, que suspendem a atenção – descreva as coisas que deve, com um fio de discurso continuado e sem ser interrompido com aqueles movimentos que constituem o orador. (123)

However, Verney was not attempting to do away with Rhetoric altogether, as had happened in England. Rather, he wanted to return it to the kind of purity it had had under the early Christian humanists, before it became sullied by the manipulations of the Jesuits. He denounces affectation, insisting that figures and tropes “should be used at the right time and place, when the discourse requires (...)” “Há-de haver proporção, eleição, disposição, ou seja no discurso familiar, ou na história, ou na cadeira. Este é o grande segredo de falar bem...” (100).

Nor does he reject the Ciceronian grand style outright. On the contrary, he devotes a considerable amount of space discussing how it may be used appropriately, so that the orator does not degenerate into a quixotic figure, verbally tilting at windmills (110-118).

Many of Verney’s recommendations concerning the teaching of science were effectively put into practice in the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century during the Marquis of Pombal’s sweeping reforms, when the Jesuits were expelled, their textbooks and teaching methods banned, and the University of Coimbra completely overhauled. However, Portugal’s brief Enlightenment did not last for long. When King Joseph died in 1777, Pombal was deposed and a new group took over the reins of power (Marques 394-5). It would take another couple of centuries before the plain style and the ideology that accompanied it would truly come into the ascendancy again.

#### **4. The Coimbra Question (1865)**

If anything, the tensions that we have been tracing in this article became even more pronounced in the 19th century, as rhetorical style became a way of distinguishing traditionalists

from progressives in the bitter conflicts that swept through Portugal at this time.<sup>3</sup> On the conservative side, classical rhetoric underwent something of a revival in the early part of the century, largely in reaction to the excesses of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic conquests, and represented a manifestation of nostalgia for conservative Catholic values (Timmermans 214). However, Liberalism was also growing in force, attracting forward-looking intellectuals (Marques 453) that generally favoured a style of discourse that was clear, transparent and democratic, in keeping with their ideals, and for which ready-made models were available in the texts that managed to make their way into the country from abroad via the network of *es-trangeirados* (Carneiro *et al.* 2000).

These two rhetorical identities once more came into conflict in 1864-5 in the famous controversy known as the “Coimbra Question”, between the conservative educator, António Feliciano de Castilho, and the group that were to become famous as the “1870 generation” led by Antero de Quental. After Castilho had criticised members of the “Coimbra school” in a postface to the *Poema da Mocidade* by Pinheiro Chagas, Antero de Quental responded vehemently with a leaflet entitled *Bom Senso e Bom Gosto*, which overtly challenged the canonised tastes of his day. Presenting himself as an unknown outsider with nothing to lose (3), Antero accused Castilho of attacking the group because of their intellectual independence and irreverence towards established figures such as himself (5). Like Bacon and Verney before him, he criticised “those that worship *words*, which enthral the masses, and despise *ideas*, which are difficult and do not sparkle” (9); Castilho’s own critical writings, he claimed, “contain no ideas – though enough words to fill a synonym dictionary” (14, translated by me).

Castilho’s pompous style may be illustrated by the following extract from the prologue to his “Method for the Teaching of Reading and Writing”.

Os espíritos elevados, que são, conjuntamente com as circunstâncias e o acaso, a quem se devem em geral, nas artes as invenções; nas ciências, os descobrimentos; os espíritos sublimes, arrojam-se às conquistas longínquas, desdenham as pequenezes subjacentes; só se comprazem nas esferas superiores, para além

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<sup>3</sup> In the first part of the century, this took the form of a struggle between absolutists and liberals, with the protagonists mutating into monarchists and republicans in the second (Marques 446-518).

do experimentado e do conhecido. O génio que pesa e mede os astros quase imperceptíveis pelos abismos do céu, a distâncias que pareciam incomensuráveis, que de vezes não deixa passar sem os perceber os elementos e sucessos da vida trivial, que em torno dele se revolvem. (xlii-xliii)

This passage cannot be rendered meaningfully in English without radical structural reformulation. Not only does it represent a lengthy detour from the main argument, apparently included as a rhetorical flourish rather than for any important information that it might bring to bear, the prose itself breaks all the rules of English academic discourse. The lexis is erudite and abstract, and the syntax (with the exception of the first sentence) is convoluted, complicated by inversions, apposition and subordination. Particularly noteworthy is the last sentence, which does not have a finite verb, but rather four relative clauses piled one on top of the other.

Antero's own style, and the political tendency underpinning it, may be illustrated in a lecture that he presented in the Lisbon Casino in 1871, entitled *Causas da Decadência dos Povos Peninsulares*. This was the first in a series of talks organised by the "1870 generation" known as the "Democratic Conferences", designed to provide a platform for their ideas on social, moral and political change, and raise public awareness of issues that were shaking Europe at the time. The passage in which Antero first expounds his argument concerning the economic, political and cultural decline of Spain and Portugal is interesting not only for its content but for its style of discourse.

Ora esses fenómenos capitais são três, e de três espécies: um moral, outro político, outro económico. O primeiro é a transformação de catolicismo, pelo concílio de Trento. O segundo, o estabelecimento de absolutismo, pela ruína das liberdades locais. O terceiro, o desenvolvimento das conquistas longinhas. (...) esses fenómenos eram exactamente o oposto dos três factos capitais, que se davam nas nações que lá fora cresciam, se moralizavam, se faziam inteligentes, ricas, poderosas, e tomavam a dianteira da civilização. Aqueles três factos civilizadores foram a liberdade moral, conquistada pela Reforma ou pela filosofia; a elevação da classe média, instrumento do progresso nas sociedades modernas, e directora dos reis, até ao dia que os destronou; a indústria, finalmente, verdadeiro fundamento do mundo actual, que veio dar às nações uma concepção nova do Direito, substituindo o trabalho à força, e o comércio à guerra de conquista (30-31).

Despite having been written over 140 years ago, this prose scarcely differs from the kind of the discourse that is today in the English-speaking world: there is a clear topic sentence in which he summarizes his main points, which are then subsequently developed, firstly as simple sentences within the paragraph, and then as entire sections within the text as a whole. His sentences are clear and concise, with no extraneous ornament or elaboration, and the lexis is used denotatively.

This would seem to illustrate better than anything the connection between prose style and political inclination. However, as with Verney, we should beware of drawing any simplistic analogies between the progressive camp in Portugal and the positivistic/utilitarian ideology that was in the ascendancy in England. Antero de Quental was by no means relinquishing the humanistic paradigm for the scientific one. On the contrary, in his later essay, *Tendências Gerais da Filosofia na Segunda Metade do Séc. XIX*<sup>4</sup>, he specifically criticises the “icy fatalism that science breathes into the heart of man” (“o gélido fatalismo soprado pela ciência sobre o coração do homem”), situating himself firmly within the Continental tradition of philosophical idealism in direct opposition to the materialistic or mechanistic worldview perpetrated by Cartesianism and Newtonian science (Saraiva and Lopes 863).

This suggests that the values and ideologies clustering around these rhetorical identities are not quite as polarised as it might seem at first sight. On the contrary, both Verney and Antero seem to be proposing some kind of gentle reform process for Portugal, involving the retention of some aspects of the traditional mindset while changing others. This, however, was not the case in the final situation that I am going to describe, in which the challenge to the conservative camp was issued in terms so intransigent that a radical response was inevitable.

## 5. **Silvio Lima vs. Cardinal Cerejeira (1930)**

After the brief experiment at democracy that was the First Republic in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, conservative forces once more returned to power in Portugal with the coup that led to the implementation of the dictatorship, known as the *Estado Novo*. The ideology that underpinned this regime was nationalistic,

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<sup>4</sup> First published in 1890 in the *Revista de Portugal*, vol II.

authoritarian and corporatist, and deeply rooted in traditional Catholic values, which had profound consequences upon academic production. Indeed, teachers at all levels of the education system that threatened the Catholic national identity with secular, republican or democratic ideas were subjected to severe controls (Torgal 73), and many opted for voluntary exile rather than face persecution (Marques 656).

The state was also highly critical of modern science, a position that probably emanated from Pope Pius X (1903-14), who suppressed any reconciliation between Catholic teaching and modern knowledge. In Portugal, the most important proponent of these ideas was the priest Manuel Gonçalves Cerejeira, whose famous work, *A Igreja e o Pensamento Contemporâneo*, affirmed the primacy of faith over reason, arguing that science was unable to explain reality in its full immensity or satisfy men's profoundest needs.

The Preface to Cerejeira's text, as might be expected, is a classic example of the "traditional" style of discourse, which, as we have seen, has been consistently associated with conservative Catholic positions since the 16th century. References to Horace and a Latin quotation situate the work within the traditional humanities paradigm; while the elevated diction and complex syntax confer pomp and dignity.

Embora contra o prudente preceito horaciano, que manda durmam nove anos, fechados na discreta gaveta, os mal sazoados produtos do espírito, saem agora à luz da publicidade estes ensaios, que foram há mais de um ano o objecto de algumas conferências por aí realizadas.

Para não desdizer de todo em todo ao velho Horácio, aqui se confessa que contudo sofreram, com alguma demora de publicação, ligeiro trabalho de lima sobre a primeira redacção, consoante aquele seu dito:

«limaelabor et mora» (vii).

Although this pompous tone is not sustained consistently throughout the whole work, there are plenty of convoluted sentences, such as the following, characterised by constant deferral of the main information and a marked use of subordination, realised chiefly through participle phrases (*gerúndios*) and relative clauses:

Examinando os objectos que os sentidos e a consciência nos apresentam, o espírito humano não se limita a determinar as suas propriedades e relações – o que faz a Ciência; mas, reconhecendo

que eles não têm em si a sua razão de ser, por uma necessidade tão viva, ou melhor, mais viva que a primeira, procura explicá-los, determinar a sua origem, natureza e fim, referindo-os às suas razões últimas – objecto da Metafísica; elevando-se assim até Deus, entra em relações com Ele pela Religião, relações que são estabelecidas pelo próprio Deus – na Revelação Cristã (11-12).

This, then, is an excellent example of the conventional association between the “traditional” rhetorical style and the conservative religious-political identity that we have already seen in other periods of Portugal’s history.

The work was a great success, running to various editions. However, in 1930, it was openly challenged by a young lecturer from the Department of Historical and Philosophical Studies, Sílvio Lima, in his *Notas Críticas ao Livro do Sr. Cardeal Cerejeira “A Igreja e o Pensamento Contemporâneo”*. In this controversy, the two epistemologies whose fortunes we have been tracing throughout this article came head to head in a dramatic fashion, revealing the ultimate incommensurability of the two paradigms.

Lima’s critique of Cerejeira was an attempt to apply the kind of reasoning used in modern scientific discourse to a text that was designed primarily to appeal to the “soul”. Asserting the primacy of “facts” over dogma, Lima explains that a laboratory analysis of the host used in the sacrament of the Eucharist would reveal it to be mere unleavened bread and that no transubstantiation had taken place (143), while a historical approach to religion could also show that many aspects of the faith were in fact “false” and “anti-historical” (141). Elsewhere, he accuses Cerejeira of “Catholico-centrism” (26-27) and of failing to produce evidence to support his assertions (17-18) – an interesting echo of Haddon’s criticism of Osorius.<sup>5</sup>

Given the intellectual and political naivety of this assault, the results were hardly surprising. Sílvio Lima lost his job, and though reinstated in 1942 with the help of an influential friend, was systematically refused promotion to a professorship until after 1974. The incident, however, serves as a reminder that the truth claims of any knowledge paradigm – and the virtues of the discourse in which it is couched – are only as solid as the power base that sustains them, and that when major shifts occur in the political and economic infrastructure of a given social

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<sup>5</sup> For a detailed analysis of the terms and consequences of this controversy, see Gregório (36-63).

system, epistemological and rhetorical shifts are likely to follow.

Indeed, this is what seems to have happened in the 35 or so years since Portugal became a liberal democracy. For, although the plain style of discourse has usually been associated with the values of progress and modernity, in opposition to Catholic-based conservatism of the traditional style, there has recently been a distinct shift in perceptions amongst Portuguese academics, as revealed by a survey of humanities and social science researchers carried out in 2002 and 2008 (Bennett 75-116). That is to say, with English firmly ensconced as the lingua franca at the centre of the world system, there are some that now see the plain style as an imperialistic rather than liberating force, the agent of an alien culture that is colonizing insidiously, intent on obliterating traditional approaches to knowledge. Today, both the “traditional” and the “modern” style are produced in roughly equal measure in Portuguese academia, as was shown by a recent corpus study of Portuguese academic writing across different disciplines and genres (Bennett 27-74). But it is unclear how long this balance will remain. Given the pressure on Portuguese academics to publish internationally, and the relentless march of globalization, it is possible that, in a few years’ time, the “traditional” style will have completely disappeared. Irrespective of its virtues or deficiencies as a heuristic tool, or of the values with which it has traditionally been associated, the elimination of this alternative way of construing knowledge will leave the intellectual world immeasurably impoverished.

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A DEFENCE OF WHIG FEMINISM IN CENTLIVRE'S  
PORTUGUESE *PLAYS THE WONDER! A WOMAN KEEPS  
A SECRET* (1714) AND *MAR-PLOT; OR THE SECOND PART  
OF THE BUSY BODY* (1710)

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### I. Susannah Centlivre and *déplacement*

Susannah Centlivre was one of the most prolific playwrights of her time (Centlivre, *The Wonder* 10), with 19 plays in 23 years, 17 poems and three books of letters to her name (Staves in Kastan 426) and she certainly is one of the most successful ones, with a number of performances of her plays that make her second only to Shakespeare (Martínez-García 30). The plays that will be the focus of this study, *The Wonder! A Woman Keeps a Secret* (1714) and *Mar-plot; or the Second Part of The Busy Body* (1710) differ greatly as regards audience's reception: while *The Wonder*, extremely popular during the 18<sup>th</sup> century, was revived until the late 19<sup>th</sup> century (Centlivre, *The Wonder* 10), *Mar-plot* was a disappointment from its premiere and has scarcely been revived. Reception data notwithstanding, these two plays stand out in a theatrical corpus heavily influenced by the Spanish comedies of intrigue, "cloak-and-dagger comedies" with "plots [which] feature challenging obstacles for the lovers, ingenious plotters, complex intrigues, and elements of farce" (Staves 427).

In the two plays studied, the playwright not only turns to the Iberian Peninsula and the "Mediterranean countries" as a source of inspiration for her plots and theatrical devices, but she moves the action to these contexts "to heighten the heroines's confinement and to make the idea of confining women and forcing them into marriages as unattractive as possible to

an English audience” (Staves 427). This technique, this *déplacement* (Puga, “A Lisboa Católica” 113; Puga, “Entre O Terreiro Do Paço” 325) works not just as a criticism against these unfair Roman Catholic practices, but “as a means of criticising the British society of the time, for many were the men and women that could identify themselves with what they saw onstage” (Martínez-García 192): the playwright may locate the action in the exotic streets of Lisbon, but the situations resonate with her audiences. Thus, Centlivre manages a veiled criticism of “a suposta liberdade feminina inglesa e, logo, também a crítica social à realidade britânica, que é assim desfamiliarizada através da técnica do *déplacement*” (Puga, “Entre O Terreiro Do Paço” 325).

This paper argues that this *déplacement* works not just as a commentary on a society that prides itself on being a nation “in love with Liberty” (Centlivre, *The Wonder* 48) but as the most plausible scenario for the defence of the author’s Whig politics and mercantilism. Portugal, then, not only works as a distancing device, but as the only logical setting: if all three nations (British, Spanish and Portuguese) were to meet in one place, that would be Lisbon, the trading capital of the Anglo-Portuguese alliance, a neutral battleground where two opposing social systems collide: on one side, what Foucault came to call the “deployment of alliance: a system of kinship ties, of transmission of names and possessions” (Foucault 106) represented by Spain and Portugal and their strict Roman Catholic ideas. On the other side, Britain, representing the “deployment of sexuality” (Foucault 106) advocating for more freedom and equality amongst genders and social classes. This paper will focus on Lisbon’s double role in the play: a mirror in which British audiences can see their best and worst features reflected and the arena in which Centlivre’s Whig sympathies and her defence of the merchants contest and challenge the outdated Roman Catholic notions of kinship, bloodlines and marriage; to that end, the actual relationship between both countries will be first studied, to then proceed with an analysis of Centlivre’s construction of Portuguese and British characters and of the ways in which her passionate Liberal ideals filter through.

## **II. Setting the scene: the Anglo-Portuguese Alliance and the War of Spanish Succession**

Although a primitive commercial pact seems to have been struck some time during the 12<sup>th</sup> century, thanks to the “convenient position of Portugal as a stopping place for ships sailing

to the Holy Land, which made it possible for the English to help the early Portuguese kings in their long struggle with the Moors” (Shillington 109), the Anglo-Portuguese Alliance can be traced back as far as 1386 when “the first formal treaty of all between Great Britain and Portugal was signed” (Caldwell 149). The Treaty of Windsor, signed on May 9<sup>th</sup> 1386, was the starting point of a union between two nations that would last well into our days, with the exception of a time when “it was in abeyance (...) during the reign of Elizabeth and (...) a brief interruption in the time of Cromwell” (Prestage 69). The economic implications of this partnership are quite clear for “the prosperity of Britain in the 19<sup>th</sup> century was in great part due to the commercial expertise and efforts of the merchants in earlier times” (Shaw xi), but the political and social aspects of the longest standing coalition between two countries (Prestage 69) are less easy to grasp.

As regards politics, the Alliance underwent several revisions and it seems that “whenever the alliance is renewed (...) Portugal enters into special temporary agreements related to the particular emergency” (Caldwell 150). In 1654, for instance, “Article I forbade either party from adhering to any war, counsel or treaty to the damage of the other” (Shaw 9) a precaution against attacks from Spain. After some years of uncertainty, came the War of the Spanish Succession (1701) with Portugal first siding with Spain against Britain. Still, after the signing of the Methuen Treaty, ensuring exclusive trading rights for both countries, Portugal joined Britain in a war that “ended with the signing of the Peace of Utrecht in 1714” (Shaw 19), the year *The Wonder* was premiered (Lock 98).

The social implications of the pact are also quite remarkable; as two cultures that rested upon extremely different value systems, co-existence was sometimes awkward. One of the main differences between both societies was the diverging religions that dominated it, represented in our plays as “os binómios (...) o Português católico e o Inglês protestante” (Puga, “A Lisboa Católica” 116) and the contrasting principles that ruled them. By the 1700s “trade was not considered demeaning and younger sons of gentry and aristocracy were frequently apprenticed to merchants for a fee” (Shaw 3) amongst liberals in Britain. This idea was related not only to Protestant self-improvement and a strong work ethic, but also to Whig politics of equality. Portugal, as a traditionally Roman Catholic nation, looked less favourably on these practices and “aristocrats and *fidalgos* were forbidden to trade” (Shaw 4), since it was deemed to be below them: in Portugal, and by extension Spain, the lines separating the social classes were very clearly drawn and they seemed to

be quite immobile, unlike in Britain, where Protestantism argued that through sheer hard-work and self-discipline, one could rise in the ranks of society. The general belief was that the Roman Catholic nations were stricter in their morals and beliefs, allowing for less freedom, while the British Protestant nation was seen as a place of liberty. The cultural shock that the coexistence of such different systems brought about, caused puzzlement in the population, but it also generated a fascinating exchange of ideas as portrayed in Centlivre's work.

The playwright uses Lisbon as the battle ground where two opposing systems engage with each other in a battle for supremacy: on the one hand, the strict Roman Catholic ideas represented by Spain and Spanish characters, representative of the deployment of alliance, with its insistence on tradition, the maintenance of the purity of bloodlines and the honour of the family using any means necessary.

On the other side we find the Protestant Whig ideas, representative of the deployment of sexuality, defending the unfair treatment worthy Portuguese merchants are receiving and extolling the virtues of British merchant women, thus preaching equality between the sexes and advocating for the improvement of one's social position through honest and hard work. The transplant of the action to Lisbon helps add emphasis to these ideas and allows Centlivre some safe distance to put forward the thesis that, in Britain, not only are intelligent and capable women like Isabinda, unfairly judged by chastity rather than actions, but that worthy men like Frederick are being excluded from positions of power because of Britain's inability to let go of outdated notions of honour. In this sense, Centlivre's main premise is that merchant classes have a superior system of values based on Whig ideologies of freedom, respect and self-improvement, which is, in her eyes, not only fairer, but more rational and inclusive.

### **III. (Dis)honourable manhood: "Bloody-minded Spaniards" and gentleman merchants**

In her Portuguese plays, Centlivre divides her characters in two clearly defined groups, not based on their nationalities, but rather according to their ideas on the nature of honour: on the one hand, those who attempt to perpetuate the notion that "honour was deeply connected to lineage and family inheritance" (Martínez-García 105) arguing it "was not (...) an individual possession, but (...) belonging to the collective of the family (...) [so]

an affront to one member of a family was seen as an insult and challenge to the honour of the whole household" (Foyster 1999: 32). This notion, typical of the deployment of alliance, would justify the intervention of fathers, husbands and brothers if and when affairs of the heart interfere with their claim to honour and manhood or threaten the century-long honourability of the family. The other group portrayed in these plays, and which is the vehicle for Centlivre's liberal ideas, is composed of characters who belong to the mercantilist classes and who claim that honour "to be regarded as a reward for individual virtue" (Foyster 35) rather than an inherited family possession.

Having both groups of characters interacting and confronting each other in a "distant" battlefield (Lisbon), Centlivre deconstructs and contests the antiquated ideas about honour, blood and lineage that still existed in Britain, showing audiences that these outdated notions are not only unfair but completely unfounded: in both plays Centlivre presents audiences with two Grandees of Portugal who use the word 'honour' insistently, misusing and abusing the term. What is more, through their unfair treatment of others and violent stubbornness, they turn the term into an empty word, devoid of all real value. It will be two merchants, Frederick and Isabinda, who will demonstrate the true meaning of honour, coupled with a moral superiority that does not depend on rank or gender.

The first group of characters, typically, "believed that the good name of the family could be preserved through advantageous marriages, thus establishing connections with other "honourable" houses, an insurance that the good name of the family would be carried onto future generations" (Martínez-García 106). Such is the case of Don Lopez in *The Wonder*, who has tried, and failed, to secure such a union for his son Felix and whom we find in the opening scene talking to his son's best friend Frederick, a wealthy merchant who, as it will be discussed later on, should be the real "hero" of this play. With just this conversation we can immediately get a sense of who Don Lopez is and to what extent he adheres to the principles of the deployment of alliance, a fact that seems to make him, according to the ideas of the age, more Spanish than Portuguese. As the figurehead of such system, he "believes honour is the privilege of a small number of families that have managed to maintain their status generation after generation" (Martínez-García 359), rather than acquired through hardwork.

Thus, although he does appreciate Frederick's friendship with his son Don Felix, he does not recognise him as a gentleman, due to his humble origins: "I am not ignorant of the

friendship between my son and you. I have heard him commend your morals, and lament your want of noble birth” (Centlivre, *The Wonder* 47). This idea is so ingrained in Portuguese and Spanish societies that even Frederick himself seems to believe it: “That’s nature’s fault, my Lord. It is some comfort not to owe one’s misfortunes to one’s self, yet it is impossible not to want noble birth” (Centlivre, *The Wonder* 47). Still, his polite responses contrast greatly with Don Lopez’s rude remarks and cruel insistence on Frederick’s lack of rank and of honour, “’Tis a pity indeed such excellent parts as you are master of, should be eclipsed by mean extraction” (Centlivre, *The Wonder* 47). Don Lopez’s lack of sympathy comes from his belief that he and his son are better men than Frederick by virtue of their title and birth and that they are privy to a unique sense of honour that merchants do not only not share, but are unable to apprehend. For her part, Centlivre will show that this idea of “honour” at the heart of the lives of these aristocrats is not just outdated, but completely unfair and opposed to the notions of honour that both the author and her merchants live by. Don Lopez soon tells Frederick of his plan to marry his daughter to a rich Spanish merchant; he, like many aristocrats, may have the title, but lacks the funds to sustain it, so he decides to arrange a union that will bring him economic advantage. Audiences may wonder at why having such a good specimen of honourable manhood in front of him (Frederick), Don Lopez marries his daughter off to a Spanish merchant, further emphasising his foolishness and the unfair treatment good men like Frederick receive in countries where the deployment of alliance is still present.

Don Lopez soon explains his choice, “he has two things which render him very agreeable to me for a Son-in-Law, he is Rich and well Born” (Centlivre, *The Wonder* 48). Although marriage to a merchant might diminish his family honour, Don Lopez takes care to choose not just a rich man, but one who has, according to his Roman Catholic ideas, a claim to honour. He admits to having arranged this marriage to try and regain some of the family money lost during the Spanish War of Succession, “(...) you are not insensible what I have suffered by these Wars, (...) this is acting the Politick part, Frederick, without which, it is impossible to keep up the Port of this Life [social position or standing]” (Centlivre, *The Wonder* 48), a survival tactic common in places like Portugal where “arranged marriages for interest (...) arose as a major mechanism for the circulation of wealth among the propertied and moneyed classes” (Velissariou 117). The displacement of the action to Lisbon allows audiences to believe Britain different, a country where the wishes of children

are respected, where such a practice would be condemned, an attitude mirrored by Frederick's outrage, "You will not surely sacrifice the lovely Isabella to age, avarice, and a fool. Pardon the expression, my lord, but my concern for your beauteous daughter transports me beyond that good manners which I ought to pay your Lordship's presence" (Centlivre, *The Wonder* 47). Still, Don Lopez remains firm in the face of these very just and fair arguments: as the *pater familias* of the deployment of alliance his main concern is not for the happiness of the children, but for the maintenance or improvement of the good name of the family. Consequently, "since family honour and the purity of both their bloodlines and names were at the centre of this deployment of alliance" his aim is to arrange marriages "as a means of implementing, improving relationships that already existed between powerful families, or to create new and profitable connections" (Martínez-García 64).

As customary, Don Lopez strives to maintain the good name of the family intact, an even bigger worry in his case since it has suffered a major blow after the unruly behaviour of both his children: his son has refused to marry the woman chosen for him, injured the lady's brother in a duel and has fled. His daughter, desperate at the thought of an unwanted union, jumps out a window and disappears. All of Don Lopez's efforts to repair the damage done to his name are in vain and he is finally tricked into accepting his children's choice of spouse. Although a triumph for his children, it is also a partial triumph for the man himself and his ideas about kinship: Isabella, married beneath her station, will be carried off to Britain and the affront to the family name will be forgotten in the distance. Don Felix, for his part, is more fortunate in his choice of spouse, for Violante not only contributes to the marriage with considerable wealth, but with a social position not too dissimilar to Don Lopez's.

The displacement of the action to Lisbon then, not only allows for the "normalization" of the precepts of the deployment of alliance, but it also serves as a way to oppose these unfair notions to the more rational system that rules Britain; it could even be argued that Centlivre uses this opening scene not just to outline Don Lopez's ideas on honour, but to lay bare Frederick's own system of values and worthiness: when confronted with the insulting remarks Don Lopez makes on his "unfortunate" lack of social standing, Frederick not only remains polite and unfazed, but even joins in the Grandee's laments, wishing for a title that would allow him to be considered worthy of marrying Isabella "he is Rich, and well born, powerful Arguments indeed! Could I but add them to the Friendship of Don Felix, what might I not

hope? But a Merchant and a Grandee of Spain, are inconsistent Names” (Centlivre, *The Wonder* 49). In fact, “his frustration with Don Lopez’s insistence on social status is clear and audiences feel sympathy for a man who is more worthy of admiration and honour than any grandee”(Centlivre, *The Wonder* 361), a sympathy that only grows stronger with each of his appearances on stage: all throughout the play, Frederick will not just be the only advocate for women’s honour and rights, expressing his horror at the thought of a mercenary union ruling out love and happiness,<sup>1</sup> but emerging as the only man to hear their explanations before he censures their actions, always trusting these women and their innate sense of honour, a most extraordinary action in a city which does allow women a claim to honourable behaviour. Many are the instances in which Frederick confronts not just his friend Don Felix, but even his social superior Don Lopez, being the most dramatic Act 3 scene 2, when the Grandee accuses him of having dishonoured his house and daughter, an unfounded charge to which the merchant promptly responds, outraged at such dishonourable behaviour,

LOPEZ (...) Frederick, an Affair brings me here—which—requires Privacy. — (...) Sir, I must tell you, that you had better have pitch’d upon any Man in Portugal to have injur’d, than myself (...).

FREDERICK I understand you not, my Lord! (...) Explain yourself my Lord! I am not conscious of any dishonourable Action, to any Man much less to your Lordship.

LOPEZ ‘Tis false! You have debauch’d my Daughter (...).

FREDERICK My Lord, I scorn so foul a Charge.

LOPEZ You have debauch’d her Duty at least, therefore instantly restore her to me, or by St. Anthony I’ll make you.

FREDERICK Restore her, My Lord! Where shall I find her?

LOPEZ I have those that will swear she is here in your House (...).

FREDERICK You are misinformed my Lord, upon my Reputation I have not seen Donna Isabella, since the Absence of Don Felix.

LOPEZ Then pray Sir—if I am not too inquisitive, What Motive had you for those Objections you made against her Marriage with Don Guzman Yesterday?

FREDERICK The Disagreeableness of such a Match, I fear’d, wou’d give your Daughter cause to curse her Duty, if she comply’d

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<sup>1</sup> “Fred. Monstrous! These are the Resolutions which destroy the comforts of Matrimony” (Centlivre, *The Wonder* 49).

with your Demands, that was all my Lord!

LOPEZ And so you help'd her thro' the Window to make her disobey (...)

FREDERICK This is insulting me my Lord, when I assure you I have neither seen, nor know anything of your Daughter—If she is gone, the Contrivance was her own, and you may thank your Rigour for it.

(Centlivre, *The Wonder* 75–6)

The raging Don Lopez does not seem to register how earnest the young man is when he swears upon his reputation, for the Grandee is unable to allow a merchant to have any sense of honour; but Frederick soon proves the contrary and thinks nothing of starting a fight to defend, not just his innocence, but his friend Felix from a mercenary Alguazil who represents the corruption of the deployment of alliance. When the Alguazil is called inside the house to search it, Frederick tries to stand in his way and declares he will be revenged for this trespassing on his property. Don Lopez seems to believe that his higher rank makes him privy to enter any house in Lisbon and so he tries to force his way into the room where Felix is hiding, proving how unfair and dangerous the notion of rank superiority might be,

LOPEZ Very well, Sir, however my Rigour shall make bold to search your House, here call in the Alguzile— (...).

FREDERICK The Alguzile! My Lord you'll repent this.

[*Enter Alguzile and Attendants.*]

LOPEZ No Sir, 'tis you that will repent it, I charge you in the King's Name to assist me in finding of my Daughter—Be sure you leave no Part of the House unsearch'd; come, follow me.

[*Goes towards the Door where Felix is; Frederick draws, and plants himself before the Door.*]

FREDERICK Sir, I must first know by what Authority you pretend to Search my House, before you enter here.

ALGUAZIL How! Sir, dare you presume to draw your Sword, upon the Representative of Majesty! I am Sir, I am his Majesty's Alguzile, and the very Quintessence of Authority—therefore put up your Sword, or I shall order you to be knock'd down—for know Sir, the Breath of an Alguzile, is as dangerous, as the Breath of a Demy-Culverin.

LOPEZ She is certainly in that Room, by his Guarding the Door—if he Disputes your Authority, knock him down I say.

FREDERICK I shall show you some Sport first; the Woman you look for is not here, but there is something in this Room, which I'll preserve from your sight at the Hazard of my Life.

LOPEZ Enter I say, nothing but my Daughter can be there—  
force his Sword from him.

[Felix comes out and joins Frederick.]

(Centlivre, *The Wonder* 76–7)

The ensuing sword battle is “an occasion for Frederick to demonstrate a merchant can have honour by drawing to bar the door to the room where Felix is” (Copeland, *Staging Gender in Behn and Centlivre* 13–6), an action that makes him, by the standards of the deployment of sexuality, worthy of the highest respect and honour. Swords are ubiquitous in Lisbon, where men are quick to draw at the minimal provocation, proving that “Latin” countries are more prone to irrational violence: Felix, for example, continuously reaches for his sword when angered or when he becomes suspicious and jealous (Centlivre, *The Wonder* 96), two things that happen uncannily often, as his exile from Lisbon for duelling proves. Frederick, for his part, remains calm in the face of these accusations and affronts to his honour, as it befits a true man of honour under the deployment of sexuality, and only offers to fight when he is accused of lying, a grievous offence for a man who prides himself in his honesty. As Copeland argues, “in this case, swordplay is the honourable defence of a gentleman, including a gentleman-merchant” (*Staging Gender* 136).

Frederick’s worthiness is further emphasised by his exchange with the Alguzil, the supposed representative of the Government in this play, and as Puga points out, a “autoridade corrupta (...) cuja moral se pauta sobretudo pelo lucro imediato” (Puga, “Entre O Terreiro Do Paço” 322). In their exchange the Alguazil discovers Felix hiding and tries to bribe Don Lopez out of £500, to which Frederick responds by expressing his disdain for a representative on an unfair system that allows itself to be corrupted by money,

ALGUAZIL Ha, his Son! Here’s five hundred Pounds good, my Brethren, if Antonio dies, and that’s in the Surgeons Power, and he’s in love with my Daughter you know—Don Felix! I command you to surrender yourself into the Hands of Justice, in order, to raise me and my Posterity, and in Consideration you lose your Head to gain me five hundred Pounds, I’ll have your Generosity recorded on your Tomb-Stone—at my own proper Cost, and Charge—I hate to be ungrate-ful.

FREDERICK Here’s a generous Dog now—

LOPEZ Oh that ever I was born—Hold, hold, hold.

FREDERICK Did I not tell you, you wou’d repent my Lord,

What ho! Within there [*Enter Servants*] arm your selves, and let not a Man in, or out, but Felix—Look ye Alguzile when you wou'd betray my Friend for filthy Lucre, I shall no more regard you as an Officer of Justice, but as a Thief and Robber thus resist you.

FELIX Gen'rous Frederick! Come on Sir, we'll how you Play for the five hundred Pounds.

ALGUAZIL Fall on, seize the Money right or wrong ye Rogues.

[*They fight.*]

(Centlivre, *The Wonder* 77)

Frederick, as the epitome of honourable manhood, is not just “honest in his dealings” but “does not allow others to be otherwise” (Martínez-García 363) and he soon emerges as the chosen representative of Centlivre’s Whig ideals on liberty and feminism. In fact, “his constant defence of both Violante and Isabella’s innocence and honour is certainly highly subversive in a male” (Martínez-García 363), even more so in a Portuguese, men who, like Felix, are traditionally portrayed as the misogynistic, jealous and violent types. Frederick, whose ideas about honour seem to come from the intelligence gathered during his visits to Britain (Centlivre, *The Wonder* 48), takes an extremely different approach to the mysteries that surround him, preventing irrational violence and absurd duels when he “persuades Felix to verify his suspicions before acting on them” (Copeland, *Staging Gender* 136).

Frederick’s entreaties to Felix to try and curb his jealous and suspicious nature and his belief that jealousy is typical of the uneducated lower classes,<sup>2</sup> not only serve to buttress the ridiculous nature of Felix’s outdated system of values, but they also serve to highlight Frederick’s worthiness and the unfairness of the Roman Catholic nation that does not grant him the honour he is more than worthy of. He is “a *raisonneur* in the play” (DeRitter 385) who reveals the absurdity of the deployment of alliance at work in Portugal, while defending a more rational approach to life and relationships. In what many critics have believed to be an expression of Centlivre’s patriotism, Frederick claims to be an admirer of Britain and her principles, especially freedom and liberty, the two pillars that sustain the Whig political agenda, “My Lord, the English are by Nature, what the ancient Romans were by Discipline, courageous, bold,

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<sup>2</sup> “This from a Person of mean Education were excusable, such low Suspicions have their source from vulgar Conversation; Men of your politer Taste never rashly Censure” (Centlivre, *The Wonder* 75).

hardy, and in love with Liberty. Liberty is the Idol of the English, under whose Banner all the Nation Lists, give but the Word for Liberty, and straight more armed Legions wou'd appear, than France, and Philip keep in constant Pay" (Centlivre, *The Wonder* 48). This equating of Britain with the great Roman Empire would most definitely appeal to the national pride of British audiences, delighted to see their country portrayed as "a nation of such openness, inclusiveness and freedom that Catholic Lisbon comes off as practically medieval in its readiness (...) to enforce discipline within the family" (Centlivre, *The Wonder* 16–7). Patriotic appeals notwithstanding, the fact still remains that none of the British men present in the play possess the good qualities that Frederick displays, a realisation that turns this seemingly patriotic play into a reflection not on the superiority of one nation over the other, but on the prevalence of outdated notions of honour and rank in both countries.

Indeed, and in spite of all his good qualities and being the perfect embodiment of the Whig gentleman merchant, Frederick remains single and "is denied the 'prize' all heroes in comedies get: the lady" (Martínez-García 364), in a twist of the Spanish plot that comes to buttress Centlivre's critique of not just Portuguese society, but of the British one: although it is true that in Britain "merchants who succeeded in business could buy states and become country gentlemen" (Shaw 3), this practice was still frowned upon, especially by Tories. Thus, the unfair treatment Frederick is dealt and the realization that he "is not the hero of the play and (...) is denied a happy ending" (Martínez-García 365) are intended as 'food for thought' for Centlivre's audiences to reflect on the fairness of their own political inclinations.

In the second part of *The Busybody* Copeland argues Lisbon is a "stereotypical hyper-masculine environment of sexual intrigue and macho honour" (*Staging Gender* 109) where husbands and brothers vie with the British gentlemen for the attention of wives and sisters. One of the most zealous guardians of 'family honour' is Don Lopez, a Grandee of Portugal and referred to as a "bloody-minded Spaniard" (Centlivre, *Marplot in Lisbon* 74, 98) whose title seems to be inextricably linked to his ideas of honour and worth. This 'Latin' character is in possession of very specific traits: he is "irascível, vingativo destemido ao querer assassinar Marplot e ao ofender a irmã" (Puga, "A Lisboa Católica" 119), hot-headed and quick to draw his sword<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> "Don Lop. Name your Spado again, and I'll shake thee into Dust, thou feeble Dotard" (Centlivre, *Marplot in Lisbon* 8)

to demonstrate a courage he believes all base-born men lack. This brutal and violent man whose impulsive behaviour audiences would read typically 'Spanish,' stands in clear opposition to Centlivre's defence of a more rational manhood and a concept of honour based on personal good deeds, rather than rank. The Grandee, who resembles both Don Lopez and his son Felix in many respects, feels a crippling apprehension about his sister cuckolding her husband, an anxiety which not only stems from the fact that "cuckoldry made nonsense of the gender order" (Fletcher 101), but from a skewed sense of responsibility for his sister's behaviour since "in the absence of a father, the brother became the guardian and patriarch of the family and sisters" (Martínez-García 184). Although Don Perriera is present in the play, Don Lopez feels it is his place to intervene and prevent his sister from becoming "the Strumpet of a damn'd Heretick" (Centlivre, *Marplot in Lisbon* 8), convinced as he is that his brother-in-law is incapable of acting as a true *pater familias* should, "Your Spado! Employ it against the Man that robs you of your Honour, and not against him that wou'd preserve it" (Centlivre, *Marplot in Lisbon* 8–9).

Don Lopez, as the head of one of the highest ranking families in Lisbon, is extremely concerned with the possible damage his sister's actions may cause to the name of his family and, consequently, his own honour; thus, he is more than willing to step into action if his brother-in-law will not: "this I know, if you won't punish her as a Wife, I will as a Sister; she shall not stain the Honour of my House this Way (...) I shall pursue my own Method" (Centlivre, *Marplot in Lisbon* 9). His distrust comes from his own heightened sense of worth, a trait he shares with his namesake in *The Wonder* and which rests firmly on his birth and title: as Grandee the honour of the family name must come before all things. As a proud Portuguese aristocrat, and continuing with the topical representation of 'Latin' characters, he soon emerges as the representative of the deployment of alliance "which took blood (its spilling and blood-ties) as its central motif" and "bestowed on the King and the father, the divine power to rule over their dependants and (...) to control and take the lives of their subjects or kin" (Martínez-García 399). This is precisely his intention: to set the wrongs done to his honour right, through the spilling of blood if necessary. The Grandee's zeal to repair his family name is fuelled by his sister's previous offence to the family: "the greatest fear in a society so acutely conscious of status and hierarchy was of social derogation in marriage, of alliance with a family of lower state or degree than one's own" (Stone 87), a fear that became

a reality in Don Lopez's case when his sister "injur'd it [the Honour of his House] too much in marrying you [a merchant]" (Centlivre, *Marplot in Lisbon* 9), a union which was considered a dishonour for the nobility.

This strict division between classes is so deeply implanted in the Portuguese psyche that even Don Perriera, the foolish merchant, seems convinced of his own inferiority: "So, there's the Blessing of matching into an honourable Family: now must I bear all Affronts patiently, because I am but a Merchant, forsooth" (Centlivre, *Marplot in Lisbon* 9). Don Lopez not only considers Perriera his inferior because of his birth, but also for his inability to show the proper manly quality of courage, inextricably linked to his base origins; as the representative of the deployment of alliance, he believes Perriera, a merchant, is not a man of honour, and thus lacks "the necessary authority over his wife [which] also meant a loss of credibility, status and honour" (Martínez-García 196) and that all other men are weaklings "Cowardly Dog, [*beats him.*] dare to lie with a Man's Wife, and not dare to fight for her?" (Centlivre, *Marplot in Lisbon* 62). When his anxiety about the damaged honour of his family by an alliance with his social inferiors threatens to turn into something even more grotesque in the face of his sister's betrayal, his behaviour turns even more radical and violent and his thirst for blood (Centlivre, *Marplot in Lisbon* 67, 74), becomes ever more absorbing.

The further the play develops without any clear resolution to the affront to his blood, the more violent he becomes: his suspicions have him drawing his sword at any person he feels has insulted him and flying into fits of ever more violent rage. His irritation is exacerbated by the realisation that, as much as he wishes to avenge his sister's treachery, he must give precedence to his social inferior Perriera. And so sets about provoking the foolish merchant into action, delighting in his threats and promises of violent action, appealing to the Portuguese "manly" qualities of bravery and strength,

DON LOPEZ Certain Demonstration! Must you have ocular Proof? Must your Coward Heart be animated with the Sight? A Curse of your Equivocations.—

DON PERRIERA No, any other Sense will serve; let me hear 'em, feel 'em, nay smell 'em, and sure Cuckoldom is so rank a Scent, that tho' I lived in England, where they scarce breathe any other Air, I cou'd distinguish it.

DON LOPEZ Now you talk like a *Portuguese*; keep up this Passion, and secure the Honour of your House and mine, and

deserve the Alliance of my Blood; it shall be my Care to fix them.  
(Centlivre, *Marplot in Lisbon* 10)

His pride in his bloodlines and his 'Latin' nationality are inextricably linked to this violent and passionate behaviour and are seen by British characters as typical traits of a Spaniard (the least likeable of all Latin nations), willing to defend his antiquated ideas of honour and family through violence. Still, his irrational behaviour and cruel treatment of others ultimately lead to his defeat and public shaming, as customary in this type of comedies. In the case of *Mar-plot*, Centlivre's delivery of the chastisement proves to be the ultimate coup against Don Lopez's antiquated Roman Catholic system of values, as it is delivered not just by a woman, but by the daughter of a British merchant, Isabinda, who, like Frederick, seems to carry the author's own voice and ideas. In fact, Isabinda's character seems to work as the embodiment of what O'Brien sees as the core of the playwright's Whig and feminist ideology: in his annotated edition to *The Wonder!* (2003), he argues that "Centlivre believes that the same Whig ideology that could bridge ethnic and political differences offers hope for bridging the difference between men and women as well, and thus might lead to women's full citizenship in their society" (Centlivre, *The Wonder* 17).

#### **IV. Angels in and out the House: Centlivre's Whig feminsim**

When Isabinda, the serious heroine to Miranda's madcap (Copeland, *Staging Gender* 111), intervenes to stop Don Lopez from punishing his repentant and misguided sister, she appeals to Don Lopez's regard for blood ties, turning his own arguments against him and arguing that brothers should not encourage violence upon their sisters, but rather defend them against any threat, if only because the same blood runs through their veins.

Thus, with this appropriation of the most powerful symbol of the deployment of alliance, blood, Centlivre not only exposes this system as cruel and sustained by mistaken principles, but strengthens her Whig message,

[Enter Don Lopez with his Sword drawn]

DON LOPEZ What! Hangman like, are you asking Pardon ere you dispatch her? I'll lend you a helping Hand, since you are not Master of your Resolution.

DON PERRIERA [rises hastily, and catches down a Blunderbuss, and cocks it at Lopez] Zounds, put up your Sword,

or by St. Anthony, I'll shoot you thro' the Head  
(...)

ISABINDA A Brother shou'd rather reconcile, than blow the Coals of Strife; 'tis barbarous in Strangers, but much more so, in those ally'd to us by Blood: Revenge, tho' just, excludes Religion, and he that pursues it, poisons all his Morals, and impudently affronts that Power which gave him Breath to threaten.

DON LOPEZ Hey Day! What Philosophy have we here?

DON PERRIERA Out of my Lodgings, I say, without one Question more, and never set Foot into them again, as you hope to keep your Guts in. I'll be plagu'd with no more of your Jealousies, I warrant you.

DON LOPEZ Fine! your Lodgings!—but hear me, Don, dare not, for your Soul, say you match'd into my Family, or you Mistress, —boast of any Blood of mine, as you value those Eyes—for from this Day I hold you as a Bastard, and may Perdition seize you both. [*Exit.*]

(Centlivre, *Marplot in Lisbon* 92–93)

Although her discourse does nothing to change Don Lopez's resolve, for he is swift to sever all ties with his sister and his brother-in-law, threatening them with violence if they dare mention him as a blood-relation, her character comes to reinforce "the concept of liberty, fundamental to Whig ideology [which] connects Centlivre's political views to her feminism" (Copeland, "A Bold Stroke for A Wife By Susannah Centlivre" 721).

Isabinda comes to Lisbon in pursuit of her husband Charles, in Portugal, to finalise his father-in-law's business. The gentleman, who seemed to have abandoned his libertine ways, soon finds that exotic Lisbon is perfect for a romantic intrigue, for not only does it secure the absence of his wife (or so he thinks) but it is also an inviting place, where women are more compliant and inclined to engage in extra-marital relations as his friend Colonel Ravelin explains "the Women, I'll say that for 'em, are kind enough, and won't put you to the Expense of swearing and lying to gain them" (Centlivre, *Marplot in Lisbon* 11). The gentleman soon finds himself out of his depth in Lisbon, embroiled in an intrigue which is far more dangerous and complicated than he could have anticipated; it is not until the last act that his wife Isabinda intervenes to rescue her unfaithful husband from an affair that could very well have lethal consequences.

In a plot borrowed from marriage plays, "Charles is one of the period's relapsed libertines and she is the idealized faithful wife who reclaims him" (Copeland, *Staging Gender* 111), becoming the epitome of honourable femininity that the deployment of

sexuality preaches and in accordance to “the growing sense of women as a moral force in society” (Williamson 207). The scientific revolution of the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries meant the arrival of the deployment of sexuality, with its insistence on gender difference, rather than inferiority or superiority. “Woman, in this reading, is no longer a lesser form of man” (Fletcher 396), but a different creature, with her own biological tendencies that make her better suited for a private and domestic life: “misogynist pamphlets were replaced by more positive depictions of the goodness of the female sex” (Martínez-García 121) and “strict didacticism steadily gave way to sweetly worded and persuasive phrases about women’s goodness, softness and tenderness as the domestic cult of womanhood based on complementary spheres gathered strength” (Fletcher 396).

Thus, Isabinda “becomes in *Mar-plot* a romance version of the ‘nurturing’ spouse of the era’s conduct books” (Copeland, *Staging Gender* 111). Such traits can be clearly seen in her attitude to her unfaithful husband, which contrasts greatly with the jealousy and violence of Charles’s Portuguese mistress, “descrita como ciumenta, cruel e de sangue quente” (Puga, “A Lisboa Católica” 119) who threatens him with a dagger (Centlivre, *Marplot in Lisbon* 31) and has her Bravoes always ready to attack (Centlivre, *Marplot in Lisbon* 18). When Isabinda, dressed as a Catholic priest, learns from her own husband about his affair and, although he was planning to be unfaithful, Marplot’s continuous interruptions and the extreme vigilance that Don Lopez and Don Perriera exert on Donna Perriera “have postponed sex until the severe consequences of transgression become clear” (Copeland, *Staging Gender* 112), so she can forgive both and resolves to help and restore domestic order.

ISABINDA A weak Defence, alas, shou’d I desert him—Put up your Sword, in pity to your Ignorance, and in Hopes of converting you to the true Faith, I’ll deliver you from this Hazard.

CHARLES But can you save her too?

ISABINDA How, Son! is this a Time to dream of future Pleasures?

CHARLES I’ll give you mine Honour, Father, never to see her more; but as I am Partner of the Guilt, I wou’d not have the Punishment be only her’s.

ISABINDA Well, I’ll endeavour to preserve her too; observe my Orders well, turn your Face, here put on this Garment, my Brother there will conduct you to a Place of Safety, where I desire you’ll wait till I come; look not behind you, nor speak as you pass to the Husband of that Lady.

(Centlivre, *Marplot in Lisbon* 89).

As Copeland points out, Isabinda is invested with “a feminine identity that includes a pronounced moral component” (*Staging Gender* 112), emphasised by her “priest” disguise, which gives her supreme authority in the eyes of the Portuguese characters, but which British audiences will understand as a comment on “os excessos da Igreja Católica” (Puga, “A Lisboa Católica” 116), especially the scene in which the curtain is drawn to reveal Donna Perriera on her knees, confessing her guilt to Isabinda, who still wears the priest costume. Such a scene, and its reversal of gender and religious roles, contributes to the characterization of Isabinda as the understanding wife, for “she emerges from this intrigue as a moral instructor” (*Staging Gender* 112), who not only saves Donna Perrera from the ire of her brother, but also teaches her the way of honourable womanhood,

DONNA PERRIERA Oh, Madam, you have set Vice and Virtue in their proper Light, from whence I see the Deformity of one, and the Beauty of the other; your generous Forgiveness is all I want, to raise my Soul above a second Fall. I have injur'd you, but—

ISABINDA No more of that; the good Inclination which you shew wipes out all Faults with me, and your Perseverance will give you as large a Share in my Breast, as if you never had offended. Rise, Madam, I hear the Door unlock, prepare your Husband according to my Direction, and leave the rest to me.

(Centlivre, *Marplot in Lisbon* 91)

In spite of this portrayal of Isabinda as the model “Angel in the House”(Patmore), the fact still remains that she, unlike the quasi-mythical figure poem, leaves her house and country in search for her husband, taking action into her own hands: with her trip to Lisbon, she displays an agency forbidden to British “women without property of their own” (Centlivre, *The Wonder* 17), an independence stemming from her status as merchant’s daughter which ensures she retains some economic independence from her husband, granting her the liberty to move freely between the two countries, proving that “a Grã-Bretanha é considerada uma nação onde reina a liberdade individual” (Puga, “A Lisboa Católica” 121) irrespective of rank or gender. Isabinda’s “easy” passage from one context to the other, “permite a Centlivre criticar indirectamente e elogiar de forma directa os seus conterrâneos, bem como satirizar a opressão e a repressão patriarcal da liberdade individual na Península Ibérica católica”(Puga, “A Lisboa Católica” 121), a criticism she

manages by turning Lisbon into a mirror where British audiences can see the risks of not allowing women any freedom: had Isabinda not left Britain to save her husband, the consequences would have been disastrous for all with an international conflict arising from the deaths of both Charles and Donna Perriera.

## V. Conclusion

Although Centlivre's Portuguese plays have never been considered overtly political, the truth is that she "was unequivocally Whig in her politics" (Copeland, "A Bold Stroke for A Wife By Susannah Centlivre" 903), a tendency that can be clearly seen in the two works studied: *The Wonder and Mar-plot* revolve around the ideas of liberty and freedom, notions inextricably linked to a Whig feminism which filters through the text in the author's defence of merchants and their *novel* ideas of honour (a personal quality completely independent from rank or gender) and her derogation of antiquated Roman Catholic and Tory aristocratic notions of kinship and honour as completely dependent on social status and the purity of bloodlines.

To create her defence of such ideas, Centlivre moves the action to Lisbon, not only as the most plausible scenario where the two social systems would coexist, but to create a displacement that "serves to soften some of the of the force of Centlivre's critique to patriarchy, making these problems seem more typical of Catholic countries in warm climates than it is of Protestant Britain" (Centlivre, *The Wonder* 15–16), in an attempt at warning audiences (especially those with Tory sympathies) of the dangers of sharing in the ideas of these Roman Catholic countries.

Thus, the playwright creates two groups of characters whose opposing views of the world ensure that Lisbon will soon become a battlefield where the ideas of the deployment of alliance will engage in a war with Centlivre's own Whig ideals. In *Mar-plot*, "Don Lopez emerges as the embodiment of stereotypically Latin short-temperedness, propensity to violence, and obsessions with familiar honour" (Copeland, *Staging Gender* 111), traits he shares with Don Lopez in *The Wonder*: the two men are, undoubtedly, equated with the deployment of alliance and with the most conservative part of Portuguese society, an aristocracy that does not want to let go of the Spanish influence even if it proves to be a most pernicious one. Centlivre portrays them as unreasonable characters whose tendency to rash judgements and violent action and whose blindness to the honourability of the mercantile classes not only jeopardize the

stability of Portugal but the continuity of the bloodlines they have strived to maintain. *The Wonder* and *Mar-plot* present us, not with a group of courageous and honourable aristocrats, but with a group of men whose irrational set of ideas not only render their zealotry ridiculous, but whose violence ultimately leads to their defeat.

It is the merchant classes, in the figure of Frederick and Isabinda, where the true worth and honour lay: it is Frederick, the Portuguese merchant, who displays all the hero qualities in *The Wonder* and it is a woman merchant, Isabinda, who ultimately ensures that the plots in *Mar-plot* come to a happy resolution. Although Frederick has a clear moral superiority, and although “the merchant comes out victorious” of his battle against the deployment of alliance, he is “‘incomplete,’ since he remains unmarried and unable to claim the title of ‘hero’ (Martínez-García 360), an outcome which seems intended to comment on the unfairness of a political and social systems that, unlike Whig ideas, equate honour and rank. Centlivre’s unwillingness to crown Frederick as the “hero” of *The Wonder* serves to point out that, under the deployment of alliance, women are not the only individuals excluded from actively participating in society and that the notions of honour and family that buttress this system prevent worthy principles from claiming their rightful place.

Her Whig message is underscored in the figure of Isabinda, whose moral superiority is seen in her magnanimity towards Charles and Donna Perriera and in her chastisement of Don Lopez. Charles’ wife is not just a laudable representative of honourable merchant classes and their admirable values but an example of Centlivre’s feminism and her heroines: self-assured and independent women from the mercantile classes, whose righteous system of values ensure they will make the most of their liberty when they allowed such a privilege. Isabinda’s freedom of movement and action is what ultimately brings about order and peace to the riotous and impassioned Portuguese capital; Centlivre, as an acute social commentator, is aware of the fact that, even in Britain, a nation that has freedom as its idol, most women were not given the privilege of Isabinda’s economic independence and the liberty it entails.

Centlivre’s defence of the mercantile classes should not be viewed as a straightforward patriotic celebration of Britain, for many are the elements that undermine her praise of Great Britain and her morals: most notably, her honourable merchant is not British, but Portuguese, a detail which is intended to caution her English audiences against believing themselves to be

the superior nation. Additionally, Isabinda's independence, exceptional in both Portugal and Britain, reinforces her caution against excessive national pride. Using Portugal as a battlefield where the two powers and visions of the world fight for permanence, Centlivre does not try to faithfully represent England, but rather creates an idealised vision of her nation: Britain would be the perfect nation if it were "united, not by blood but rather by shared commitments to freedom and liberty" (Centlivre, *The Wonder* 16), by a Whig ideology that would ensure not just the felicity of its inhabitants, but the welfare of the nation, which would then live up to the praise Frederick showers on her in Act I.

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TRAVELLING THROUGH PORTUGAL AT THE END OF  
THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY: WILLIAM BROMLEY'S  
IMPRESSIONS OF THE PORTUGUESE KINGDOM

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The word 'travel' carries multiple meanings. In medieval times it would be often associated with religious pilgrimages or dislocations caused by work or war, which imposed upon the term the notion of effort, suffering. The word itself shares an etymological root with the French term *travail*, 'work', or, in Portuguese, the word *travessia*, which can be interpreted as a wide, expanded and challenging travel, normally constituting an external as well as an internal process of discovering, as all the big adventures are.

Paul Fussell insists that "travel is work. Etymologically a traveler is one who suffers *travail*, a word deriving in its turn from Latin *tripalium*, a torture instrument consisting on three stakes designed to rack the body (39)". Thus, travelling wasn't an agreeable and carefree activity, instead forcing people to move under difficult and dangerous conditions, without even knowing if they would ever return to the starting point. Going away could mean saying a definite goodbye to birthplaces and loved ones. Thinking nowadays of that kind of departure and the consciousness of radical separation it implied is an intriguing exercise. Today the moments of absence are usually brief or have a defined deadline. To leave something or someone to be away in a travel doesn't necessarily pose life-changing questions, and moving from a country to another is often motivated by the will of leisure, pleasure and rest from everyday life. Nowadays to travel is normally to get a rewarding and comforting time away from work and the obligations of a scheduled life. The very opposite of the hardships it suggested in the past.

Fernando Cristóvão claims that, around the fifteenth century, the medieval traveller approached the new, strange and exotic that he found along the way with awe and astonishment. His relation with the external reality was based upon a “wandering voyeurism”. In the sixteenth century, the revolution in the way man regards himself and his place in the world led the way for a change in paradigm: the universe is now centered on human potential, and the idea of God plays no longer the defining part in the course of men’s lives. Man is told that there is nothing greater than his mind and his ability to evolve and make the world evolve. Thus, the importance of empirical experiences through which one can draw conclusions about the matters of life may have empowered a new kind of traveller in Britain.

James Buzard declares that “following the great Renaissance age of colonial exploration and expansion, an articulated, systematic empiricism made travelling about the world and seeing the new and different ‘something like an obligation for the person conscientious about developing the mind and accumulating the knowledge’” (37). The theory that man is a blank slate upon which, during his life, knowledge is imprinted by several practical experiments turned travel into the best way of fulfilling those expectations. The double sense of the word ‘impressions’ indicates precisely the two-faced process of travelling: the impression one may get can be physical, like visible letters imprinted on paper or marks imprinted on skin, but the word refers also to mental images, pictures and feelings experienced during the journey. By reading travel narratives, one may sense how the traveller remembers the events he chooses to describe and why he retains with detail certain episodes, briefly addressing others. His vision and judgment of the Other, the foreign, is often the translation of a clash of cultures and behaviors.

Travelling may also be envisioned as a path for personal growth, into adulthood. That and the notion that knowledge comes from vivid experiences enabled in the eighteenth century a new kind of travel in England: the Grand Tour. After finishing their college degree, young men from upper classes were encouraged to take on a journey through Europe, the central capitals being Paris and Rome. Their ultimate purpose was to become complete gentlemen. During this travel, they would, according to James Buzard, “cultivate historical consciousness and artistic tastes”, as well as “a certain transeuropean class consciousness, a horizontal identification that linked the superior classes of Britain with their counterparts on the Continent and imposed upon the traveller a sense that he shared with these counterparts, a common responsibility for the welfare of

Europe as a whole” (41). Rome was a mandatory destination, because there these travellers could apprehend the models of classical culture and “drew parallels between their nation’s current position and that of ancient Roman empire” (39).

Sir William Bromley is counted among these travellers. Born in 1663 or 1664, the date is unclear, he was the son of another Sir William Bromley, a knight, and descended from an old Staffordshire family. He entered at Christ Church, a college in the University of Oxford, in 1679, and received a Bachelor of Arts degree in 1681. As a Tory partisan, we would pursue a political career, representing the High Tory Constituency of the University of Oxford in Parliament and becoming Speaker of the House of Commons of Great Britain in 1710. In 1713 he assumed the position of Secretary of State for the Northern Department. He lost office in 1714, when a Whig ministry took over, under the reign of King George I, but maintained his position in the House of Commons until the 1720s, when his health began to decline. He married four times and died in 1732.

After finishing his college education and before the rise of his political career, Sir William Bromley spent several years travelling through Europe. In 1692, he published his account of his own Grand Tour, entitled *Remarks in the Grand Tour of France and Italy. Perform’d by a Person of Quality, in the Year, 1691*, followed in 1702 by *Several Years Travels Through Portugal, Spain, Italy, Germany, Prussia, Sweden, Denmark and the United Provinces, Performed by a Gentleman*. The preface to this work states that these travels were undertaken for “his own private satisfaction”, and further ahead Bromley declares that was “the love of foreign travel” to propel him into this journey. The preface give us also the information that travel narratives were, by this time, well received amongst the British, for “they are entertaining and informing to the curious and inquisitive that have not the Opportunity of travelling themselves, and to others they do often with great pleasure revive, and refresh the Memory of what they have seen”.

The author begins his account informing the reader of the date of his departure from England, 1693. He was 30 years old. He would arrive at Lisbon a little before Lent, we might assume that somewhere in February 1694, and would leave the capital three months later, on the 6<sup>th</sup> May. Bromley reveals why he had chosen to begin his travel in Portugal. It had to do with the political situation of England, by this time at war with France and Holland, which turned the Iberian Peninsula into the best and safest way to reach Italy. Bromley travelled on board a merchant ship and made a safe arrival at Lisbon after a few accidents at

sea, on which he does not give any description. His account of the Portuguese capital is quite generic, as he reveals in the very beginning of the narrative that even if he stayed in Lisbon for some months, he did not see a great part of the city. For that he also blames the people of Lisbon, that he believes to be “very little acquainted with the Curiosity of a Traveller” (2) and incapable of guiding the foreigner through the city and its points of interest.

The first impressions of the city and its people were very negative, for the narrow and steep streets and their offensive smells proved to be most unpleasant. Bromley noticed the filth of the streets, which, as he declares, could discourage any curious and inquisitive mind. In *Account of the Kingdom of Portugal*, a manuscript description of Lisbon around 1701 by the English gentlemen Thomas Cox and Cox Macro, the authors also highlight the dirtiness of the streets, where all kind of excrements were thrown, promoting a plague of mosquitoes in the Summer. About the people, they reveal that they smelled heavily of condiments used in preparing food, like garlic and coriander, and that the Portuguese had the tendency of speaking very close to the head of the person they were talking to, not maintaining a comfortable distance.

The next topic that caught the attention of William Bromley for its excessive display was the “monstrous” religious processions. As he arrived a little before Lent, he could experience a particularly manifest period of religious exhibitions, and especially of “scandalous penances” (2). This display of Catholic faith proved to be rather infamous to this Protestant traveller. Bromley specifies that the most shocking about these processions was the fact that the greatest part of the Penitents that whipped and tortured themselves through the streets were paid to do so. He met one of these Hirelings, as he calls them, and declares him to be “one of the most prophane and lew’d villains I ever met with; a Porter, employed by the English, told me he was hired to Whip himself yearly among other publickly; for which he was paid by a Religious Society”. About the extreme fanaticism of these penances, he adds: “Other that are persuaded to it by the Preists [sic] as a Religious Act to atone and expiate their Sins, perform it with great severity by a blind zeal or rather Folly, even to the hazard both of Soul and Body, for, to keep them within some bounds of moderation, the Priest positively declares who ever Dies under those Extravagances is actually Damned, yet it is, and hath been too well known, that there have been some so infatuated as in this manner to Murder themselves” (3).

This extremeness in the display of Catholic religion can be somewhat explained by the power of the Inquisition at this time in the Portuguese society. In the reign of King D. João IV, from 1640 to 1656, this Catholic institution had seen their reach and authority reduced. By the action of Father António Vieira, who had served the royal family in the reign of D. João IV as tutor of the then prince D. Pedro, Pope Innocent XI decided to suspend the Inquisition in Portugal for seven years, from 1674 to 1681. The now King D. Pedro II, son of D. João IV and brother to the previous king, D. Afonso VI, who had been forced to renounce the throne in 1668, was incapable of containing the power of this Catholic Institution and the heavy restrictions upon the New Christians, the great part of which were feared to be concealed Jews, as William Bromley puts it.

Bromley, who was accused of expressing a favourable position towards Catholicism in his work *Remarks in the Grand Tour of France and Italy*, was confronted in Lisbon with one of the darkest features of this religion and reveals that even the English Roman Catholics that he met in the Portuguese capital confessed to him that had they been introduced to this religion in Portugal and not in France, they would never have become Catholics.

Of the buildings in Lisbon, the author does not say much, mentioning briefly the King's palace, at that time located in Alcântara, but later destroyed by the Lisbon Earthquake of 1755. Of the furniture and decorations of Churches, Convents, Palaces and Houses, the traveller reports that they are very poor. Due to the narrowness of the streets, the coaches weren't practical, being replaced by litters carried between mules.

Focusing on the traits of the people he observes, he notices, as Thomas Cox did as well, the great number of people, young and old, wearing glasses. He considers that the result of the frequent medical procedure of bleedings. That, along with a diet of hen broth, seemed to be the cure for all evil. Even today in Portuguese society chicken soup is commonly regarded as comforting food to give to the sick. Just as a note, Cox adds that the Portuguese men used glasses constantly because of the seriousness it conferred to their visage.

On the subject of Portuguese women, both authors agree on the excess of make-up, and Bromley declares that they "paint most abominably, and begin so young that they are forced to use it as they grow more in years, otherwise they would soon look much decay'd" (4). In his *Account*, Cox refers the use of mercury based make-up even on one month old babies. For women of the upper classes, the way of dressing was very extravagant.

Bromley describes the use of exceptionally large *Guardifantas*, a kind of dress with a very prominent skirt that made it very difficult to pass through some doors. The modesty of Portuguese women when it comes to their feet was immense, since Bromley refers that they are determined never to show them and make special arrangements in order to assure that. They wore long petticoats and, in and out of coaches, cloaks were strategically placed in order to hide their feet. On the other hand, the plunging openness of cleavages and the exhibition of bare shoulders stunned the traveller for the boldness it shown, unseen in any other Country.

On the temper of Portuguese men, William Bromley discloses that they are “exceeding jealous and confine their Women very close, if any of them are Suspected of Incontinency, they are very fortunate to Scape with their lives” (5). In his description of Lisbon, Cox also comments on the revengeful character of Portuguese men, and the impunity of those who, having found their wives guilty of adultery, murdered them. Unlike the women, men dress in a very sober way, wearing mostly black, for the use of gold or silver laces could be perceived as an indication of an effeminate behaviour and could offend the vigilant stare of the Inquisition.

The trade relations between Portugal and England were at this time very privileged. The alliance between the two kingdoms through the marriage of the Portuguese princess D. Catarina de Bragança, sister of the now king D. Pedro II, to the English monarch Charles II, in 1661, would establish favourable conditions for the trading of products between the two countries. Furthermore, English had earned with this alliance free trade in the Portuguese colonies, like Brazil. The signing of the Methuen Treaty in 1703 would support and promote even more the Anglo-Portuguese commercial alliance. Bromley notices that the main Portuguese products exported to England were salt, which was then directed to the new English colonies, fruit, oil and wine. England, on the other hand, contributed with dry codfish, very much appreciated in Portugal then and still greatly consumed today. Even though Portugal was a privileged country as far as the production of wine is concerned, its people were perceived by both Bromley and Cox as not being heavy drinkers, even despising the excesses of drunkenness. As Thomas Cox discloses, the biggest insult that Portuguese could think of when arguing with an Englishman was to call him “an English sponge”.

William Bromley, as mentioned above, stayed in Lisbon for three months, at a friend’s summer country house, located at a part of the city called *Luz* (Light), which still exists today under

that designation. These summer houses, called *Chentos* by this traveller, and particularly the one on which he stayed in, are said to be very pleasant, due to their gardens, vineyards and accommodations.

From Lisbon, Bromley headed ultimately to Vila Nova de Cerveira, a frontier town in the North of Portugal, from where he crossed to Galicia, Spain. On the way to the Portuguese frontier, the author points out several places, like Sacavém, Alverca, Alhandra, Vila Franca de Xira or Castanheira do Ribatejo, where he lodged for one night and was very displeased with the accommodations. From there, he continued to traverse the country, passing by Vila Nova da Rainha, Azambuja or Santarém. Travelling through a country of plains, abundant in landscapes of vineyards, olive trees and corn fields, is painted by Bromley as very enjoyable.

He arrived at Coimbra four days after leaving Lisbon. On crossing the river Mondego to enter the town, he notices immediately the big extension of the bridge he is on and also the effects of the floods provoked by the progressive height of the waters, as he declares that the present bridge is built upon another bridge “devoured by time and the increase of the sands” (9). That same problem was endured by one of the referred nunneries, the Monastery of Santa Clara, built in the thirteenth century and that ended up being partially swallowed by the river Mondego over the years. By 1677, the monastery had become uninhabitable, forcing the construction of a new convent in another part of the city. The abandoned monastery was then called Santa-Clara-a-Velha (Santa Clara-the-Old) and the new one, Santa-Clara-a-Nova (Santa-Clara-the-New). What remains of the old monastery was the subject of an archeological intervention and a work of restoration some years ago, being now open to public visiting.

Bromley visits the University of Coimbra, the first Portuguese university, founded in 1290, that he describes as consisting of two colleges, that of Saint Peters [sic] and that of Saint Pauls [sic], serving formerly as Palaces for the royal family. Bromley states that

(...) their Schools are very mean in respect of those at Oxford, tho' they have their publick Lectures read in them, in all Sciences; I was told they have a handsome Library, tho' I could not get a sight of it. That day I was there being a Day of publick Exercise for a young student a *Fydalgo's* Son then performing for his Dr. in Laws Degree, he read his lectures in the Hall. (...) they say there are 5000 students belonging to this university, much too many for

their College to receive, so that none but the Sons of the Nobility, and those of the better rank have their Chambers in them, the rest lodg [sic] themselves as conveniently as they can in the town” (10-11).

Among the reliques seen by William Bromley at the Church of Santa Cruz, in Coimbra, is a sword that some believe to have belonged to the first King of Portugal, D. Afonso Henriques. His tomb is located in the mentioned church. There, Bromley is told the story involving the mysterious appearance of the sword in the High Altar of the Church, after King D. Sebastião borrowed it to go to war. Today that sword can be found at Porto Military Museum, but its origin is uncertain.

After staying for two days in Coimbra, Bromley leaves for Aveiro. He finds its streets the sweetest and cleanest of Portugal. He notices the great production of salt on Aveiro’s river and addresses the defensive wall of the city, holding a population of 15 to 16000 souls.

During the rest of the journey through Portugal, Bromley focuses mainly on the number of Convents and Religious buildings present in the several towns he visits along the way, as well as on their defensive walls and garrisons. He finds the streets of Porto much better paved and clean than those of Lisbon. Travelling on the back of a horse, he finds the road from Porto to Guimarães so steep and rough that he considers it the worst he have ever seen. Of Viana do Castelo he says that “to my Fancy is much the pleasantest Town of any I saw in Portugal, by reason it lyes so open to the Sea that from the Key one may see any Ship upon that Coast (21-22)”. From there he went to Caminha, and then proceeded to Vila Nova de Cerveira, where he crosses the frontier, entering in Valencia, Spain.

The account of his travel through Portugal add up to 23 pages, but the rhythm of the description is quick, and in the last pages, when Bromley addresses the cities he found on its way to Spain the content of the narrative is quite numeric and brief. Nevertheless, the account on the traits and manners of the Portuguese when approached by an English sensibility is an example of how the unpredictability of a foreign Other and the way we adapt ourselves to the diversity of the world are among the great challenges and the valuable lessons of travel.

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O ROMANCE EPISTOLAR ENQUANTO ESCRITA DE VIAGENS:  
O IMAGÓTIPO LUSO E A DIMENSÃO ANGLO-PORTUGUESA  
EM *THE FOREST OF COMALVA, A NOVEL; CONTAINING  
SKETCHES OF PORTUGAL, SPAIN AND FRANCE* (1809),  
DE MARY HILL

Rogério Miguel Puga (FSCH-UNL / CETAPS)

Em 1809, durante a Guerra Peninsular, a desconhecida autora Mary Hill<sup>1</sup> publica o romance epistolar em três volumes *The Forest of Comalva, a Novel; Containing Sketches of Portugal, Spain and France* (FC)<sup>2</sup>, a que se seguiria um segundo, *Anselmo; or, the Day of the Trial* (1813), obras que estão praticamente por estudar. Como veremos, FC ficcionaliza os (des)encontros amorosos de Frederic Hamilton e Gertrude Morenton, bem como (retrospectivamente) o *Grand Tour* de Frederic, “a curious traveller” (I 70), pela Península Ibérica, ocupando-se o presente trabalho apenas da dimensão imagológica<sup>3</sup> anglo-portuguesa da narrativa ficcional, ou seja, dos auto- e hetero-estereótipos literários e, sobretudo, da natureza e função da escrita epistolar de viagens dedicada a Portugal logo no início da viagem narrada. As missivas recuperam memórias ao longo do romance e assumem-se

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<sup>1</sup> Mary Hill deverá ser um pseudónimo. Vindo a provar-se a existência da autora, ela é ainda praticamente desconhecida. Não encontramos qualquer informação biográfica relevante sobre Mary Hill, sendo pouquíssimas as referências à autora e inexistentes estudos sobre a sua obra. O romance de que nos ocupamos não consta da bibliografia de ficção epistolar publicada até 1850 elaborada por Beebee (1999). De entre algumas publicações coevas que referem Mary Hill, vejam-se: *Monthly Retrospect of Politics* (144), *The Monthly Magazine; or, British Register* (170) e Watt (496).

<sup>2</sup> Vol. 1 (231 pp.), vol. 2 (210 pp.) e vol. 2 (261 pp.).

<sup>3</sup> Para uma definição de imagologia, auto- e hetero-imagótipo/estereótipo, veja-se o nosso estudo Puga (2014).

como repositórios de recordações e de auto- e hetero-imagótipos, ou seja, de imagens literárias sobre o *Self* britânico e sobre o(s) Outro(s) continentais. O formato gráfico e a estrutura da obra mimetizam, como não poderia deixar de ser, o manuscrito da carta, recordando-nos que “for the letter novelist the choice of epistle as narrative instrument can foster certain patterns of thematic emphasis, narrative action, character types, and narrative self-consciousness” (Altman 9) e influencia o processo de leitura-interpretação da obra (Herman 172; McArthur 12). O facto de o romance ser composto por cartas (como escrita de viagens retrospectiva) permite aos diversos narradores descrever viagens continentais e domésticas e tirar conclusões críticas das realidades que vão observando e filtrando enquanto britânicos e membros de uma classe social privilegiada.

O romance epistolar, ao descrever uma expedição do *Grand Tour*, ficcionaliza não apenas as paisagens visitadas, mas também a própria escrita de viagens, cujas estratégias e cujo discurso são mimetizados. As intersecções entre o romance (epistolar) e a escrita de viagens que estudaremos ao longo deste trabalho, no que diz respeito a *FC*, foram já, no geral, abordadas por Percy G. Adams na sua obra pioneira *Travel Literature and the Evolution of the Novel* (1983), para a qual remetemos o leitor interessado. Como veremos, o romance epistolar de Mary Hill e a escrita de viagens partilham estratégias literárias (descrição, enumeração, adjectivação, comentário, tradução cultural, apreciação crítica) e temáticas (viagem, alteridade, usos e costumes, comunicação intercultural, confronto cultural/religioso), bem como características epistemológicas, nomeadamente a função da obra como (suposta) representação realista (da realidade fora do texto) e como ficção (Adams 81-102). Aliás, Hunter (5, 58, 353) afirma que os primeiros romancistas tentaram

capitalize on the contemporary popularity of travel books by suggesting the similarity of their wares (...). Few eighteenth-century novels stay in one place; even the ones (...) set wholly in Britain emphasize cultural comparisons between different regions or social groups that minister to similar curiosities (...) the novel is a product of serious cultural thinking about comparative societies and the multiple natures in human nature (...) similarity between novels and travel books consists mostly in their both being loosely constructed, capable of almost infinite expansion, and susceptible to a great variety of directions and paces. But just as important are the formal differences. Travel books almost never have or need a sense of closure, for example. Journeys in most travel books just end, they do not culminate in much of anything.

Já Bohls (97), ao estudar a relação entre o romance e a escrita de viagens no século XVIII, afirma que é impossível discutir o primeiro sem falar da viagem, pois é a expedição que é, muitas vezes, motor da acção de ficções como *Robinson Crusoe*, *Gulliver's Travels* e *Tristram Shandy*, tendo inúmeros romancistas redigido também relatos de viagem, por exemplo, *Tour Round the Whole Island of Great Britain* (1724–6), de Daniel Defoe, *Journal of a Voyage to Lisbon* (1754), de Henry Fielding, *Travels Through France and Italy* (1766), de Smollett, os diários de Beckford (1787–8), *Journey through Holland and Germany* (1795), de Radcliffe, entre inúmeros outros exemplos, como as narrativas de Dorothy Wordsworth e de Mary Shelley. Como FC demonstra, o acto de viajar e os espaços estrangeiros forçam o romance a representar e a comentar a noção de *Britishness* no período áureo do império através do encontro-confronto com o Outro, sendo muitos estudos dedicados às relações coloniais úteis também para analisar romances e escritos de viagem (Bohls 98). Aliás, em 1797, pouco antes da publicação de FC, a revista *Critical Review* descrevia o final do século XVIII da seguinte forma: “this may be called the age of peregrination; for we have reason to believe, that the desire of seeing foreign countries never before so diffusively operated” (cit. em Turner 2); daí que não seja de admirar que o título de FC remeta para o acto de viajar e para espaços europeus.

As missivas que, em FC, relatam a viagem pelo Continente são relatos de viagem, pelo que ambos esses discursos são ‘romanceados’ (Bakhtin 7, 10) em simultâneo, e se a carta, enquanto texto fragmentário, surge com a ausência/afastamento físico, o ‘espaço epistolar’ é solitário e advém de e exige muitas vezes sofrimento, permitindo prestar atenção a alguém e ser alvo da atenção de terceiros, ou seja, funciona simultaneamente como (simulacro de) companhia e testemunho (de viagem) íntimo. Por essas razões, Perry considera que “the isolation of the characters is essential to the epistolar formula because it throws the characters back into themselves, to probe their own thoughts, their own feelings” (117). O romance epistolar tradicional é normalmente sentimental ou educativo (Salini 13), e o isolamento e a introspecção acarretam a preocupação com a educação e o crescimento interior. Era esse, aliás, um dos objectivos do *Grand Tour* masculino, que a obra ficcionaliza. Como o fluxo de textos de FC demonstra, a missiva desencadeia emoções e provoca desejos e aprendizagens, pelo que o olhar e a consciência do *Self* que vive e narra os acontecimentos *au jour le jour* são obviamente diferentes do *Self* que os revisita

mais tarde (o *Self* que narra e o que vivencia; Bray 27), pelo que Beebee (202) e Bray (3) concluem que a carta funciona como um conjunto de funções e de possibilidades que interage e se vai transformando a par das realidades sociais e culturais também em mudança. Por seu lado, o leitor vai-se gradualmente tornando um *voyeur* perante a intimidade dos protagonistas, descodificando as dimensões (auto)biográfica e até diarística do subgénero. De acordo com Beebee, e como verificamos em *FC*, a carta cristaliza as relações sociais de várias formas, e a ficção apropria-se desse fenómeno, servindo-se Mary Hill de outros géneros, como a autobiografia (II 72-81), o anúncio de jornal (III 48, 167, 259) e poemas ‘romanceados’ (*FC*, I 129; II 166). A missiva, enquanto secção ou (sub)capítulo do romance, torna-se uma narrativa autorreflexiva e metaficcional quando os narradores falam do processo de escrita, ou até do atraso no envio do texto<sup>4</sup> que permanece em aberto para conter mais novidades (futuras), como demonstram os romances de Aphra Behn, Eliza Haywood, Fanny Burney, Charlotte Smith, Richardson, Balzac, Dostoevsky e Austen, entre outros. De acordo com Lodge (23-24), o romance epistolar é uma narrativa na primeira pessoa, mas tem características que não encontramos na autobiografia, pois a carta descreve um processo contínuo, desconhecido no início, ao invés da autobiografia, e, ao contrário do que normalmente acontece com o diário, poderão existir vários correspondentes que revisitam o mesmo evento de vários pontos de vista, com interpretações distintas (*Clarissa*, de Richardson), enquanto uma carta dirige-se a terceiro(s), cuja resposta influencia a escrita “and makes it rhetorically more complex, interesting and obliquely revealing”, gerando o efeito do “pseudo-documentary realism” (24), como se verifica em *FC*.

A missiva (que viaja entre remetente e receptor)<sup>5</sup> surge da ausência, da distância e também do acto de viajar, e uma das suas funções é atenuar a distância geográfica ao descrever, reflectir e acompanhar a deslocação do viajante. De acordo com Beebee (3-4), a ficção epistolar europeia intensifica-se no Renascimento e perdura até início do século XIX<sup>6</sup>, tendo, a partir daí, caído

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<sup>4</sup> Brindle (2) refere que as formas epistolares serão sempre metafissionais pois remetem para o *mise en abyme* da própria relação escritor-leitor.

<sup>5</sup> Landry (51-73) estuda a “nomadic relation” que a carta exige, andando de terra em terra, e por vezes de mão em mão (vários receptores). Veja-se também Derrida (1984).

<sup>6</sup> Day (2) afirma que, entre 1660 e 1740, foram publicados 200 romances epistolares, e na lista de Black (112-53) são listadas 700 obras publicadas entre 1740 e 1800. Versini (164) afirma que a partir de 1798 a ficção epistolar diminui, enquanto Bray (28)

em desuso, ou seja, pouco antes de Mary Hill publicar o seu romance. Num estudo sobre o subgénero, Kauffman (*Special Delivery*: xiv) defende que o ‘modo epistolar’ tem sobrevivido ao alterar-se e tem uma função mais abrangente que outros ‘modos’, com os quais se consegue combinar (“the very looseness of its conventions has made it resilient, adaptable, and relevant in diverse historical epochs”), listando (xiii) algumas das temáticas do romance epistolar: a escrita na ausência do/a amado/a, o queixume pela linguagem desadequada para veicular estados de mente e emoções, a transgressão de limites, a subversão dos papéis de género e a encenação de revolta através do acto da escrita. O envio de cartas dá forma a uma elaborada e constante rede de informantes e à consequente troca de informação (e *gossip*), acumulando-se, como num jogo de espelhos, várias formas de ver o mundo, e como *FC* revela, o acto de escrever missivas é também uma forma de manter amizades (convívio epistolar).

O título da obra de que nos ocupamos remete, desde logo, para o Sul da Europa, nomeadamente para França, Espanha e Portugal, o palco da acção da Guerra Peninsular, episódio bélico que foi amplamente descrito na literatura inglesa (Terenas 1999). Aliás, o pânico e o medo das populações ibéricas são referidos pelo narrador-protagonista (I 94), a par do heroísmo da Grã-Bretanha, que é louvado logo no prefácio da obra: “that awful scene of heroic enterprize now displayed in Spain and Portugal; when the heart of every Briton is animated to support the cause of oppressed nations” (iv), contexto e imediatismo que despertariam, de acordo com a autora, o interesse do público leitor. Como conclui Bower,

any book, fiction or criticism, can elicit a response from the reader. Presumably one of our motives for writing or reading is that we want that kind of give and take. To posit a book as a letter is to emphasize the dialogic nature of the critical undertaking (...). A letter is a fragment of a discourse, a communication sent off before the whole story is known” (xi).

Assim sendo, a forma epistolar enfatiza o acto da escrita e a escrita como acto (Bower 3), podendo a carta ser vista como a textualização da vida ‘ao vivo’. O mundo extraliterário acaba, assim, por ser invocado na narrativa para seduzir leitores a conhecer o palco da Guerra Peninsular. Para tal objectivo

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localiza esse decréscimo em 1797.

nada melhor que, como veremos, recorrer à escrita de viagens e descrever as paisagens onde essa mesma guerra é travada, além-Pirinéus, concluindo o prefácio, ao convidar o leitor a viajar-ler sobre um mundo (im)possível de cariz realista: “A tour, therefore, not the mere work of fancy, is inserted (amidst the lighter productions of the novel) from Lisbon, through Madrid, to Paris” (iv-v), interessando-nos apenas a descrição epistolar da primeira fase da viagem, efectuada em território português no final do século XVIII, ou seja, antes da Guerra Peninsular. Tratando-se de um romance epistolar, torna-se forçoso recordar as palavras de Favret, ao defender que foi sobretudo a carta (*war correspondence*) que veiculou novidades e representações da Guerra Peninsular para o Reino Unido, que tornou o episódio um assunto doméstico e moldou a experiência colectiva da guerra: “war correspondence behaved according to the rules of traditional epistolary romance, translating the experience of global warfare into an interiorized and psychologized event that invaded the mind (and body) of the English subject” (173-185), e se *FC* funde o romance e a correspondência de viagem, a referida guerra e o seu palco geográfico encontram eco no conteúdo de uma das cartas de Louise no terceiro volume de *FC* que se refere aos soldados britânicos como “militar heroes (...) braving every support of our constitution – the dignity of the British realm” (III 116), palavras que deverão ser lidas à luz do excerto do prefácio do romance que refere a Guerra Peninsular. Num estudo intitulado “‘O My Mother Spain!': The Peninsular War, Family Matters, and the Practice of Romantic Nation-Writing”, Saglia afirma, citando *FC*:

Romantic nationalism still has not been investigated in connection with the Regency interest in things Spanish, nor has it been related to the cultural atmosphere of the Peninsular War (1808-1814). Indeed, the anxiety with which Regency Britain followed the events in the Peninsula triggered both the usual demand for war bulletins and chronicles and a remarkable output of novels, poems, and travel narratives evoking the Spanish landscape, people, culture, and history for an eager reading public. But although Spain was an exotic elsewhere for British readers, reading about it was rather different from reading about other distant places such as India or Egypt. During the Peninsular War the other character of Spanish history and civilization seemed annulled by the Spaniards' rebellion against Napoleon and their alliance with Britain. As the preface to a novel published in 1809 put it: “Relatively new for an English public, Spain was narrated in a variety of ways ranging from recreations of its medieval past to

adventures set during Wellington's campaign." The Iberian country might be included as a descriptive tour with little bearing on the overall structure of the text, as in the novel by Mary Hill from which the above quotation is drawn. But Spanish geography and culture might also condition the whole narrative development as, for instance, in Honoria Scott's *The Fair Andalusian* (1810) and Alexander R. C. Dallas's *Felix Alvarez; or, Manners in Spain* (1818). In all of these novels, however, the theme of exotic Spain is constantly related to an investment in the discourses of nationalism. The quotation from Mary Hill's *Forest of Comalva* insists on the fact that Britons' hearts are primarily moved by the predicament of a heroic and oppressed nation. By this rhetorical gesture, Hill depicts both Britain and Spain as national communities at one fell swoop, while conversely offering the nationalist theme as a viable justification for Spain's overwhelming presence in contemporary fiction. British literature deployed the Spanish theme as inseparable from nationalism, and from a Peninsular conflict often construed by the press as a crusade in aid of a fellow nation usurped by France (...). The literature about Spain and the Peninsular War combined the exotic and the military with a national ideology that was still quite unclear, connecting older forms of loyalty to newer ideas about political representation, the state, and the influence of the public sphere on politics (...). Furthermore, by charting the relations among nationalism, war, and the exotic, literature on Spain written during the Peninsular War offers a continuous output of texts closely linked by subject and temporal contiguity (363).

As conclusões que o estudioso apresenta sobre a 'exótica' e desconhecida Espanha são também válidas para Portugal, tornando-se óbvio o tema do nacionalismo(s) logo a partir do título de *FC*, que enumera três países continentais, do mais longínquo para o mais próximo, que é apenas representado parcialmente ("*Parts of France*"). Através da ideia de nacionalismo ou imagem nacional, o romance invoca aquilo a que Hobsbawm e Ranger<sup>7</sup> chamam 'tradições inventadas' e Anderson<sup>8</sup> 'comunidades imaginadas', ou seja, constructos e auto-imagens nacionais, e,

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<sup>7</sup> Hobsbawm e Ranger descrevem tradições inventadas como "a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolical nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past" (1-2).

<sup>8</sup> Anderson: "all communities (...) are imagined. Communities are to be distinguished, not by their falsity/genuineness, but by the style in which they are imagined" (6).

embora Anthony D. Smith<sup>9</sup> critique a teoria da ‘imaginação’ de Anderson e recorde que a nação tem uma existência real fora das suas representações discursivas, devendo ser considerados os sentimentos colectivos e a participação de comunidades concretas, o nosso trabalho não contempla as realidades sociológica e histórica da nação, mas sim uma representação ficcional do Reino Unido e dos países do Sul da Europa. Aliás, no volume 3 de *FC*, Gertrude escreve do estrangeiro e demonstra como o serviço postal une o império britânico e os residentes no estrangeiro, pelo que as personagens, com saudades de casa, apreciam o selo dos correios britânicos (III 96). O título do romance inscreve, desde logo, a escrita de viagens no interior da obra, estratégia que continua no breve prefácio, datado de Janeiro de 1809, e que aborda temáticas como o carácter universal da literatura de qualidade, o gosto pessoal e a avaliação dos críticos literários, o medo da recepção da obra, tema que permite à autora pedir clemência enquanto escritora ainda inexperiente, temática (da humildade), aliás, comum nos elementos paratextuais (*front matter*) desde a Antiguidade Clássica.

Um recensão coeva de *FC* não consegue justificar o título da obra, que é descrita pelo recensor anónimo (preocupado em demonstrar a sua imparcialidade) como uma “harmless production, not wholly devoid of interest”, tendo-lhe sido assegurado pelo amigo que lhe a deu a conhecer que esta é um “maiden effort” não muito bem conseguido e algo sentimental (“The Forest of Comalva”: 402-403, 407-408), concluindo:

the main story, although rather confused in its progress, is highly pleasing at its close. *The episodical Sketches of Portugal, Spain, and France*, although somewhat abruptly introduced, are light and amusing, and at length connect themselves with the leading plot (...). These *sketches* occupy 58 pages in Vol. I. and 31 pages in Vol. II. Not quite one eighth of the work (...). We must (...) suggest (...) more attention to the rules of grammar in all her future labours, if she really hopes to attract public admiration by them (...). We do not regret the care and attention paid by us to Mary Hill’s maiden effort (...). To say that “The Forest of Comalva” is an excellent performance, would be most basely to belie our

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<sup>9</sup> Anthony D. Smith: “national communities do purvey great historical and linguistic narratives, which are vital to their survival and renewal. But they contain much else besides – symbols, myths, values and memories, attachments, customs and traditions, laws, institutions, routines and habits – all of which make up the complex community of the nation” (138).

own sentiments; but we do not hesitate cheerfully to avow our belief, that the writer has, even therein, exhibited inventive powers, that promise, if sedulously cultivated and improved, to raise her name hereafter to no mean rank among the female novelist to England (402-408).

Tal como o título da narrativa ficcional sugere (“Sketches”), a obra é fragmentária, e um dos subenredos que a recensão refere é exactamente o que nos ocupa, a descrição da paisagem portuguesa, espaço da acção inicial relativamente ‘exótico’. Uma outra recensão, publicada em *The Gentleman’s Magazine*, elogia longamente o romance pelas suas funções social e didáctica:

this agreeable performance possesses most of the requisites for forming a complete model for genteel Comedy (...) it inculcates good manners, urbanity, and politeness; discourages vulgarity, insolence, and pertness; reproveth the immoral and licentious; and affords a pleasing picture of the softer sympathies of the heart, meliorated and polished by Virtue and Religion” (249).

O recensor classifica a obra como “instructive and entertaining” (249), e refere que algumas cenas são fruto da experiência da autora, estratégia que enriqueceria o texto:

the description of France, Spain, and Portugal affords an interesting view of the state of Society, and indeed of the Arts, in those Countries, and bears evident marks of authenticity. The introduction of this *Episode* is very well contrived; and, whatsoever may be the opinion entertained respecting the probability or possibility of cementing the bonds of union between the Southern Peninsula of Europe and the Island of Great Britain, there can be no difference respecting the advantage which may be derived from this pleasing and appropriate method of diffusing useful information respecting the Topography of the two Countries. Such valuable instruction, when conveyed in a popular and pleasing manner, is of double worth; and the Author has evidenced the soundness of her judgment, the goodness of her heart, and a spirit of loyalty and independence truly characteristic of the Country to which she belongs, in so laudable an endeavour to communicate knowledge, at the same time that she affords amusement (*The Gentleman’s Magazine* 249).

Ambas as recensões utilizam como critério para avaliar a obra a sua dimensão sentimental, o que invoca a crítica ao sentimentalismo exacerbado do chamado romance sentimental dos

séculos XVIII e XIX, juízo de valor já presente em ficções como *An Apology for the Life of Mrs. Shamela Andrews* (1741) e *The History of the Adventures of Joseph Andrews and of his Friend Mr. Abraham Adams* (1742), de Henry Fielding, ou *Sense and Sensibility* (1811), de Jane Austen. O recensor do *Gentleman's Magazine* invoca ainda a noção romântica do 'Estado-nação' e remete para o auto-imagótipo (imagem literária) da Grã-Bretanha com base na sua comparação com os Outros estrangeiros, o inimigo francês, o velho aliado português e Espanha. *FC* é também referido num romance igualmente publicado em 1809, *Modern Times; or, Anecdotes of the English Family* (vol. 1: 58), quando o narrador informa que a personagem Mrs Burrows lera imenso na sua infância e adolescência para exercitar a memória, e entre romances fantasiosos, como *The Mysteries of Udolpho* e *The Back Spirit of the Wye*, lera também *The Forest of Comalva*, ou seja, a narrativa ficcional é romanceada e torna-se intertexto de outro romance.

A acção principal de *FC* começa com a troca de missivas entre o jovem Frederic Hamilton (Londres) e o Reverendo Charles Delville (Winchelsea), em Maio de 1796, e termina dois anos depois, em 1798 (III 228). Como é sabido, à época a carta era o meio de comunicação privilegiado, sendo enviada por intermédio de amigos, empregados, viajantes ou pelo correio. Essa prática-objecto detinha um valor social enquanto prática das classes privilegiadas, como, aliás, é notório nas temáticas, opiniões e ideologia que as missivas de *FC* veiculam, como veremos. No entanto, há sempre algo que fica por dizer; daí a continuação prolongada do intercâmbio epistolar, sendo o seu registo caracterizado pela incompletude e pelo monólogo que caracterizam o momento inicial da escrita. A missiva, enquanto escrita íntima frequentemente datada e localizada, permite um certo imediatismo e revela, também através do seu tom, o universo doméstico e privado de vários correspondentes-autores ao tornar-se 'pública', sem que a comunicação entre as personagens seja mediada pelo narrador heterodiegético, ou seja, dando a sensação de acesso imediato ao pensamento dos protagonistas<sup>10</sup>. O envio da carta pode não implicar que os correspondentes se

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<sup>10</sup> Perry afirma que o romance epistolar cria a sensação do acesso imediato à consciência da personagem (128), enquanto para Keymaer *Pamela* (1740), de Samuel Richardson, nunca se afasta muito do (e chega mesma a ser um) "soliloquising diary or journal", aproximando assim ambos os géneros (45). Já Bray defende que a influência ao nível estilístico e da representação da consciência do romance epistolar na ficção em geral (representação da consciência em narrativas na terceira pessoa) tem sido negligenciada no estudo do desenvolvimento do romance (1-3).

conheçam, servindo ainda como estratégia para enganar terceiros, por exemplo, a carta falsa que Henry Sinclair envia a Gertrude. O estilo e obviamente o conteúdo desse modelo de escrita difere de acordo com o destinatário (padre, amigo, amada), e, tal como o leitor do romance, o receptor da missiva lê e descodifica o documento, e normalmente responde (Schmidt 116), vivendo o romance epistolar desse intercâmbio. São vários os exemplos de ‘cartas’ famosas, bastando referir os romances e escritos epistolares de John Lyly (*Euphues, or the Anatomy of Wit*, 1578), Aphra Behn (*Love-Letters between a Nobleman and his Sister*, 1648-1687), John Locke (*Letter on Toleration*, 1689-1692), Eliza Haywood (*Letters from a Lady of Quality to a Chevalier*, 1721), Jonathan Swift (*The Drapier’s Letters*, 1724), Goethe (*The Letters of Young Werther*, 1774), Edmund Burke (*Letters on a Regicide Peace*, 1797), os romances de Richardson, de Alice Walker (*The Color Purple*, 1982), de Margaret Atwood (*The Handmaid’s Tale*, 1986) e de Jane Gardam (*The Queen of the Tambourine*, 1991), entre tantos outros, como, por exemplo, *Les Lettres Portugaises* (1669), obra traduzida para inglês, por Roger L’Estrange, como *Love-Letters from a Nun to a Cavalier* (1678) e que já ia na décima edição em 1740. Um outro romance epistolar que dialoga intertextualmente com *FC* é *Julie; ou, La Nouvelle Héloïse* (1761), de Jean-Jacques Rousseau, também sobre um amor proibido.

Se uma das temáticas do romance de Mary Hill é a relação amorosa dos protagonistas, a obra não contempla apenas cartas de amor<sup>11</sup>, pois os textos abordam temas literários, políticos nacionais e europeus, coloniais, morais e *gossip*, entre outros. Os temas abordados, validados e reforçados pelos correspondentes em *FC* são influenciados quer pela noção de intimidade, pela *persona*/imagem pública e pelos interesses económicos e

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<sup>11</sup> Sobre o sentimentalismo do romance epistolar sentimental do século XVIII, que antecede *FC* (por exemplo, Frances Sheridan, *Memoirs of Miss Sidney Bidulph* (1761); Henry Mackenzie, *Julia de Roubigné* (1777); Fanny Burney, *Evelina* (1778), Charlotte Smith, *Desmond* (1792); e Eliza Fenwick, *Secrecy* (1795)), Bray afirma “feeling and reason (...) do not conflate with, triumph over or give way to each other. Instead they remain in constant negotiation and interaction” (107). Já Watson, ao estudar o romance epistolar feminino, defende que no final do século XVIII, a ficção na primeira pessoa foi substituída pela forma mais patriarcal do romance na terceira pessoa, e as paixões ilícitas e sentimentais do romance epistolar sentimental, encaradas como uma possível energia revolucionária, foram substituídas por narrativas mais adequadas à construção de uma identidade nacional e de um consenso político (4). Como recorda Kraft, no século XVIII, a esfera privada desafiou a pública como nunca (16), sendo *FC* também marcado pelos excessos sentimentais dos jovens protagonistas que, aliás, os confessam na intimidade das missivas (I 4, 32, 35, 199; II 156; III 178).

amorosos, quer pela moral vigente e pelas relações sociais, de género e de poder (respeito pela vontade do pai, busca do e validação pelo casamento: I: 4, 26, 28-30, 33, 104; II 97). Como o romance de Hill ilustra, a carta era também uma forma de educação moral para as mulheres, tinha fins didácticos e veiculava estereótipos vigentes de feminilidade que respeitavam cegamente a estabilidade social e familiar patriarcais (Gilroy e Verhoeven 2), como se verifica nos títulos das cartas de, por exemplo, Wetenhall Wilkes (*A Letter of Genteel and Moral Advice to a Young Lady*, 1740), Hester Chapone (*Letters on the Improvement of the Mind, Addressed to a Young Lady*, 1773), John Gregory (*A Father's Legacy to his Daughter*, 1774), Mary Hays (*Letters and Essays, Moral and Miscellaneous*, 1793), Laetitia Matilda Hawkins (*Letters on the Female Mind*, 1793), sendo o *status quo* desafiado através de obras como *Letter to the Women of England on the Injustice of Subordination* (1799), de Mary Robinson, considerada um projecto proto-feminista. Em *FC*, algumas cartas trocadas entre mulheres funcionam como analepses e revelam o passados dos protagonistas, a sua educação, os problemas antigos e a forma como várias personagens se conheceram (I 96-107; II 130-133). Utilizamos o conceito 'patriarcal' cientes de que este não está apenas directamente associado ao conceito de masculinidade, sendo "gender-complicated" (Claridge e Langland 3) e multivalente (Erickson 23; Allman 22), pois nem sempre os poderosos são (apenas os) homens, nem as vítimas apenas mulheres, e toda a comunidade ajuda a elaborar esse constructo.

A escrita, a leitura, a retrospectiva, o poder da retórica, a persuasão e a confissão são, portanto, temas obrigatórios do subgénero. Daí que Alexander Pope considerasse que escrever cartas é "talking on paper" (Beebee 1, 206), Redford (1986) definiu esse processo como 'conversar com a caneta' e Showalter considerasse o romance epistolar um "technical dead end" (121).<sup>12</sup> *FC* permite-nos, assim, reflectir sobre a relação e as intersecções entre romance e epístola, enquanto formas de (d) escrever que se influenciam mutuamente<sup>13</sup>, evidenciando uma voz (e uma prática) autorial feminina (epistolar) que mimetiza/domina códigos sociais e literários em prol da ficcionalização da felicidade feminina. Aliás, como referem Gilroy e Verhoeven, "the generic and ideological boundaries between conduct writ-

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<sup>12</sup> Sobre o romance "cast in letter form" e o "epistolar impulse", veja-se Singer (vii).

<sup>13</sup> Recordemos que os manuais de epistolografia faziam parte da educação no século XVIII e influenciaram obviamente o romance epistolar (Bray 1967).

ing and the ‘novel’ were very porous (...) [female letters] spoke in the private voice appropriate to women whose roles were increasingly circumscribed within the constraints of bourgeois ideology” (2). Se Castle defende que romances como *Clarissa* (e *CF*, diríamos nós) questionam o acto da interpretação do que se lê e que a sua dimensão moral reside no auto-exame que leva os leitores a fazer (16, 29, 196), ao estudar o *letter novel*, Salsini demonstra que as autoras utilizaram este subgénero para desafiar percepções literárias e sociais da e sobre a própria mulher (5-6). De facto, em *FC* as cartas são escritas na privacidade<sup>14</sup> e dirigem-se também a um leque variado de mulheres, com vidas e aspirações diferentes, embora estas sofram e tenham que se conformar com a moral e as tradições vigentes, como, por exemplo, respeitar cegamente a vontade paterna. As missivas permitem, ainda face à distância, um companheirismo e o desabafo, uma colaboração e protecção femininas, por exemplo, entre Louisa e Gertrude, através das suas próprias vozes, medos, planos e da “self-expression” referida por Salsini ao recordar que esses documentos permitem à mulher ser também sujeito e não apenas objecto, e isso acontece inter e extratextualmente (8). No desenlace da acção são, aliás, as cartas que permitem a resolução do mistério e a reposição da ordem, sendo as relações femininas ficcionalizadas como positivas. O fluxo de epístolas marca o tempo que passa, e esse tempo é relevante pois o que se (d)escreve já aconteceu ou irá acontecer, mas, muitas vezes, o que seria o futuro no momento de escrita de uma das missivas (casamento dos protagonistas em *FC*) já aconteceu quando a carta chega ao destinatário<sup>15</sup>. Daí que Rosbottom afirme: “letters are an attempt at arresting time, at controlling it, and in the epistolar work, time is shortened, lengthened, intensified through the process of memory and anticipation” (289). A mulher e a condição feminina são talvez um dos temas mais recorrentes em *FC*, recordando-nos, como afirma Kamuf, que, no século XVIII, houve uma “collective obsessing about an idea called ‘woman’” (ix). Beebee recorda, aliás, que a carta é uma das modalidades de escrita atribuída socialmente à mulher, sendo-lhe tolerada publicamente (105). Ao longo do romance há

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<sup>14</sup> Cook afirma que as categorias do público e do privado funcionam como um intrincado sistema cultural e que o contrato epistolar, que em princípio regula relações afectivas privadas, deve ser lido como análogo às (e complacente com as) tecnologias do capitalismo (45-46).

<sup>15</sup> Altman usa o termo “mediation” para se referir ao facto de a carta permitir às personagens andar para trás e para frente no tempo e no espaço (14-43).

também mulheres activas e determinadas, como a protagonista Gertrude, marcada pelas decisões e pela acção sobre a sua vida e não apenas pela mera introspecção e resignação passivas. A voz da epístola é íntima, mas também se torna pública e adquire poder e estatuto, como os que a protagonista detém no final da acção, ao passar de *outcast* a heroína e mártir feminina no topo da escala social, sendo recebida inclusive pela rainha.

No início do enredo, Frederic Hamilton terminara há pouco o seu *Grand Tour* (“Continental Tour”), privilégio educativo dos jovens aristocratas britânicos, e regressara à sua “native land” (I: 1) após uma ausência de três anos, concorrendo o *incipit* da obra para enaltecer a terra natal, por comparação às áridas terras que percorrera, caracterizadas de forma negativa através de adjectivos que caracterizam tudo o que é estrangeiro (“uncultivated”, “insolence”, “wretchedness”, “miserable”, “splendid indolence and dissipation” I: 1-2; “tyrants” III 117), acompanhados por substantivos como “slavery” (I:2), termos e hetero-estereótipos que poderão ser aplicados aos países que dão título ao romance. Já a adjectivação e os substantivos positivos descrevem a “superior” Grã-Bretanha (“happy and enlightened”, “mild and beneficent government”, “industry”, “independant”, “ease”, “content”, “delightful, free, generous, soul-inspiring England”, I 1-2, III, 109). A paisagem natural reflecte, várias vezes, a harmonia quase arcádica que caracteriza a Grã-Bretanha, e é utilizada para definir a *Britishness*: “elegant simplicity reigns here, combined with perfection of domestic happiness”, de que Frederic se afastara durante o seu “banishment from [his] native clime” (I 37) e para onde tanto desejava regressar rapidamente. No final do primeiro volume, esse narrador escreve, mais uma vez, a Delville e caracteriza o campo inglês como “cheerful” (I 214), e estas imagens concorrem para a construção (nacionalista) de uma ideia de *Britishness*. Daí que o “Continent”, enquanto espaço do Outro, seja um termo recorrente ao longo do romance, bem como as referências ao “native clime” e os elogios aos verdadeiros “patriotas” que visam a construção ficcional de auto-estereótipos britânicos, ou seja, a auto-imagem de um ‘povo’ a formar-se também através do romance, como se verifica através de afirmações como: “I adore the British character; for where shall we find such benevolence, such noble-minded generosity” (III 66). Num período de construção e reforço de ‘nacionalidades’ na Europa, essa auto-noção de *Britishness* ganha também forma através de ideias como “public charities (...) liberality and public spirit of the people” (III 67). Ao estudar os romances de Richardson, Eagleton (1982) demonstra como o género, a sexualidade e a classe social influenciam as relações de poder

também numa relação epistolar, e, por exemplo, em *CF*, Louisa ecoa a opinião da 'elite' britânica, auto-representada como superior ao resto da população e com medo dos efeitos das revoltas francesa e irlandesa (1798), mas sobretudo da Revolução Francesa, que decerto estaria na mente dos leitores (I 221; III 67), pois Inglaterra é apresentada como o país "where all frees dwell" (III 109), por oposição à França, ou seja, o romance é também uma ferramenta ideológica e a voz de uma determinada classe social que desvaloriza as críticas aos mais privilegiados e contraria a ideia de igualdade, "which has proved so fatal in its effects to a sister kingdom" (III 67). Há portanto missivas com um forte cariz político (II 144-145, III 67-68) que abordam questões nacionais e de nacionalidade, sobretudo no que diz respeito a constructos como classe, estatuto e (des)igualdade. Henry Sinclair, o desonesto e cruel antagonista de Gertrude, torna-se, no final do enredo, o *outcast* social, desfecho para o qual vamos tendo indícios desde cedo, por exemplo, quando Louise parodia a personalidade dele ao perguntar-lhe se ele teria feito o seu *Grand Tour* ("Continental expedition") durante duas meras semanas em Calais (I 201), afirmação que o hetero-caracteriza sarcasticamente e distingue de Frederic Hamilton. O transgressor é eliminado da sociedade no final e silenciado através do suicídio após se ter endividado a jogar (III 159), um gesto de auto-destruição que acentua a sua caracterização negativa e o ethos do contexto de produção e consumo de *FC*.

O romance (I 26-27, 105, 203; II: 89-91) veicula a cosmovisão da classe alta britânica sobre si mesma (o nobre, o estatuto, a classe, o casamento como elevador social e o reforço ou a manutenção de fortunas, o *Grand Tour*) e sobre as demais classes sociais, sobretudo os pobres, por exemplo, o "poor cottager" (I: 27), havendo assim um constructo imagológico da própria Grã-Bretanha e dos demais países (II 37, 39) como sendo compostos por várias camadas sociais estereotipadas, que devem conhecer e 'respeitar' o seu lugar na hierarquia social. Os pobres e os empregados aparecem amiúde como figurantes do 'cenário de fundo' e parte da cor local, invocando as palavras do médico francês Philippe Hecquet, que, em 1740, terá afirmado: "os pobres num Estado são como sombras num quadro, fazem o contraste necessário" (cit. por Couzin 127, tradução nossa). Se, inicialmente, o pai de Frederic não deseja que ele case com uma mulher de condição social e financeira inferior à sua, após os inúmeros desencontros amorosos os jovens protagonistas casam e Gertrude assume a sua verdadeira identidade e o seu (até então desconhecido) estatuto social elevado, sendo, no final da acção, notícia por ter sido recebida pela rainha, cerimonial que

marca a sua ‘ascensão’ (por direito) ao cume da pirâmide social, estatuto que é, nesse momento, reconhecido por todos. As ordens amorosa, familiar e social encontram-se assim repostas.

Aos vinte e três anos, Frederic demonstra ter uma consciência social e observa, com o ‘filtro’ da sua classe social, a relação entre os mais e os menos privilegiados, demonstrando que o seu *Grand Tour* fora educativo. Essa viagem tem como objectivo paterno separar os jovens, e a longínqua Lisboa é referida como destino de onde Hamilton envia cartas à sua amada (I 5), sem que ela as receba, pois são interceptadas pelos seus acompanhantes. Daí que a jovem não lhe responda, dando-se início ao desencontro e ao suspense que pautarão quase todo o enredo, e cujos contornos parciais nos são inicialmente veiculados apenas através da focalização masculina. A segunda vez que Lisboa é referida é como local de paixões e aventuras (I 36), como qualquer outro local estrangeiro. As missivas vão construindo gradualmente o auto-estereótipo do nobre inglês (“calmness and dignity that distinguishes the noble mind under every misfortune”, “disciplined (...) experince (...) confidence”, “courage” (I 12-13; I 19), apesar de, na intimidade epistolar, Frederic confessar o seu desejo ardente (pouco nobre) de se vingar de Gertrude (I 20), impulsividade e emotividade normalmente associadas às ‘gentes do Sul’. Na oitava carta regressa o tema do *Grand Tour* e o aviso que, de seguida, Frederic, para se ocupar, na casa da sua irmã, narrará as suas aventuras europeias (“foreign tour” I 38), também de forma a entreter o pastor e a mulher. Algumas cartas mais tarde, Charles Delville e a sua mulher agradecem as descrições do “tour” e pedem ao jovem que as continue (I 120). O escritor afirma que privilegiará as suas aventuras em Espanha, pois o destinatário da missiva não visitara esse país, ou seja, Frederic sente a necessidade de agradar ao leitor com base no seu suposto ‘horizonte de expectativas’. Daí também as várias interpelações aos leitores das cartas, pedindo paciência (I 198), uma vez que esses objectos dão respostas ao e exigem respostas do leitor-personagem (Bower 5) e do leitor extratextual, tendo, assim, esse intercâmbio também uma componente dialógica.

O jovem embarcou em Falmouth, na companhia do seu tutor, Mr. Falconer, rumo a Lisboa, apresentada como o ponto de chegada à Europa “before [they] commenced [their] tour” (I 39), espaço de descanso da viagem marítima durante alguns meses antes de aí mesmo começarem a expedição, rumo a Madrid e posteriormente França. A viagem de Inglaterra a Lisboa demora catorze dias, e mal Frederic chega à capital encontra Mr. Harvey, um colega de Oxford que se tinha mudado para Lisboa por motivos de saúde, ecoando ficcionalmente Henry Fielding e tantos

outros doentes britânicos que se mudaram para Portugal, nem que temporariamente, para melhorar o seu estado de saúde. O velho amigo servirá de guia através da Península Ibérica, pois acompanhá-lo-á até Madrid, e, em Setembro, os viajantes e os seus “servants” (I 41) chegam à Aldeia Galega (Montijo), cuja localização é apresentada após a referência à travessia fluvial, sendo indicada como o porto de escala para todas as mercadorias e passageiros a caminho do “Alentejo, the kingdom of Algarve, and Spain” (I 41). A Estalagem da Aldeia Galega é motivo para um exercício intertextual, uma vez que o narrador invoca os viajantes-autores anteriores para a declarar “one of the best”, com o aval e o peso dos seus antecessores, ou seja, do cânone da escrita de viagens britânica<sup>16</sup>. Esse famoso espaço entre viajantes estrangeiros é descrito através da sua arquitectura e dos seus vários microcosmos, encontrando-se os quartos sobre os estábulos, de onde sobem odores nada agradáveis, ou seja, a paisagem visual (*landscape*) portuguesa é complementada pela *smellscape*, ou paisagem odorífera (“through numbers of large apertures in the neglected floors”), elemento que, tal como a adjectivação, intensifica, mais uma vez, os aspectos negativos do país estrangeiro (e auto-caracterizam o viajante como um jovem corajoso a ultrapassar obstáculos), imaginando o narrador o quanto sofrerão os hóspedes que dormem por cima da “manjedoura”, “regaled by such a perfume” (I 42). De acordo com Drobnick,

(...)soundscapes consist of sound events, some of which are soundmarks (compare landmarks). Similarly, smellscapes will involve smell events and smell marks. ‘Eyewitness’ is replaced by ‘earwitness’ and ‘nosewitness’. Visual evidence becomes hearsay and nosesay. The heightening of visual perceptions becomes ear-cleaning and nose-training”(92).

Tal processo observa-se, embora de forma ténue, em *FC*. A paisagem olfactiva poderá então ser entendida como o conjunto de aromas por vezes associados a pessoas, a locais ou a outros estímulos exteriores (Relph 1976; Engen “The Origin”; Engen *The Perception*; Engen e Ross 221-27) que intensificam a descrição da paisagem visual. As paisagens olfactivas e auditivas são portanto análogas à paisagem visual, remetendo para a informação geográfica percebida em conjunto pela visão, pela

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<sup>16</sup> Citamos, a título de exemplo: Hervey (220). Esse espaço é também ‘habitado’ por Byron. V. Eisler 187.

audição e pelo olfacto, que, por sua vez, auxiliam o ser humano a localizar-se a si mesmo no espaço, bem como a terceiros, como verificamos em *FC*. Tuan e Porteous têm estudado a dimensão olfactiva da experiência geográfica, e este último utiliza o termo *smellscape* para aludir à dimensão geográfica de determinados aromas: “the concept of smellscape suggests that, like visual impressions, smells may be spatially ordered or place-related” (359), afirmação à luz da qual analisamos a representação do cheiro da estalagem, que denota falta de higiene e de condições saudáveis de vida. Enquanto a paisagem humanizada e arquitectónica percebida pela visão não muda de imediato, cheiros e sons (I 76) aparecem no romance, mais ou menos intensos (dependendo da localização do viajante, como o narrador infere ao falar das diversas partes da estalagem), e alguns cheiros esbater-se-ão rapidamente, podendo inclusive impregnar-se (Rodaway 61-81). Portugal é também descrito/estereotipado através de aromas positivos que se vão sentindo ao longo da viagem, como “shrubs of an aromatic smell” (42), sendo o percurso entre Aldeia Galega e Pegões percorrido de cadeirinha. Um outro tipo de paisagem de que nos ocupamos como marca do auto-estereótipo luso é a *soundscape*, ou imagem sonora, que pode ser definida como o conjunto de sons descritos, sugeridos e/ou reproduzidos num texto literário (Puga “Soundscape”; “Every Fresh Object” 223), tendo esse conceito sido cunhado por Schafer, com base no termo *landscape*, no âmbito da sua investigação na área da ecologia acústica (*The New Soundscape*, 1969; *The Soundscape: Our Sonic Environment and the Tuning of the World*, 1977). O termo remete para os elementos sonoros presentes na narrativa literária, nomeadamente sons humanos (vozes, música), sons do quotidiano, sons naturais (clima e fenómenos naturais) e animais, entre outros. Vários sons marcam presença na mística Floresta de Comalva, um percurso escuro em que as personagens escutam com cuidado para poderem perceber os perigos que não podem ver, sendo os sons culturais portugueses também apresentados pelo narrador (I 76), repetindo-se os ruídos simultâneos durante o ‘espectáculo’ da tourada lusa: “trumpet sounds, and the music plays (...) bands of music (...) the music plays, and the trumpet sounds for the fight to commence” (I 90, 93). De acordo com Emily Ann Thompson, “like a landscape, a soundscape is simultaneously a physical environment and a way of perceiving that environment” (1), sendo várias as cartas em *FC* que referem sons específicos de cada personagem, lar ou região, por exemplo, o som da harpa que associamos a Gertrude (I 105, 182), a diversidade linguística na Península Ibérica (II 28, 34), a música de pobres

“rústicos” que alegra as classes privilegiadas (II 40, tradução nossa) e que caracterizam a cor local sonora dos espaços da acção, estrangeiros e domésticos.

Através de elipses e sumários, a descrição da viagem vai ilustrando hábitos nacionais e dos viajantes nas várias paisagens ‘etnográficas’ percorridas e descodificadas, tornando-se claro que há um processo de escolha de informação e dos interesses que o narrador regista, sobretudo informação útil para futuros viajantes, como acontece com as estalagens de várias localidades, ou, quando em França, Frederic informa o leitor: “has nothing to arrest the attention of the traveller, except a fine old cathedral” (II 42). A tourada portuguesa é descrita já em Espanha através do encontro dos viajantes com um “Lisbonian” (I 94), que conta como é esse espectáculo tauromáquico em Lisboa (88-94), estratégia que confere vivacidade e legitimidade (“an exact representation”, I 89) à longa descrição, concorrendo assim para o chamado ‘efeito do real’. A tourada é textualizada a partir da narração de um informante português, para passar o tempo no percurso até Madrid, e ganha forma através da exposição da hierarquia simbólica do espaço desse ritual. A descrição é marcada pelo visualismo do curso de carros alegóricos que representam divindades, por verbos de acção, pela raiva do touro, pelos movimentos dos forcados, pela exotização de “negroes in their country dresses” (I 91), pela tradição de “soldiers in ancient dresses” (I 93), pela luxuosidade, pela morte de vinte touros “for the amusement of the audience” (I 93), entre outros rituais e comentários que intensificam o cariz ‘etnográfico’ recorrente na escrita de viagens e que é recuperado, mais tarde, na descrição de costumes do País Basco (II 28-31) e de localidades francesas (II 34, 37-40). A tourada é, assim, obviamente, associada ao imaginário ibérico, daí que a sua apresentação seja feita por um português em Espanha, a caminho de Madrid. A descrição dessa festa torna claro que o narrador é contra esse espectáculo, desejando a sua abolição: “such an entertainment could not inspire foreigners of the humanity of the country” (I 94), ou seja, a Península é apresentada, através da tourada em Lisboa descrita em Espanha, como um espaço pouco humanitário, algo primário, embora Frederic compare a tourada ao *bull baiting* (ataque de cães a um boi para o imobilizar)<sup>17</sup> na Grã-Betanha. O Outro leva, assim, o *Self* a auto-analisar-se, a auto-criticar-se e a reconhecer que a crueldade que visiona nesse

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<sup>17</sup> Embora date de muito antes, a primeira referência inglesa a esse desporto é de 1174, a descrição de Londres da autoria de William Fitzstephen (Collins e Lile 51-53).

Outro existe também ‘em casa’, de forma distinta. É curioso que em 1809 o romance refira, de forma crítica, esse espectáculo recreativo britânico (através da comparação à tourada), pois, em 1800 e 1802, a House of Commons votara a sua abolição, tendo, no entanto, vencido os defensores da sua continuação, e apenas o Cruelty to Animals Act de 1835 abole a prática do *baiting* com qualquer animal. Se tivermos em conta o contexto de produção do romance, concluímos facilmente que o episódio tauromáquico ‘lisboeta’, o juízo de valor do narrador e a comparação cultural têm um objectivo político e ideológico, até porque o próprio português que descreve a tourada concorda com Frederic no que diz respeito à abolição da tourada (e consequentemente do *bull bating*). O romance encontra-se, assim, também ao serviço (ideológico) do activismo em torno de causas sociais, humanitárias e até dos direitos dos animais.

Os elementos da paisagem natural vão-se acumulando através da enumeração e avançam informação de carácter mais prático e útil para futuros viajantes em Portugal: o clima, os aromas de arbustos, as estalagens limpas, o relevo rochoso, as poucas casas e a estalagem de Pegões, as estradas e ruas de areia, os pinhais, o milho, o melão barato e as oliveiras (I 42-43, 46-49, 224), paisagens que se repetem em Espanha (I 63). Se a literatura inglesa advogava que o calor do Sul da Europa tornaria os nórdicos indolentes, à semelhança dos povos que aí residem (I 224), as personagens de *FC* consideram que a Itália fica nos Antípodas de Inglaterra (III 109), não deixando de ser interessante o tópico das instalações portuguesas antigas e descuidadas, por exemplo, em Torres Novas, cujo palácio real é antigo, a par de outros edificios referidos como ruínas (símbolo de decadência). A beleza das filhas dos donos da estalagem e a higiene são elogiadas nessa localidade, antes da passagem por Silveiras (“Assiveras”, I 43) e da chegada, no dia seguinte, a Montemor, localidade sem muito que descrever, pelo que o narrador recorre sobretudo à enumeração de espaços e edificios religiosos católicos (como fará em todas as grandes vilas): quatro mosteiros, um convento, várias igrejas e um castelo mourisco, concluindo “the whole, being viewed at a distance, forms an agreeable prospect” (I 44). Como em qualquer viagem, os topónimos tornam-se elementos cronotópicos, pois marcam as diferentes fases e o avanço (ou recuo) dos viajantes, por exemplo, rumo a Évora, “on account of its being more worthy of the curiosity of a traveller”, ou seja, os ingleses preferiram essa rota mais indirecta a passar por Arraiolos, ficando claro que o interesse ‘turístico’ influencia a rota desenhada pelos viajantes. Mais uma vez, a enumeração é a estratégia utilizada para apresentar a cidade de

forma sumária – a muralha, o gótico Convento de S. Francisco “well deserves attention” (I 44) –, enquanto Frederic adjectiva estrategicamente as suas dimensões amplas, os altares elegantes e as belas pinturas (I 45), detendo-se o seu olhar sobretudo na famosa Capela dos Ossos, onde são exibidos os restos mortais de um adulto e de uma criança. Esse espectáculo mórbido é também referido numa nota de *A Tale of Paraguay* (1825), de Robert Southey, através de um exercício de comparação intercultural entre a América Latina (Paraguai), um espaço então já pós-colonial, e Portugal, ambos universos católicos:

hideous exhibitions of this kind are sometimes made in monasteries, where they are in perfect accord with monastic superstition. I remember seeing two human bodies dry and shrivelled, suspended in the *Casa dos Ossos*, at Evora, in a chapel, the walls of which are lined with skulls and bones (Southey 174).

Perante a mesma paisagem religiosa, o narrador de *FC* conclui: “their appearance was awful, and one would think must, if any thing could, remind the spectator of his mortality” (I 45). A prática de utilizar ossadas humanas para efeitos decorativos e de doutrinação, sobretudo no interior de capelas, foi, em tempos, uma prática comum na Europa católica (*Quigley Skulls and Skeletons* 171-172), bem como na América Latina, e a capela de Évora é ainda hoje um exemplo mundialmente famoso. As ossadas são acompanhadas por frases alusivas ao *memento mori*, uma prática-reflexão comum desde a Idade Média, e a descrição ficcional realista desse ‘espectáculo’ permite-nos, tal como acontece na escrita de viagens, interpretar a visão e o cerimonial barrocos da morte, bem como o espaço performativo enquanto lembrete da mortalidade e dos conceitos religiosos de céu, inferno e salvação da alma após a morte. Numa descrição que ilumina a nossa compreensão do simbolismo e da função do referido monumento, Ariès descodifica as galerias da igreja e o cemitério da Confraternità della Orazione e Morte da seguinte forma:

each bone is used according to its shape (...) it is a stage set in which the human bone lends itself to all the convulsions of baroque or rococo art. The skeleton is exhibited as a theatrical prop and itself becomes a spectacle (...) it has lost its individuality (...) the gestures of thousands of limbs (506)<sup>18</sup>.

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<sup>18</sup> Na página 328, o autor recorda que uma parte do osso tem o mesmo valor simbólico que todo o osso ou esqueleto.

Esta descrição da teatralização da morte pela igreja católica também ilustra a atitude do viajante-observador pelo continente europeu perante realidades que, por seu turno, haviam sido comuns na Inglaterra a partir do século XIV, tendo aí as aulas de catequese e reuniões de caridade tido lugar em salas repletas de ossadas, apesar do cheiro (Quigley *The Corpse* 265-266), paisagens que, no século XIX, faziam, obviamente, parte de um passado recuado e esquecido. O Outro católico assume-se assim também, durante o *Grand Tour*, como o ‘definitional other’ (Parker *et al.* 5), através do qual o britânico se auto-caracteriza, sobretudo nas obras que fazem parte da chamada *protestant imaginative writing* (Shell *Catholicism* 1-2). O narrador de *FC* descreve práticas, obras de arte e edifícios religiosos, relíquias, estruturas e os impressionantes luxos católicos na Península e em França (I 65-67, II 15-18; II 32, 44), sem juízos de valor expressos, e fá-lo desde que chega a Portugal, revelando um interesse pelo desconhecido ao achar que essa realidade interessará ao destinatário da sua carta, um clérigo inglês. Daí que interprete a simbologia de obras de arte católicas (I 67), que conferem ao texto uma dimensão ecrástica e estabelecem um diálogo interartes que enriquece as missivas. Para um viajante protestante torna-se relevante comparar e distanciar a Grã-Bretanha do Continente católico, e a descrição do macabro, da falta de liberdade e da ignorância eram formas de o fazer na literatura protestante desde a Reforma de Henrique VIII. O autor remete indirectamente para a memória e para o poder simbólico dos ossos enquanto artefactos-estratégias religiosas e detém-se longamente na descrição da capela, transcrevendo a mensagem inscrita à entrada da mesma, simulando o ritual (ou passagem) da morte: “the entrance of the chapel lies written over the door: Nos Ossos qui estamos pellos vossos esperamos” [*sic.*], apresentando uma tradução errada em rodapé: “Our bones we hope to see again revived” (I 45-46).

O parágrafo seguinte começa abruptamente, sem qualquer comentário à frase cujo verdadeiro significado o leitor anglófono nunca apreenderá, devido ao erro de tradução, ocupando-se Frederic da dimensão do edifício gótico da Sé de Évora, dos seus belos mármore, pilares, mosaicos e pinturas, entre as quais se destaca a do altar. Mais uma vez, a enumeração adjetivada funciona como descrição, à semelhança do que acontece no mercado da cidade (Templo de Diana): “which, it has been said, are the remains of a temple dedicated to Diana. The whole is tiled over, and has very little the appearance of ancient architecture” (I 46). O olhar do viajante dirige-se também para as mulheres da urbe, que descreve brevemente como sendo mais belas do que as

de Lisboa. É também óbvio o seu interesse pelo estado das vias de comunicação, nomeadamente as estradas de má qualidade, perigosas, “almost impassible” (I 215) ou “miserable!” (I 42, 48, 71) no Inverno, sendo algumas descritas como “tolerable” (I 47) ou “good” (I 48), sobretudo entre Évora e Estremoz, sendo esta última localidade apresentada como uma das maiores cidades lusas, onde reside um governador, pelo que os visitantes são inquiridos à entrada, espaço de fronteira em que têm também de mostrar o seu “passport” (I 49). Tal como em Montemor e em Évora, o narrador descreve o aspecto geral do espaço urbano: “The houses are small, perfectly white, and have the look of cleanliness. In the praça are some very handsome edifices. There are several convents and churches; an excellent fountain, and a fine open square: but, together, nothing very remarkable” (I 49). A falta de entusiasmo de Frederic face ao Outro contrasta, por exemplo, com o entusiasmo e *dépaysement* do pai de Gertrude ao chegar a França: “the novelty of everything in that part of France interested him” (I 228), recordando-nos os vários tipos de viajante e as várias formas de observarmos o Outro e dos nos relacionarmos com ele. Ao longo da obra, há ainda inúmeras viagens domésticas e pelo Mediterrâneo, em Itália (naufrágio e reencontro amoroso, III 136-149) e preparações de futuras excursões à Alemanha, por exemplo, ou as expedições de Mr. Walpole pelo mundo, “making discoverings” (III 152), uma clara alusão à época das expedições científicas. Após o casamento dos protagonistas, a lua-de-mel, na companhia de amigos, é gozada na Alemanha, ou seja, no Norte da Europa, acumulando-se, de seguida, várias outras paragens europeias, como revelam as cartas que Frederic vai enviando a Charles.

A arte sacra, o estilo gótico, bem com outras paisagens pitorescas prendem o olhar do viajante e dão lugar a líricas descrições (I 49, 60, 66), enquanto Frederic se movimenta de estalagem em estalagem, por entre uma sucessão de aldeias que vai enumerando e apresentando de forma muito geral. Évora Monte é encimada por um “ruinous fort, and a castle” (I 48), ou seja, o imaginário das ruínas acompanha o viajante ao longo da Península Ibérica, por oposição à indústria e ao progresso britânicos, elogiados logo no incipit da obra. Os fortes das povoações são também listados, destacando-se o Forte de Nossa Senhora da Graça ou do Conde de Lippe, “reckoned one of the best fortifications in Europe” (I 50), e o Castelo-forte de Santa Luzia, em Elvas, a par de algumas informações sobre a economia e os produtos locais, por exemplo, relativamente ao mármore da zona de Elvas utilizado para construir edifícios públicos. A caminho da cidade de Badajoz – apresentada como repleta de edifícios

góticos (“striking appearance”, I 51) –, o rio Caia é atravessado e funciona como a fronteira natural e física entre os dois reinos vizinhos, zona em que são revistados por guardas espanhóis, de forma a evitar transgressões por parte dos viajantes (vigilância). É essa mesma travessia da fronteira terrestre (ou fluvial, e marítima anteriormente) que dá lugar ao chamado *displacement* sentido por Frederic, como verificamos ao longo das suas descrições-comparações do Continente.

A chegada a Espanha dá imediatamente lugar a uma comparação entre os reinos vizinhos, sendo a população de Badajoz “much gayer than Elvas” (I 51), aproximando o viajante, mais tarde, a praça de Trujillo à de Évora (I 57) e o teatro de Madrid ao de Lisboa (II 19). O relevo e os fenómenos naturais partilhados por Portugal e Espanha são também referidos (I 59), assim como as lutas entre ambos os países (I 71). A maior atenção prestada às paisagens monumental e humana espanholas poderá dever-se ao facto de o narrador saber (I 39) que o destinatário da sua missiva nunca visitou Espanha. Daí que, como já afirmámos, o horizonte de expectativas do religioso influencie o acto da escrita-descrição, como não pode deixar de acontecer numa carta, ocupando Portugal dez páginas, enquanto Espanha ocupa quarenta e quatro e o Sul de França cerca de trinta e uma. No final da missiva que se ocupava de Portugal, Frederic abandona o registo típico da escrita de viagens ao parar de narrar a expedição, e o seu registo torna-se mais literário e introspectivo: “the drowsy god Morpheus begins now to steal over my senses; and as my letter has grown to an unwieldy size, I must conclude for the present” (I 52), iniciando a próxima carta a desculpar-se por ser um “neglectful correspondent” (I 53) e por se divertir mais a si mesmo do que ao seu leitor ao reviver as suas aventuras continentais. Aliás, o viajante passa a expedição ansioso por chegar ao seu próximo destino, seja Madrid, seja posteriormente França, talvez porque desejasse regressar a Inglaterra e ver Gertrude. Será na Espanha imaginária, logo depois de Mérida, que se dará o encontro na floresta que dá nome à obra, e, na página 175 do terceiro volume, o leitor fica a saber que Frederic regressa de Itália a Londres rapidamente por questões de negócios, podendo ter sido esse também um dos motivos da sua pressa na Península. É, aliás, sempre no estrangeiro que se dão os encontros fantásticos com Glenalcar, em espaços de ‘contos de fada’, longe do ‘lar’ britânico, o universo da racionalidade e da ordem.

Como acontecera em Portugal, o espaço ‘selvagem’ e natural funciona como fronteira entre localidades, mas a *wilderness* da Floresta de Comalva é um local com características fantasiosas e elementos do romance gótico (I 73-87), invocados mais tarde

a propósito de castelos isolados e pesadelos (I 116, 134, II 8, III 185-220), temática da qual não nos ocupamos. A travessia desse longínquo espaço natural é marcada pela escuridão – que simboliza os segredos por descobrir e a desordem que será substituída pela ordem no final da acção –, pelo suspense, pelo medo, pelo perigo e pelo terror, bem como por encontros inesperados que vão intensificando a aprendizagem que a viagem permite. Os feitos e os espaços coloniais ibéricos marcam também presença (I 58) no texto, a par dos britânicos, sobretudo as viagens para a Índia. O ‘efeito do real’ caracteriza, assim, *FC*, que ficcionaliza a história e a sociedade coeva britânicas através do conceito de classe, das relações sociais, dos hábitos e de referências ao império das “East Indies” e aos soldados na Ásia, os construtores do império (I 29; II 46-58, 73, 882-83; III 75, 97), revelando as dinâmicas da colonização e da construção de fortunas que leva à emigração para a Índia e o regresso ou mudança “to our happy Island” (III 75), bem como a ida dos jovens para a metrópole colonial por motivos de educação, sobretudo as raparigas (I: 29). O império, tal como para Portugal e para Espanha, faz(ia) parte da auto-imagem e da identidade nacionais e do quotidiano britânicos, sendo também frequentemente romanceado.

A par dos auto- e hetero-estereótipos que já referimos, as missivas de *FC* veiculam também, de forma privilegiada, os conflitos psicológicos e sentimentais típicos do romance epistolar. O encontro-confronto com o Outro durante os peripatéticos e cronotópicos itinerários geográficos do *Grand Tour* de Frederic dão também lugar a um itinerário íntimo, rumo ao crescimento e ao conhecimento do *Self* e do Outro continental. O narrador demonstra assim uma enorme preocupação em definir a *Britishness* com base no confronto com os Outros luso e espanhol, descrevendo paisagens humanas, religiosas, naturais e monumentais. A viagem e o (des)conhecimento do Outro e a afirmação do *Self* tornam-se, portanto, ferramentas ideológicas ao serviço da construção imagológica da identidade, do *ethos* e da paisagem nacional britânica através do romance e da escrita de viagens, tornando-se a carta também marca e repositório dessa(s) individualidade(s), enquanto o Outro católico continental serve de referente de comparação para a crítica do *Self* pelo próprio *Self*.

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THE RECEPTION OF THE BRAGANÇAS IN ENGLAND  
AS RECORDED IN THE BRITISH PRESS, 1827-1851

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This article investigates the Braganças' visits to Britain in the period 1827-1851, as recorded in the British press and other contemporary sources. It consists mostly of information collected by José Baptista de Sousa for his doctoral thesis *Portugal and Holland House, 1793-1840*, submitted to the University of Buckingham in 2015. Some material not used in the thesis is included here. Owing to its biographical interest for those who study Anglo-Portuguese relations in the second quarter of the 19th century, we thought it would be useful to publish it in the *Revista de Estudos Anglo-Portugueses/Journal of Anglo-Portuguese Studies*.

After Catarina de Bragança's residence in England from 1662 to 1699, the first Bragança who seriously considered visiting Britain was D. João V, her nephew, a prospect never accomplished. In 1715, under the pretext of honouring a promise to Our Lady of Loreto, the young King planned to travel 'incognito' with a household of 200 persons and a body of eighty guards. Yet the King's plan to visit the main capitals of Europe, including London, was opposed by the Queen D. Maria Ana and his Ministers, who went as far as to threaten to call a *cortes* to dissuade João (Silva 371; Livermore 205). Faced with the King's obstinacy, the Queen conceived a plan to prevent her husband's *grand tour*. It consisted in persuading the King's younger brother, the Infant D. Manuel Bartolomeu (1697-1766), to escape from the Royal Palace on the night of 4 November 1715 and embark for Amsterdam aboard an English ship. After partying in The Hague for three months, Manuel moved to Paris and from

thence to Austria and Hungary to enlist in Prince Eugene of Savoy's army in the Austro-Turkish War. Under these circumstances, D. João V had little choice but to adjourn his journey *sine die* (Silva 371-72).

The next Bragança to visit England was the Infant D. Miguel, on his way back from Austria towards the end of 1827 to take the Regency. Miguel had been exiled in Vienna after the *Abrilada*, an attempt to dethrone his own father, D. João VI, in 1824. João's death on 10 March 1826 precipitated a dynastic crisis which lasted until 1834, when the Concession of Evoramonte ended the civil war and banished Miguel from Portugal *ad eternum*. Although the King's eldest son and heir, Pedro, was unanimously acknowledged as D. Pedro IV of Portugal (20 Mar. 1826), his accession to the throne was regarded as a mere formality, as it was clear that the Emperor intended to remain in Brazil. Although on hereditary grounds Pedro had the strongest claim, he was still regarded by many as a traitor for having declared the independence of Brazil; Miguel, who was still in Vienna, was also open to serious objection. In the event, it was the Infanta D. Isabel Maria who became Regent, at least while waiting for Pedro's instructions.

But Pedro was preparing a surprise which was to leave Portugal and the whole of Europe in shock. On 29 April 1826, five days after the news of his father's death reached Rio de Janeiro, Pedro issued a Constitutional Charter for Portugal and, on 2 May, abdicated the throne of Portugal in favour of his daughter, the eight-year old Infanta D. Maria da Glória. Pedro further stipulated that the abdication was subject to two conditions: that Miguel should take the oaths to the Charter and to D. Maria II – after which and when reaching the age of twenty-five he was to become Regent – and that his daughter should marry her uncle in the course of the following year. Although the first condition was eventually fulfilled (26 Oct. 1826), the second was not. The marriage was celebrated by proxy and *per verba futuri* in Vienna on 29 October, but it had not been consummated (*Gazeta de Lisboa* 27 Nov. 1826: 1235; id. 28 Nov. 1826: 1241-42). Arguably, therefore, Pedro's abdication only became effective when both conditions had been fulfilled and, since they had not been, he was still King of Portugal.

In their different ways – and indicative of their attempts to turn the situation in Portugal to their own advantage – both Canning and Metternich chose to ignore these legal and

constitutional niceties.<sup>1</sup> Pressured by Austria, Lord Dudley, the British Foreign Secretary, agreed to send a deputation to Rio de Janeiro to urge Pedro to complete the process of abdication. Faced with Britain's unwillingness to support a different policy, the Emperor had little choice but to comply with Austria's demands and, on 3 July 1827, appointed Miguel his Lieutenant-General and Regent of Portugal.

On 12 September, Dudley informed Palmela, the Portuguese Minister in London, that his Government and Austria were in agreement about Portugal's future (Palmela, *Despachos* 3: 283-84). Miguel should return to Lisbon as soon as possible to become Regent, although in the course of his journey he should pay a short visit to Britain – an arrangement intended to pacify the Liberals and please the British authorities (Palmela, *Despachos* 3: 294). Miguel left Vienna for Paris on 6 December 1827, where he arrived on 13 escorted by the Conde de Vila Real (Soriano 13: 193). He then moved to Calais, embarking on the royal yacht to Greenwich, where he landed on 30 December (Soriano 13: 196). The Infant was met by Palmela and by the Duke of Clarence, commissioned to convey the Prince and his entourage to Lord Dudley's house in Arlington Street, and by Wellington, soon to be appointed Prime Minister – with the possible exception of Metternich his strongest foreign supporter (Resende 165; Alpedrinha 44; Soriano 13: 184; *The Times* 29 Dec. 1827: 2). The importance of Miguel's visit to England is suggested in a letter from William Holmes to Wellington, explaining that "(...) the King swears he will not see any of his ministers on business till after Don Miguel goes away" ("Mr Holmes to Field Marshal the Duke of Wellington", *Despatches* 4: 171). In fact, it was not until 8 January 1828, a few days before the Infant's departure from London, that George IV finally appointed Wellington Prime

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<sup>1</sup> Article 92 of Pedro's Charter stipulated that "During the King's minority, the Kingdom shall be governed by a Regency, which shall belong to the nearest relative of the King, according to the order of succession, and who shall have attained the age of twenty five" (*Carta Constitucional* Cap. V, Art. 92, p. 21); "Durante a sua menoridade, o Reino será governado por huma Regencia, a qual pertencerá ao Parente mais chegado do Rei, segundo a ordem da successão, e que seja maior de vinte e cinco anos" (translation taken from Bernardo Castro, *A Letter* 22). At the time Miguel was disqualified because he was too young. In other words the rightful Regent should have been Isabel Maria, already an adult woman. The constitutional question was whether – as Metternich contended – the Infanta D. Isabel Maria would have to step down in favour of Miguel when he reached the required age. The Constitution contained no such stipulation. But for the moment such issues were purely academic as government was still conducted in the name of Pedro IV, and Maria had not been proclaimed Queen of Portugal. Thus Isabel Maria was actually acting as Regent for the absent Pedro rather than for Maria.

Minister in place of Viscount Goderich.<sup>2</sup>

While in England, Miguel attended a number of social functions and visited several places of interest. On the evening of 31 December, the Infant was entertained by George IV at the Royal Lodge, Windsor Park, and again on 1 January 1828, at a dinner attended by several guests, including Lord Beresford. On the next morning, the King breakfasted with Miguel, after which they proceeded to Sandpit-gate to see the camelopard and other exotic animals (*The Times* 3 Jan. 1828: 2). The King's new pet, the camelopard, a giraffe presented by the Pascha of Egypt, had been conveyed to Windsor on 13 August 1827 (*The Times* 14 Aug. 1827: 3).<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Frederick John Robinson (1782-1859), 1st Viscount Goderich and 1st Earl of Ripon, British statesman. On George Canning's death (6 Aug. 1827) Lord Goderich became First Lord of the Treasury, and formed a coalition Cabinet of Canningites and Whigs, including Lord Dudley, reappointed Foreign Secretary, Huskisson, the Marquess of Lansdowne, C. W. Wynn, George Tierney and Palmerston. But Goderich's Government proved weak, resigning in January 1828 without even meeting Parliament.

<sup>3</sup> On 14 August 1827, Lord Maryborough wrote to Wellington: "(...) everybody was so engrossed by talking of the cameleopard who had just arrived, that nothing else seemed to be thought of." ("Lord Maryborough to Field Marshal the Duke of Wellington", *Despatches* 4: 94). Unfortunately, the giraffe did not survive more than two years, dying in August 1829.



The Camelopard, or a new hobby: [George IV and Lady Conyngham riding a giraffe] / print. William Heath, August 1827, hand-coloured etching, BM Satires 15425.

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On 11 January, Miguel entertained Wellington and Beresford at a dinner attended by other selected guests, after which he went to a party at the Earl of Tankerville's house in Upper Brook St (*The Times* 12 Jan. 1828: 2). On 12 January, the Infant attended a conference with Dudley, Prince Esterhazy, Comte Henri de Bombelles, Palmela and Vila Real, where the British and Austrian representatives stressed that the abdication of Pedro in favour of his daughter should be concluded as soon as possible. It was also agreed that Britain would provide the Portuguese Government with a loan of £200,000, through the Rothschild Bank, so that Miguel's Regency could start without embarrassments resulting from lack of funds (*British and Foreign State Papers: 1828-1829* 493-94; Resende 165; Soriano 13: 200, 221-22).

Miguel remained in London until 13 January 1828. After attending a mass at the Chapel of the Portuguese Legation in South Audley Street and taking leave of George IV at Windsor, the Infant went to Strathfieldsaye, Wellington's seat in Hampshire, where he and Palmela remained for two days. According to Greville's *Memoirs*, when they were in the Duke's library trying to agree on the wording of the oath to be taken by Miguel on arrival in Portugal, the Prince took no interest in the discussion but rather "(...) sat flirting with the Princess Therese Esterhazy" (3: 26). One wonders whether Miguel realised that he must go through the charade of taking an oath to the Constitution but, since he had no intention of keeping it, simply did not care about its terms. As Princess Lieven acutely observed, "(...) Don Miguel tries to make himself out in all things a thorough-going Constitutionalist. Is not the part somewhat suspicious in one who has so recently left Metternich's workshop?" (Lieven 1: 76). Wellington quickly became irritated by Miguel's behaviour, commenting to Palmela: "This will never do, he must settle the terms of the oath, and if he is so careless in an affair of such moment, he will never do his duty" (Wellington qtd. in Greville 3: 26), to which Palmela replied "Oh, leave him to us, we will manage him" (Palmela qtd. in Greville 3: 26).

On 16 January, on his way to Plymouth, Miguel stopped at Plympton, where he was entertained by the Earl Morley at Saltram House (Soriano 13: 201).<sup>4</sup> Miguel arrived at Plymouth

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<sup>4</sup> John Parker (1772-1840), 2nd Baron of Boringdon and 1st Earl of Morley, popularly known as 'Borino' - perhaps derived from Borington, but perhaps also a joke to describe someone who was extremely boring. English politician and MP, only son of John, 1st Baron Boringdon (†1788), and his second wife, Theresa, daughter of Thomas

on the evening of 17 January to embark on the Portuguese frigate *Pérola*, but poor weather prevented him from sailing until 9 February (*The Times* 22 Jan. 1828: 3). While in Plymouth, lodged at Whiddon's Hotel, the Infant attended a ball at the Hotel and Theatre Royal, owned by Morley, where Garrett's play *Catão* was to be performed the following winter by Portuguese exiles (Alpedrinha 44-45; Soriano 13: 184, 201-02; *The Times* 12 Jan. 1828: 2; id. 29 Jan. 1828: 2; Sousa 27-8). On 18 and 19, after visiting the dockyard, breakwater and other public works, Miguel dined with Earl Northesk, the port-admiral (*The Salisbury and Winchester Journal* 28 Jan. 1828: 4). On his journey back to Portugal, Miguel was accompanied by Vila Real and Frederick Lamb, who had been chosen to succeed A'Court as British Minister to Portugal. The *Pérola* and the brig *Tejo* were escorted by H.M.S. *Ocean*, *Windsor Castle* and the *Briton* frigate (Alpedrinha 45; *The Colonist* 17 Apr. 1828: 171).

Miguel landed in Lisbon on 22 February 1828, where he was enthusiastically received by a huge crowd shouting "Long live Dom Miguel the First". On 25 April 1828 – the Queen Dowager's birthday and regarded by some as the beginning of the usurpation – several petitions were addressed to the Infant begging him "to assume the Crown" as Absolute King of Portugal ("Sir Frederick Lamb to the Earl of Dudley." *British and Foreign State Papers: 1828-1829* 403; Soriano 13: 229, 244-46). Although the only 'legal channel' that could authorise such a dramatic change was D. Pedro IV himself – or, at least, the Chambers of the Parliament – it was decided to summon the traditional Cortes. "The mock Cortes, or the sham Assembly of the Three States of the Realm (...)", as *The Times* called it, met from 23 June to 11 July 1828, when the final Act was concluded (7 Jul. 1828: 6).<sup>5</sup> Miguel was acknowledged as the only legitimate successor of D. João VI, while Pedro was divested of any rights to

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Robinson, 1st Baron Grantham. The family came originally from Warwickshire, but their seat was transferred in the 17th century from Boringdon to Saltram House, Plympton, near Plymouth, where the movie *Sense and Sensibility* was filmed in 1995. Morley was married twice. His first wife, Lady Augusta Fane (1786-1871), second daughter of the 10th Earl of Westmorland, despised her husband and on 18 May 1808 eloped with Sir Arthur Paget and married him immediately after her husband divorced her in February 1809. Borington's second wife was Frances (†1857), daughter of Thomas Talbot, a surgeon, of Wymondham, Norfolk, with whom he had a son and a daughter.

<sup>5</sup> The Cortes met at the Royal Palace of Ajuda, Lisbon, on 23 June, for the inaugural session, attended by Miguel himself, seated on a throne. Apart from Ministers and the clergy, all members wore the traditional Portuguese Court dress: black silk coat and breeches, white silk stockings, black cape and hat with only one brim raised and white feathers (*Autos de abertura* 4; Soriano 13: 257-58).

the Portuguese throne following his recognition of Brazilian independence in 1825 (*Assento* 4; *Gazeta de Lisboa* 2 Ago. 1828: 984). On 30 June 1828, Miguel had already signed a decree declaring his accession to the Portuguese throne and, on 7 July, took the oath as King of Portugal in a solemn ceremony attended by the Three Estates of the Realm. The usurpation had been completed.

Persecutions, detentions and confiscations were thence conducted on a large scale, leading several Liberals to emigrate to France or England. By 22 July 1828, there were already three hundred Portuguese exiles of high rank living in London, including the Infanta D. Ana de Jesus,<sup>6</sup> D. João VI's youngest daughter, and her husband, the Duque de Loulé.<sup>7</sup> Towards the end of August and beginning of September 1828, the *émigrés* were joined by thousands of their countrymen, who had fled from Oporto following the *Belfastada*, an attempted revolution against Miguel's regime. A depot of refugees was established in Plymouth, where they lived in extremely difficult conditions for several months.

Ana de Jesus de Bragança and her husband had left Portugal in February 1828. The marriage had been precipitated by the Infanta's unexpected pregnancy and celebrated in secrecy at the Palace of Queluz on 5 December 1827 under the protection of the Queen Dowager. As Isabel Maria and Miguel were against their union, Carlota Joaquina thought it prudent to send them abroad, a measure that did not prevent the confiscation of Loulé's properties as soon as Miguel arrived in Lisbon. On 3 February the royal exiles embarked at Gibraltar for Falmouth on the Cornish merchant schooner *Venus*, and arrived at the British capital on the night of 25 February (Palmela, *Despachos* 3: 424-28; *The Times* 20 Feb. 1828: 3). The couple remained in London, at Mivart's Hotel, Mayfair, until the 13 April, when they moved to Paris. On 10 April the Loulés "gave a grand dinner on

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<sup>6</sup> D. Ana de Jesus Maria Luís Gonzaga Joaquina Micaela Francisca Xavier de Paula de Bragança e Bourbon (1806-1857), the youngest daughter of D. João VI and his wife, Queen D. Carlota Joaquina.

<sup>7</sup> D. Nuno José Severo de Mendonça Rolim de Moura Barreto (1804-1875), 9th Conde de Vale de Reis and 2nd Marquês de Loulé, afterwards 1st Duque de Loulé, several times Chief Minister of Portugal. Son of D. Agostinho Domingos José de Mendonça Rolim de Moura Barreto, 1st Marquês de Loulé, whose murder at Salvaterra on 28 February 1824 has been attributed to Miguel and his collaborators. The Loulés descended from Don Lopo Sarraciniz (fl. 871), Lord of Biscay, and are the ancestors of D. Pedro José Folque de Mendonça Rolim de Moura Barreto, the present 6th Duque de Loulé, who claims the right to the Portuguese throne against the official claimant, D. Duarte Pio de Bragança.

Tuesday at their residence (Milvart's Hotel) to the Marquis and Marchioness Palmella, and a large party of the first distinction." (*The Times* 17 Apr. 1828: 2). At Pedro's invitation, they passed from Paris to Rio de Janeiro, where they were received and lived according to their rank (Palmela, *Despachos* 3: 471; *The Times* 11 Apr. 1828: 2; Soriano 13: 199-200).

Unaware of all that was happening in Portugal and pressured by both Britain and Austria, Pedro had signed a decree on 3 March 1828 completing his abdication in favour of his daughter Maria and renouncing his rights to the Portuguese crown. By abdicating Pedro deprived himself of any right to act against his brother; legally he could not revoke the decree appointing the Infant as his Lieutenant. On 5 July, when the recent events in Portugal were still unknown at Rio de Janeiro, the young Queen Maria was sent to Austria aboard the Brazilian frigate *Imperatriz*, where she was to remain under the protection of her grandfather, Emperor Francis, until she reached the age to consummate her marriage with her uncle (*Gazeta de Lisboa* 6 Oct. 1828: 1240). On 2 September, the Marquês de Barbacena,<sup>8</sup> who had been commissioned to escort the young Queen to Lisbon, was informed of the events in Portugal when the ship put into Gibraltar. The Marquês immediately diverted the *Imperatriz* to Falmouth, where she arrived on the morning of 24 September (Soriano 14: 201-02; *O Panorama* 18 Mar. 1851: 134; *Ilustração Popular* 1866: [1]; *The Times* 27 Sept. 1828: 2).

The arrival of the young Queen, herself an exile, aroused the sympathy of the British public. The local authorities received her with appropriate civic and military honours, in accordance with instructions from King George IV, who sent Lord Clinton and Sir William Freemantle to receive Maria (*The Times* 27 Sept. 1828: 2; id. 30 Sept. 1828: 2; Palmela, *Despachos* 4: 178; Soriano 14: 203). It was announced that the Queen would proceed to Plymouth "where she will be presented to the Portuguese refugees, the unfortunate sufferers by adherence to her cause, collected at that place" (*The Times* 27 Sept. 1828: 2).

Maria's first night in England was spent in Truro, at Pearce's Royal Hotel, from whence she was escorted by the 4th corps of Royal Irish Dragoon Guard to Exeter, "where dinner was ordered at six o'clock on that evening at the New London Inn" (*The Times* 30 Sept. 1828: 2). The next morning, rather than proceeding to

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<sup>8</sup> Felisberto Caldeira Brant Pontes de Oliveira Horta (1772-1842), 1st Visconde and Marquês de Barbacena, Brazilian officer, diplomat and politician born in Portugal but left for Brazil in 1807 with the Royal Family.

Plymouth as initially advertised, the Queen took the Bath road to London (*The Times* 30 Sept. 1828: 2; Soriano 14: 203). On 5 October, she visited Bristol, returning to York House, Bath, to dinner, where she was met by the Duke of Wellington, who had been authorised by the King to welcome her. According to *The Times*, “She was dressed quite in the English fashion, with white silk hat, and acknowledged, by the constant motion of her head and hand, the marks of respect which were invariably paid her by all ranks through whom she passed” (6 Oct. 1828: 2).

In the morning of 6 October, Maria left Bath for Bristol to embark in a frigate to London where she arrived in the evening. This somewhat puzzling itinerary was chosen to delay Maria’s arrival so as to give Barbacena enough time to make appropriate arrangements with the British authorities for her accommodation in London (*The Times* 6 Oct. 1828: 2; *The Spectator* 11 Oct. 1828: 1; Palmela, *Despachos* 4: 193; Soriano 14: 204). While still aboard the frigate, Maria was visited by a deputation of *émigrés* residing in London, including Almeida Garrett.<sup>9</sup> Maria stayed at Grillon’s Hotel, 7 Albemarle Street, where, according to *The Spectator*,

A guard of honour is placed at the door; and the rabble crowd the street, for the chance of catching a sight of the young Queen when she appears at the window or comes out on the balcony. The royal child has been congratulated, by message, from his Majesty; and visited by the Duke of Wellington and the Earl of Aberdeen. We are not sure that she made the speech to the Premier set down for her by the newspapers — “I know that your Grace once saved the crown of Portugal for my august grandfather, and I trust that it will now be a second time saved by you” (11 Oct. 1828: 1).

On 26 October, Maria moved to Laleham House, Surrey, the seat of the Earl of Lucan, where she remained until her departure for Rio de Janeiro on 30 August 1829 (Palmela, *Despachos* 4: 193; Palmela, *Memórias* 207; *Padre Amaro* Oct.-Nov. 1828: 440). According to an article in *The Mirror of Literature*:

Thus, a beautiful villa at Laleham, a village in Middlesex, eighteen and half miles south west of London, has acquired frequent passing notice from its having lately become the tempo-

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<sup>9</sup> ANTT, MNE, Legação Portuguesa em Londres, MSS Cx. 161, Mç. 34, Lista das Pessoas que tiverão a honra de beijar a mão a Sua Magestade a Senhora Dona Maria 2.<sup>a</sup>, no dia 7 do corrente mez de Outubro, f. 5<sup>r</sup>.

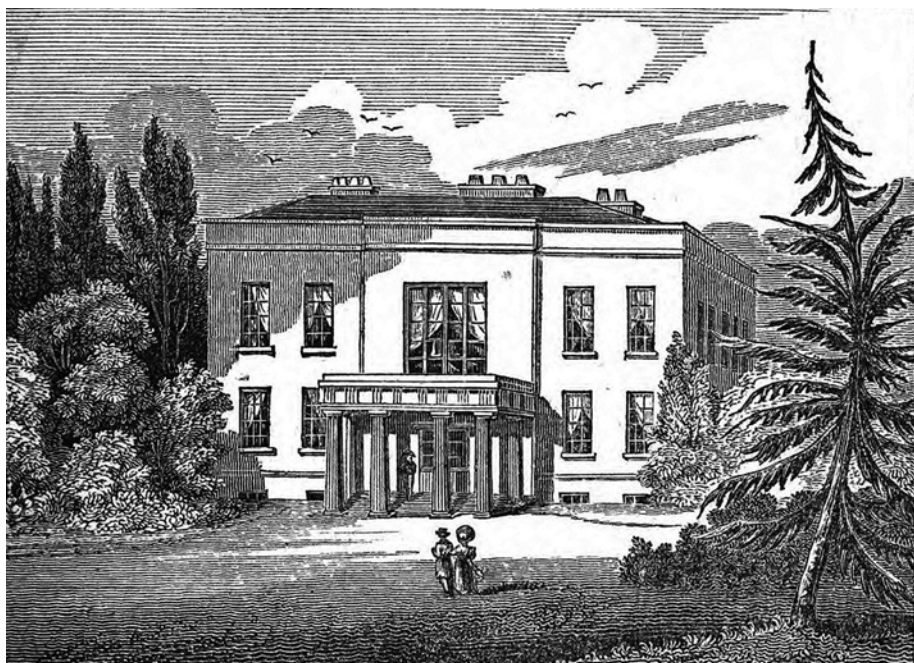
rary residence of the young “*Queen of Portugal*,” whose removal to England appears to have been a prudent measure to keep her *petite* Majesty “out of harm’s way.” (...)

The “Young Queen” is described as an interesting and lively child, and is within a month of the same age as the Princess Victoria, and Prince George of Cumberland, both of whom were born in May, 1819. She has not the slightest tinge of a tropical complexion; her hair is extremely light, her face pale, her eyes light blue and very sparkling. She is not tall of her age, but remarkably well formed (16 May 1829: [321]).

In another article in *The Mirror of Literature*, Maria’s stay at Laleham is described in detail:

The period of residence of the young Queen of Portugal at the house of Lord Lucan, at Laleham (...) will be long remembered with satisfaction and gratitude by the inhabitants of that village, and perhaps with some pleasure by the Portuguese Court itself.

It is delightful to hear of the many acts of charity and benevolence that proceeded from the Palace, as it was then called, not a few of which are attributable to the amiable disposition of Donna Maria herself (...) and very many kindnesses from the Royal Household will cause its memory to be blessed by the poor of the village. The house was divided into all the departments of the household that could be kept up, and the chambers of the chamberlain, ladies in waiting, physicians, steward, &c., had their respective distinctions marked over the doors (...). An English governess formed part of the establishment; and the Queen was attended by an English music master, and other professors (...). Lord Clinton, one of the lords of the king’s bedchamber, used to frequently call and play with her for hours together at amusing games, which her Majesty was rather fonder of than of the studies imposed upon her (...). The physician to the household exercised over her Majesty a surveillance which did not always please her; and she, on more than one occasion, showed that she was not forgetful of the royal dignity that resided in her youthful person (2 Jan. 1830: [4]).



'Laleham Park'. *The Mirror of Literature* 16 May 1829: [321]

While at Laleham, Maria was visited by several distinguished people, including the arch anti-Liberal Beresford, who, according to Lady Holland, eccentrically presented himself to the young Queen "in full Portuguese Marshal's uniform" and "on his knees kissed her hand, & asked if there was anything for her services he could execute, a complete offer of duty & obedience to her commands" (Holland, *Lady Holland to Her Son* 104). Learning that Maria was in England, Lady Callcott, who had been employed in Brazil as tutor to the young Princess for a short time in 1824, requested Palmela to arrange a meeting with her former pupil. Palmela replied on 28 October 1828, asking to visit her to discuss the subject, but there is no record of further developments (Callcott 295-98).

While in England, Maria was certainly the centre of attention. At least two children's balls were organised for her, one by the Duchess of Clarence on 19 January 1829, and the other by the King himself on 28 May – the first attended by the future Queen Victoria (*The Times* 21 Jan. 1829: 2; *Somerset* 19; Palmela, *Despachos* 4: 321, 478). Greville, who attended the ball, commented in his journal: "Yesterday the King gave a

dinner to the Dukes of Orleans and Chartres, and in the evening there was a child's ball. It was pretty enough, and I saw for the first time the Queen of Portugal and our little Victoria" (Greville 1: 209). Lady Holland, herself a guest, provided a typically condescending account of this 'Ball of young ones' in a letter to her son:

It was very beautiful. Pour little soul, she [Maria] fell down just as she was leaving & cut her lip. Upon seeing her own blood she was nearly fainting away. Were she in Don Miguel's power, he would accustom her to such sights, & perhaps more of her own (Holland, *Lady Holland* 104).

On 30 August 1829, Maria and the future Empress, Amélie of Leuchtenberg, escorted by Barbacena, left Falmouth on the Brazilian frigate *Imperatriz* for Rio de Janeiro, where they landed on 16 October (Soriano 14: 343, 350, 391; Palmela, *Despachos* 4: 561-62; *The Times* 1 Sept. 1829: 2). Maria remained in Brazil until 13 April 1831, when, following Pedro's abdication, she left for Europe with her father and stepmother, landing at Brest on 14 July.

On the night of 7 April 1831, in a replica of the French July Revolution, Pedro had been forced to take the difficult decision to abdicate the Brazilian throne in favour of his son, D. Pedro II. Rejected in Brazil, the ex-Emperor determined to leave for Europe to assist his daughter's cause, or – according to some versions – to recover the crown of Portugal for himself. Following his abdication, Pedro 'voluntarily' embarked with his wife and daughter aboard H.M.S. *Warspite*, where they remained until 12 April. Fearing that the vessel might be attacked by the mob, Admiral Baker transferred Pedro and his entourage to H.M.S. *Volage* frigate under Lord Colchester. The next morning the *Volage* sailed for Europe, followed by the French frigate *Le Seine* carrying Maria da Glória and the Loulés (Magalhães 77; Soriano 14: 464; id. 15: 89; Lieven 2: 238; *The Times* 10 June 1831: 3; *The Gentleman's Magazine* June 1831: 552). On 30 May, Pedro arrived off Faial, the Azores, and sailed from there to Falmouth, where the *Volage* put in for a few hours on 7 June before resuming its journey to France (*The Gentleman's Magazine* June 1831: 552; Soriano 15: 89). Although the ex-Emperor had at first planned to live in England he changed his mind "(...) from a consideration of the great expense of living in this country compared with the continent" (*The Times* 13 June 1831: 4). On 12 June, Pedro and his wife landed at Cherbourg, where they were welcomed with the twenty-one-gun salute due to reigning

monarchs (*O Mosaico* 1839: 238; Macaulay 257; *The Times* 13 June 1831: 4; Lima 447-48; Soriano 15: 89).

According to *The Times*, “Ever since the Emperor Don Pedro arrived in France, Louis Philip and his Government have omitted no opportunity of showing him the most delicate attentions (...)” (23 July 1831: 5), a kindness later extended to Maria da Glória. The French King had prepared the Château of Saint-Germain-en-Laye – ironically the residence of James II of England in his final years – to receive Pedro and his family, but the ex-Emperor preferred to remain at Cherbourg (*The Times* 23 June 1831: 5). José Liberato Freire de Carvalho, who was in London at that time, claimed in his memoirs that Louis Philippe planned to marry one of his sons to the young Queen and proposed to recognise her rights if Pedro agreed to let her live in Paris. Louis Philippe’s plan was obviously to gain influence over Portugal by placing Prince Louis Charles on the Portuguese throne.<sup>10</sup> Pedro, accused by Liberato of seeking to regain the Portuguese throne for himself, ignored Louis Philippe’s offer (Carvalho, *Memórias da Vida* 336).

Despite all the honours and proofs of friendship received while in France, Pedro appreciated that really decisive support could only be procured on the other side of the Channel. Hence, leaving his wife at Cherbourg, the ex-Emperor paid a short visit to England to seek British assistance for his daughter’s cause. Pedro travelled on 21 June 1831 accompanied by his old friends Francisco Gomes da Silva (‘o Chalaça’)<sup>11</sup> and the

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<sup>10</sup> Louis Charles Philippe Raphaël d’Orléans (1814-1896), duc de Nemours, Louis Philippe’s second son.

<sup>11</sup> Francisco Gomes da Silva (1791-1852), an obscure individual nicknamed ‘o Chalaça’ (‘the Joker’) who became close friend of D. Pedro and the Emperor’s private secretary. He was a natural son of Francisco José Rufino de Sousa Lobato, 1st Barão and Visconde de Vila Nova da Rainha, by Maria da Conceição Alves, a 19-year old chamber-maid. Francisco Lobato trusted the boy to the care of António Gomes da Silva, a goldsmith, to whom he paid a generous sum to register him as his own child. Francisco was baptised on 2 October 1791 at the Parish Church of São Julião, Lisbon, as the legitimate son of António Gomes da Silva and his wife Ana Barbara (Arquivo Distrital de Lisboa, MSS, B6, Liv. B6 - Cx 2 (MIC. 1196 SGU), Arquivos Paroquiais: Livro de Baptismos, Paróquia de S. Julião, f. 31<sup>v</sup>). Francisco was educated in a Seminary at Santarém, where he studied Philosophy and acquired several languages, including English. He was among the thousand Portuguese who accompanied the Royal Family to Brazil in 1807. In 1810 he was employed at the Royal Palace of Rio de Janeiro, where he met the young and bohemian Infant D. Pedro. About 1816, Francisco became Pedro’s favourite companion for his night escapades and was transformed into a sort of private secretary for all matters, including Pedro’s affairs with women. Gomes da Silva became influential at the Brazilian Imperial Court and, in 1830, was appointed Minister Plenipotentiary to Naples.

Marquês de Resende,<sup>12</sup> who had joined him at Cherbourg. When he arrived in London on 26 June, Pedro took up residence at the Clarendon Hotel under the name of Duque de Bragança (Lima 434; Macaulay 259).

Pedro was fascinated by the sparkling life he found in London, certainly very different from that of his former Court in Rio (Macaulay 259; Carvalho, *Memórias* 336). On 30 June, he was invited for a musical party and a magnificent ball at St James and, on 1 July, William IV gave a state dinner in his honour (*The Times* 1 July 1831: 3; id. 2 July 1831: 5; Lima 435). Guests included Ambassadors and Cabinet members, among them Earl Grey and Lord Holland (*The Times* 2 July 1831: 5). On 2 July, Pedro went to *Othello* at the Italian Opera House with Resende, Gomes da Silva, João da Rocha Pinto and Major Henry Webster,<sup>13</sup> Lady Holland's second son, who had been commissioned by the Government to escort the ex-Emperor (*The Times* 4 July 1831: 2; Lima 434). Two days later, Pedro was invited to a grand entertainment given by Prince Leopold at Marlborough House, attended by the Royal Family and "(...) a very numerous musical party" (*The Times* 6 July 1831: 5). On 9 July, Pedro was at the Guildhall when the Lord Mayor presented the freedom of the city to Lord John Russell and was loudly cheered when he attended the subsequent reception at the Mansion House (*The Times* 11 July 1831: 6).

Yet compared to his enthusiastic reception in France, there were times in England when Pedro might have felt neglected, although it is well to remember that the Reform Crisis was engrossing the attention of both Court and Ministry at this time. Pedro was cordially received by Palmerston on 27 but rather indifferently by the King on the afternoon of 29 June 1831 (Macaulay 259; Webster 1: 242; Lima 434-35). Grey, who had

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<sup>12</sup> António Teles da Silva Caminha e Meneses (1790-1875), 1st and only Visconde and Marquês de Resende in the Brazilian peerage, Brazilian nobility, Brazilian diplomat of Portuguese origin, son of D. Fernando Teles da Silva Caminha e Meneses, 3rd Marquês de Penalva and 7th Conde de Tarouca, and D. Joana de Almeida, daughter of the 2nd Marquês de Lavradio. Resende was one of many Portuguese nobles who supported the Brazilian revolution and made a career at the court of Rio de Janeiro. He married Fanny Héléne Le Roi in 1800.

<sup>13</sup> Sir Henry Vassall Webster (1793-1847), British officer, second son of Sir Godfrey Webster and his wife Elizabeth Vassall (afterwards Lady Holland). Henry Webster entered the army in 1810 to serve in the Peninsular War. In 1831, he was promoted to Lieut.-Colonel and commissioned to escort D. Pedro during his stay in England. His service earned him the Portuguese Knighthood of Tower and Sword and, in 1838, on Palmela's recommendation, the military Order of São Bento de Avis (Carvalho, *Vida do Duque de Palmella* 3: 526; *The Gentleman's Magazine* July 1847: 93).

scheduled an interview with Pedro for the 20th, admitted in a letter to Princess Lieven on 27 June that “I have not seen Don Pedro” (Lieven 2: 250), and again, two days later, that “Don Pedro had his audience [with the King], but I did not see him” (Lieven 2: 251). Finally, on 1 July, Grey told the Princess, “I am going, notwithstanding, to dine at St. James’s, at a dinner given to Don Pedro” (Lieven 2: 255). Henry Webster, effectively Pedro’s ‘minder’, went so far as to protest to Lord Holland “(...) with truth, but perhaps with more asperity than is prudent or justified, that our indifference to Pedro forms a strong contrast to the cordiality of the French Govt” (Holland, *The Holland House Diaries* 23).

During his meeting with William IV on 29 June, which lasted approximately forty-five minutes, Pedro listed the requests he hoped His Britannic Majesty would not deny (Magalhães 78). In a most informal way, Pedro declared that

(...) he did not require direct and material support to overthrow the usurper from the throne, but only moral support; and that England had now a good opportunity to offer such a mighty help, bringing the Queen from Cherbourg to London aboard British war vessels and taking her to the Palace of His Britannic Majesty, to the very room of the Queen Adelaide, where she would stay only while the Emperor was on his way to Munich to leave the Empress, who will have a better stay there. In short, His Imperial Majesty declared that he asked or wanted nothing for himself, but that in the quality of Father and Tutor he would do all the efforts to place his August Daughter on the throne belonging to her (Lima 435).<sup>14</sup>

A final request, which Pedro decided to leave to advisers to deal with, was for a cash advance on the security of his jewels (Holland, *Diaries* 8; Magalhães 79). The subject was privately and separately discussed between Resende and Lords Holland and Palmerston, but request fell through because the required

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<sup>14</sup> “(...) que não precisava de apoio directo e material para derribar o usurpador do throno, mas sómente de apoio moral, e que a Inglaterra tinha agora boa occasião de prestar esse poderoso auxilio, mandando-se vir a Rainha de Cherburgo para Londres em vasos de guerra inglezes, e indo Sua Magestade hospedar-se no Palacio de Sua Magestade Britanica, e no quarto mesmo da Rainha Adelaide, onde ficaria sómente emquanto o Imperador fosse a Munich levar a Imperatriz, que ali deve ter o seu bom successo. Em fim Sua Magestade Imperial declarou que já agora nada queria nem pretendia para si, mas que na sua qualidade de Pae e Tutor, faria todos os esforços para collocar sua Augusta Filha no throno que lhe pertencia” (Our translation).

guarantee could not be obtained. Alternatively, Holland suggested that Resende should write an official letter listing Pedro's needs, including a request for a loan to support the Queen. Holland further advised Resende that the letter should be written with great care so that the Tories would have no excuse to attack the arrangement in Parliament.

Now that things seem to be going in the right direction with the British Government, Pedro left for the Continent to meet his wife and daughter and to try to obtain support from Louis Philippe. Maria had landed at Brest on 14 July, where she had been enthusiastically received by the authorities and the local population. Maria took up residence at the Maritime Prefecture, which had been specially prepared to receive her. On 20 July, she proceeded to Cherbourg to meet her stepmother and wait for her father to join them (Soriano 15: 89; Lima 450; *The Times* 23 July 1831: 5; Carvalho, *Memorias* 336; Macaulay 260).

Pedro called at Holland House in the morning of 20 July, to invite Lord Holland to dinner on the following Sunday (24 July), just before his departure. Holland was, however, obliged to decline the honour "(...) being invited or rather commanded with all my *Etonian* colleagues to Windsor on that day" (Holland, *Diaries* 8). Holland found Pedro

(...) good humoured and easy, but his countenance was clouded and he spoke with some bitterness when Lady Holland inadvertently asked what become of the Marquis de Barbacena, who formerly conducted the little Queen here. Il est a Rio et c'est pour cela que je suis ici (Holland, *Diaries* 8).

On 22 July, Pedro dined at the French Embassy with Holland and Grey, the Ministers of Austria, Prussia, and Bavaria, several Ladies and the Chancellor. According to Holland, "Don Pedro highly satisfied with his reception at Windsor, not a little gratified at his daughter being treated as a Queen in France" (Holland, *Diaries* 12). At dinner, Talleyrand advised Pedro to take advantage of Louis Philippe's good will and suggested that the first anniversary of the July Revolution would be a good occasion to address the King (Macaulay 259). According to the French Minister, "Dom Pedro had the greatest wish to go to Paris. But he finds in his wife's name a drawback to doing so, and he does not want to cause any trouble" ("The Prince de Talleyrand to Madame Adelaide d'Orléans." *Memoirs* 4: 165).

Pedro left for France on 24 July 1831, accompanied by Henry Webster, and arrived just in time for the celebrations marking the first anniversary of 'the glorious week', which had

raised the duc d'Orléans to the French throne (*The Times* 30 July 1831: 3; Lima 450; Holland, *Diaries* 12). Pedro embarked at Portsmouth on the *Lightning* steamer to land at Cherbourg on 25 July, and then hurried to Paris (Lima 452-53; Magalhães 81). By 26 July, he was sitting at table with Louis Philippe and his Queen, Maria Amalia of Naples and Sicily, who received him graciously ("Madame Adelaide d'Orléans to the Prince de Talleyrand", *Memoires* 4: 166; Carvalho, *Memorias* 336). According to Macaulay, Pedro was shy in responding to the ladies – strange in a man famed for his 'marialvismo' – and was introduced to the old General Lafayette, who "became one of Dom Pedro's staunchest supporters" (259). Harriet Granville wrote to Lady Carlisle: "There we found the Dom [Pedro], the Empress and French music; very hot, but amusing from the circumstances, very much so to see the Emperor and Lafayette in a confab" (Granville 2: 104). The next morning, during the celebrations, Harriet Granville observed from the "*balcon* of the Hotél Bristol *chez* Monsieur Motteux (...) Pedro with all his green feathers rode up to the Queen's *balcon*, like a tourney (...)" (2: 104). On 29 July, after accompanying the King in the review of soldiers who had been decorated with the Grand Cross of the Legion of Honour, Pedro dined with Louis Philippe, who again tried to persuade him to stay in Paris. Despite the King's efforts, Pedro was unmoved and, the next day, took his leave of the Royal Family and returned to Cherbourg (Magalhães 81-83; *The Times* 1 Aug. 1831: 4).

On 1 August, Pedro embarked for England with his wife, daughter and entourage aboard the *Lightning*, landing in Falmouth that night to the salute of the warships and batteries (*The Times* 3 Aug. 1831: 3). On the next morning, the party proceeded to London and again took a suite in the Clarendon Hotel. According to Liberato, while Pedro occupied the entire noble floor of the Hotel, the young Queen of Portugal was left with a small apartment between the ground and first floors, with the door next to the stairs, and forbidden to speak with Portuguese people (Carvalho, *Memorias* 336-37).

One week later, Maria received an invitation from Queen Adelaide to visit her at St James's Palace. But rather than sending his daughter alone to the Royal Palace, as the invitation appeared to suggest, Pedro decided to accompany her and take his wife with him. To make matters worse, rather than conveying the royal visitors through the Palace's main door, by some mistake or intentionally, Henry Webster led them directly to the Queen's chamber, where she received the intruders with obvious coldness. William IV joined them soon afterwards, but rather than

inviting the party to one of the main salons, as might have been expected, the King remained with his unwanted guests in the Queen's chamber. Pedro was so distressed and irritated with the episode that he now informed the King that had decided to take up Louis Philippe's kind offer of a suitable residence in Paris (Lima 464; Magalhães 83).<sup>15</sup>

The story seems so incredible that it is tempting to suspect that something lies behind it. Although etiquette was broadly the same in all Courts, there were always differences of detail. It was Webster's job to advise Pedro on these matters, but he does not seem to have been very competent. Taking Pedro directly to the Queen's apartments was extremely foolish and Webster should have known better. Despite his complaints on Pedro's behalf, it almost looks as if Webster did not want him to be well received. But what was Webster's role and why did Lima describe him as "Palmerston's spy" in a letter to the Regency? (454). And who had suggested his name to escort Pedro during his stay in England? It seems likely that Webster was recommended by Holland, on Lady Holland's insistence, as on several other occasions. In 1838, probably at Holland's request, Palmela wrote to Sá da Bandeira, then the Chief Minister of D. Maria II, successfully requesting the military Order of São Bento de Avis for Henry Webster (Carvalho, *Vida do Duque de Palmella* 3: 526). Yet, there are hints that Webster was never fond of the Hollands or grateful to them despite everything they had done for him. After Lady Webster's divorce and subsequent marriage to Lord Holland in 1797, Henry and his elder brother, Godfrey, went to live with their father, who constantly told them of their mother's iniquities. Hence, Henry may have developed a resentment against his mother, and indeed against Lord Holland and his own half-brother Charles Fox.<sup>16</sup> According to Ilchester, Henry Webster was so jealous of Charles that the Hollands had to keep them apart (Ilchester 55-6). In 1817, Lord Holland lent Henry Webster two pistols belonging to Charles, which he intentionally left behind in a hackney-coach (Keppel 260-61). Hence, it is possible that, knowing Holland was particularly fond of Pedro, Henry Webster may have done all he could to sabotage Pedro's

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<sup>15</sup> According to Abreu Lima, on 14 August Pedro wrote to the French King and communicated his intention to travel for Paris within a fortnight (Lima 455).

<sup>16</sup> Charles Richard Fox (1796-1873), army officer and archaeologist, was the natural son of Lady and Lord Holland born before their marriage. In 1824, Charles married Lady Mary FitzClarence, a daughter of the future William IV by his mistress Dorothy Jordan.

cause, thus irritating and damaging the Hollands. Although Pedro, never a subtle man, was probably unaware of these complexities, Abreu Lima hints that there was something odd about Webster.

Yet not everyone blamed Webster. Liberato claimed that the apparent lack of courtesy towards the Duque de Bragança and his family was really Pedro's fault. As soon as he arrived in London he should have immediately informed the government of his arrival, which he simply omitted to do. Pedro's lack of etiquette was considered an outrage, leading Palmerston to officially ignore his presence. In a despatch to the Terceira Regency in the Azores, Abreu Lima contradicted Liberato's version, declaring that Palmerston had been notified of Pedro's arrival on 3 July 1831. According to Lima, Palmerston had also been informed of everything that had passed in the discussions with Louis Philippe – which if true was rather a waste of time since Palmerston had already been given a full report by his “spy”, Major Webster (Lima 454). Although Liberato's statements are not always reliable, on this occasion he was probably not far from the truth. The fact that Lima felt obliged to inform Palmela that Palmerston had been notified of Pedro's arrival makes the whole story seem highly suspicious.

While Holland deplored “ (...) the contrast of their reception here and in France must strike them in a way far from advantageous to this Country” (Holland, *Diaries* 31), Henry Webster, who accompanied Pedro everywhere, complained that “Even the Royal carriages, he says, are now withdrawn, and he and his Empress are left to lodge in a tavern and fumble about in a Glass Coach” (Holland, *Diaries* 23). Palmerston himself later admitted to Lima, though as a pro-forma, that he strongly regretted that it had been impossible to find a royal residence to receive the Braganças, but none were available. Palmerston further confessed his embarrassment at the tight-fisted behaviour of the government in not paying Pedro's expenses while he was in Britain, although this would have been impossible without first submitting the issue to Parliament (Lima 471). Eventually, however, protocol difficulties were overcome and, according to Lima, the Braganças were invited to spend three days at Windsor, an invitation Pedro initially declined on the grounds that his wife was pregnant. Yet, after an affectionate farewell letter from Queen Adelaide to the young Queen Maria on 13 August, Pedro reconsidered and accepted the invitation (Lima 464-65). According to Holland,

Pedro and the Queen Donna Maria of Portugal went down to

Windsor, were received with due honors and much cordiality, and have returned to night to set off for France tomorrow, apparently in better humor with the King, Court, and Country than they were a few days ago (Holland, *Diaries* 31).

On 15 August, after taking leave of Lord Holland, Pedro departed with his wife and daughter and spent the night in Dover (Holland, *Diaries* 31; Lima 467). The next morning, the party embarked on the *Lightening* to Calais, where they landed later the same day. By 20 August, the Braganças were already established at the Château de Meudon, which had been especially prepared to receive them (Lima 476; Magalhães 83). On the same day, Pedro left for Paris to meet Louis Philippe, who again received him graciously in the Royal Palace and praised his decision to head an expedition to Portugal. On the following day, the King and Queen visited the Braganças and, the day after, Pedro and his wife and daughter returned the courtesy by calling on the French Royal Family (Lima 476). Holland's response to the news of Pedro's reception in France reveals a mixture of gratification and disappointment. He wrote in his journal on 19 August:

A glorious piece of news of Don Pedro and his daughter, whom it is unlucky that we should have neglected and the French so warmly and generously received and cultivated. I urged these considerations when he was here, but economy, multiplicity of business, silly and overscrupulous fear of interference, and I am afraid some little prejudice in our King's mind prevailed, and he was allowed to depart with his Empress and Daughter to Paris (Holland, *Diaries* 34).

Pedro was invited to attend William IV's coronation on 8 September 1831, but after some hesitation – and probably unwisely – decided to decline the honour, a decision much deplored by Abreu Lima (482). Even Louis Philippe had “ (...)been persuading Dom Pedro to take a journey to London, in order to assist at the coronation of the English king (...)” (“King Louis Philippe to the Prince de Talleyrand”, *Memoirs* 4: 194), but, true to form, he remained stubborn. Pedro's apparent irresponsibility and poor judgement, which Canning had noted a few years earlier, was perhaps one of the reasons why Palmerston was reluctant to grant him the support he asked for. The Foreign Secretary told Abreu Lima on 2 July 1831, “The Emperor says he is animated with the best of intentions and that he wants to act; however we do not yet know what he wants or what he

can do" (Lima 438).<sup>17</sup> On 4 August Lord Londonderry raised the question of Pedro in the House of Lords. Grey explained that "it was agreed that Royal honours should be paid to Don Pedro and his daughter Donna Maria" but went on to stress

(...) these honours are paid in the same way to all individuals connected by relationship with the Royal houses of Europe – they are not paid to them in their political character of crowned heads – they are paid to them as a mark of respect to their Royal rank (*The Times* 5 Aug. 1831: 3).

The real issue was whether Pedro could be induced to change his mind and agree to attend William IV's coronation. Three weeks later, Lord Holland noted that it had been agreed that Pedro should be "accommodated with carriages (...) and every attention shewn that may induce him to attend it" (Holland, *Diaries* 38). On 26 August, Lady Holland wrote to her son that "Don Pedro is to return for the Coronation at his *own* request, & will be lodged & conducted about in Royal carriages, etc., all free of expense. This is very right (...). Henry Webster is again appointed to attend him" (113). Yet, as Lord Holland observed, "It is rather too late now, but the impolicy of neglecting him begins to be felt as the prospect of Miguel's overthrow becomes more certain" (Holland, *Diaries* 38).

Pedro remained in France until 10 February 1832, when he embarked at Belle-Île for the Azores on the *Rainha de Portugal*, the flag-ship of a fleet intended to liberate Portugal from despotism. On 27 June, Pedro's fleet left São Miguel for Portugal and on 8 July about 7,500 Liberal troops, including foreign mercenaries, disembarked at Mindelo, alias Arnosa de Pampelido, on the north coast of Portugal. The capture of Lisbon by the Liberals on 24 July 1833 represented the culmination of the Portuguese Civil War, which ended up on 26 May 1834 with D. Miguel's capitulation at Evoramonte and subsequent banishment. On Miguel's acceptance of the Convention – alias Concession – of Evoramonte and in accordance with "his own wishes", it was decided that he should embark at Sines on a British ship. As stipulated in the additional articles, "He shall be accompanied on his journey thither by the Persons in his personal Suite, by 20 Horse Soldiers, selected from those who previously served in his Army, and by 2 squadrons of the Cavalry of the Queen"

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<sup>17</sup> "L'Empereur dit être animé des meilleures intentions, et qu'il veut agir; cependant nous ne savons encore ni ce qu'il veut, ni ce qu'il peut" (Our translation).

(*British and Foreign State Papers: 1833-1834* 1344).

Early in the morning of 1 June Miguel left Évora and travelled to Sines, where he embarked on H.M.S. *Stag* which was to take him to Italy and from thence, to quote Webster, "(...) into merited oblivion" (Webster 1: 399). According to *The Times*, when Miguel arrived in Sines, "the inhabitants of that town were so bent upon punishing him for his deeds of tyranny, that it was with great difficulty that by the exertions of the two squadrons of the Queen's Lancers, (...) who were escorting him, his life was saved (...)" (25 June 1834: 4). As soon as he landed in Genoa on 20 June, Miguel issued a declaration protesting that the capitulation was null and void because he had been compelled to sign under duress.

Maria, who had been living in France with her stepmother since Pedro's departure to the Azores in 1832, was called to Lisbon following the capture of the Portuguese capital by the Liberal forces on 24 July 1833. Maria embarked at Le Havre on the *Soho* steamer to Portsmouth, where she landed on 8 September (*The Times* 9 Sept. 1833: 3; 'The Prince de Talleyrand to the Due de Broglie.' *Memoires* 5: 173). Those waiting for the young Queen included the Marquês do Funchal and the Marquês de Resende, Admiral Sir Thomas Williams and, of course, the town Mayor (*The Times* 11 Sept. 1833: 3).

While in England, where she remained one week, Maria was warmly received, not least by members of the Royal Family, who, according to Lord Holland, "express satisfaction at the arrival of Donna Maria" (Holland, *Diaries* 247). According to Greville, William IV "was at first very angry at her coming to England, but when he found that Louis Philippe had treated her with incivility, he changed his mind, and resolved to receive her with great honours. He hates Louis Philippe and the French with a sort of Jack Tar animosity" (3: 33). Louis Philippe was furious when he learnt of Pedro's plans to marry his daughter to the duc de Leuchtenberg, a Beauharnais. From Portsmouth, Maria went directly to Windsor Castle, where William IV and Queen Adelaide were her hosts for a few days. On 11 September, Princess Lieven commented to Grey: "Donna Maria is in the midst of all the pomp of Windsor. I trust she will receive good news from Portugal. What a great opportunity it will be for *speechifying!*" (2: 462). A few days later, the Princess resumed her gossip: "They tell me Donna Maria is extremely plain-looking. It is a misfortune in a Queen. On the other hand, they tell me her stepmother is perfectly charming" (2: 466). On 12 September, heavy rain caused an excursion to Virginia Water to be postponed to the next day. In the evening, Queen Adelaide entertained her royal

guests in St George Hall. William IV, who arrived from London at 9 o'clock, joined the royal party in the drawing room, where they remained until 11 o'clock. On the following day, the King honoured Maria with a banquet in St George Hall, attended by sixty guests, including Palmerston, Melbourne and Argyll. At dinner, Maria was placed between their Majesties, while the Duquesa de Bragança took the King's left. Maria and her step-mother remained at Windsor until 15 September, when they left for Portsmouth, passing through Chertsey, near Laleham, so that Maria could pay her compliments to the inhabitants of the village who had been so kind during her residence in England (*The Times* 13 Sept. 1833: 3). On 17 September, Maria embarked on the *Soho* at Portsmouth, arriving in Lisbon on 22 (*Chronica Constitucional de Lisboa* 23-24 Set. 1833: 267, 273; Soriano 17: 40-3; Napier 1: 298-99).<sup>18</sup>

The premature death of D. Maria II's first husband, the Duke of Leuchtenberg, on 28 March 1835, only two months after the Royal Wedding, meant that finding a suitable husband for the young Queen in order to guarantee the succession was a matter of urgency. Since the Prince was expected to be a Catholic, there appeared to be only two suitable candidates – one from Austria, the other the duc de Nemours, the son of Louis Philippe. But while the Austrian candidate carried associations with Absolutism, the prospect of a French marriage was likely to encounter objections from Britain. Hence, the Conde de Lavradio was sent to London with instructions to discuss Maria's marriage with Palmerston (Webster 1: 481). A few names were considered, including those of the son of the Archduke Charles, Albrecht, and the Neapolitan Prince of Carignan, but there was no agreement. Lavradio was inclined to the Austrian match, while Palmerston objected, not just due to Albrecht's aversion to Liberalism but also because "The Austrian family are neither healthy nor handsome. Big lips and epilepsy are greatly abundant therein" (Palmerston, qtd. in Webster 1: 483). On 22 July 1835, during a meeting between Palmerston, Lavradio, Mendizábal and Morais Sarmiento, the name of Ferdinand August Saxe-Coburg Gotha<sup>19</sup> emerged as the

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<sup>18</sup> The rest of the suite, which now included the Loulès, the Duquesas de Palmela and Terceira, the Countess of Saldanha and the Viscondessa do Cabo de São Vicente (Napier's wife), embarked on the steamers *City of Watford* and *Superb*, the former wrecked off São Martinho Bay on 24 September without casualties, the latter arrived on 2 October (Napier 1: 306-08).

<sup>19</sup> Fernando II of Portugal, née *Ferdinand August Franz Anton von Sachsen-Coburg-Gotha-Koháry* (1816-1885), Prince of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha and King Consort of

perfect match (Palmerston, qtd. in Webster 1: 483; Alviella 38). Not only was Ferdinand a Catholic, but he was also a cousin of Princess Victoria. Negotiations were held, in which the Duchess of Kent, the Princess's mother and Ferdinand's aunt, was personally involved (Palmela, *Memórias* 317). Apart from Lavradio who was not present, almost the same party had assembled at Holland House on 1 March 1835, although there had been additional guests including the Duke of Devonshire, John Russell and the Granvilles.<sup>20</sup> Both Morais Sarmiento and Lavradio were at Kensington on 16 June, where the subject was certainly discussed (Holland, *Diaries* 308). In December 1835, Sarmiento informed Holland that "the treaty for Marriage with Ferd[inand] of Coburgh is advancing and that Lavradio hopes to complete it before the 2d. of Jany. when Cortes meet" (Holland, *Diaries* 336). Lavradio's instructions to conclude the contract of marriage were issued on 11 December (Valdez 44). The royal marriage was celebrated by proxy in the Cathedral of Lisbon on 1 January 1836, with Terceira acting on Ferdinand's behalf. According to *The Times*, quoting private correspondence from Portugal:

The whole affair went off with very marked coldness, as far as the inhabitants of Lisbon were concerned. Their curiosity was, most undoubtedly, called into action, if we are to judge from the crowded streets as well as balconies, but their enthusiastic feelings, evidently, were not roused; nor one *viva* was to be heard either from the people or from the National Guard who were on duty, lining the streets, and mustered very strong. In short, the whole was widely different from what took place upon the former occasion of the marriage with the late Prince Augustus (14 Jan. 1836: 5).

On his way to Portugal, Ferdinand visited London, where he arrived on 16 March 1836 and made a good impression on Palmerston (*The Times* 18 Mar. 1836: 4). Ferdinand landed at Ramsgate from Calais and, after spending the night at Sittingbourne, called upon his aunt, the Duchess of Kent, at

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Portugal, eldest son of Prince Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg-Saalfeld-Koháry (1785-1851) and Princess Maria Antonia Koháry de Csábrág. On 10 June 1869, long after Maria's death, Ferdinand married the Swiss-born actress Elisa Hensler (1836-1929), created Gräfin von Edla.

<sup>20</sup> BL, HHP, MSS Add. 51955, Dinner Books: 1831-1838, f. 95<sup>r</sup> (Sunday, 1 Mar. 1835).

her apartments in Kensington Palace. Ferdinand was accompanied by his father and brother, while his suite included Lavradio and Morais Sarmiento. In the afternoon, Princess Victoria, the Duchess of Kent, Ferdinand and his father left Kensington in the same carriage for Windsor, where a grand dinner was given for the Royal visitors and attended by a numerous and splendid party. Ferdinand remained in Britain until 29 March, when he embarked for Portugal at Portsmouth on the British steamer *Manchester*. On 1 April the ship was forced to put into Plymouth during a tremendous gale but arrived safely in the Tagus on 8 April (*The Times* 28 Mar. 1836: 5; id. 5 Apr. 1836: 2; Gomes 1: 176-77). According to a witness quoted by *The Times*,

(...) he was not received with any feeling of enthusiasm by the people, not a single *viva* having been uttered on his landing or afterwards, yet he certainly made a good first impression on their minds, being rather good-looking, and evidently possessing kind, gentle, and conciliating manners (26 Apr. 1836: 5).

But despite the initial lack of enthusiasm for Maria's new husband, Ferdinand became popular and esteemed. He was known as the 'King Artist' and, unlike his predecessor, he had a long and worthy life.

Following his banishment, Miguel lived for several years in either Italy or in England. He arrived in Britain sometime in 1847 and is known to have attended Her Majesty's Theatre on 29 June (*The Times* 30 June 1847: 5) and to have lived for a time at Capt. Bennett's Canonbury Cottage, Islington (*The Times* 24 Dec. 1847: 6). On 27 September 1849, the death of his aunt, Maria Cristina Amelia Teresa (1779-1849), the Queen of Naples, prevented him from attending the wedding – at St John's Wood Catholic Chapel – of Matthew Bayly of Coimbra to Esther, youngest daughter of E. Weld (*The Times* 27 Sept. 1849: 7). Miguel moved to Germany in 1851, to marry Princess Adelaide of Löwenstein-Wertheim-Rosenberg on 19 September (*The Times* 4 Oct. 1851: 6). The couple settled in a former Cistercian monastery at Bronnbach, Grand Duchy of Baden, where they raised six daughters and one son, Miguel (1853-1927), who, after his father's death, proclaimed himself D. Miguel II. On 19 November 1866, *The Times* announced the "death of a person who once made a great noise in the world, but whose very existence has been for the last 20 years utterly forgotten (...)" (19 Nov. 1866: 7). Miguel died on 14 November 1866 after suffering an apoplectic stroke while hunting. He was buried in the Franciscan Convent of Engelberg, in Großheubach, Miltenberg,

but his remains were moved to the Braganças Pantheon on 5 April 1967.

The next Braganças who visited England in 1854 were the Infants Pedro and Luís, afterwards Kings D. Pedro V and D. Luís, the children of D. Maria II and D. Fernando II. Half a century later, following the Republican rebellion of 1910, Manuel II sought exile in England, where he remained until his death in 1932. These late royal visitors will be investigated in a following article.

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ROBERT BISSET SCOTT E OS SEUS  
“ROMAN REMAINS AT LISBON”

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## Introdução

No volume CII do conhecido *Gentleman's Magazine*, no número respeitante a Janeiro-Junho de 1832, R.B.Š., aliás Robert Bisset Scott, deu à estampa o artigo “Roman Remains at Lisbon”.

Sobre a figura de Robert Bisset Scott (1774-1841) escasseiam os dados. No catálogo da British Library encontrámos uma obra da sua autoria: *The Military Law of England (With All the Principal Authorities): Adapted to the General Use of the Army, in Its Various Duties and Relations, and the Practice of Courts Martial* (London: T. Goddard, 1810) e a tradução para a língua inglesa do texto latino *Strategemata*, de Frontinus, que recebeu o seguinte título: *Strategematicon, or Greek and Roman Anecdotes, Concerning Military Policy, and the Science of War: also Strategecon, or Characteristics of Illustrious Generals. Translated from the Latin of Sextus Julius Frontinus, by Robert B. Scott, Author of a Collective Arrangement of the Military Law of England* (London: Thomas Goddard, 1811)<sup>1</sup>. Segundo *The London Gazette*, em 1817, Robert Bisset Scott era “Printer and Publishing of the Military Register, and Dealer in Newspapers”,

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<sup>1</sup> Mary B. McElwain, que assina o prefácio da posterior tradução do mesmo texto latino feita por Charles Bennett, escreverá: “the only other English version, published in London in 1811 by Lieutenant Robert B. Scott, leaving much to be desired both in the matter of interpretation and the matter of expression”.

além de se encontrar “bankrupt” (540). O prestimoso *Dictionary of National Biography* acrescenta que Robert Bisset Scott terá vindo para Portugal em 1830 “to serve against Dom Miguel” (1897, vol. LI: 66). Contudo, sobre a sua estada entre nós, nada mais acrescenta.

O artigo aqui em questão situa-se tematicamente distante dos textos acima referidos, de teor militar, em que R. B. S. foi autor e tradutor. O escrito publicado no *Gentleman’s Magazine* apresenta um conteúdo arqueológico-patrimonial com manifesto interesse para os estudiosos da história de Lisboa. Não temos dados para perceber se este texto foi um episódio único na vida de Robert Bisset Scott ou se teve algum antecedente ou continuação nos anos que ainda viveu. O texto de R. B. S. começa assim:

I have always thought that Portugal offered a scene of peculiar interest to the antiquary, from its being among the very last of the provinces that remained to Rome after a possession of seven centuries; and retaining more of its language and manners than any other country, to the present time, of which specimens, both oral and memorial, every where remain.

Of Portugal, thus profuse in monuments of Roman antiquity, the only municipality of that people, their *Felix Julia*<sup>2</sup>, Lisbon, is naturally the first object of attention, notwithstanding the deterioration of its share from almost innumerable causes (291).

O texto fala dos vestígios romanos que se encontram pela cidade de Lisboa – esta afigura ser a preocupação instantânea do autor – dizendo que “the first point in the search after Roman Lisbon on which I made my stand, was the very ancient Castle St. George still existing” (292). Depois, referindo-se aos nossos “antiquários”, destaca Luís António de Azevedo que designa como um “intelligent and learned Portuguese antiquary”, lembrando ainda outros onde se destacam os nomes de “Resende, Brito, Cunha, Marinho, Vasconcellos, Cardoso, &c” (293). Aventurase, de seguida, pelos arredores da capital, visitando Cintra, onde refere “the temple of the Sun and the Moon on the *serra*”, também “lovely Colares” e “Torres Vedras, the *Turres Veteres* of the Romans” (294). De regresso a Lisboa enuncia a existência de vários vestígios romanos onde sobressaem inscrições.

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<sup>2</sup> Na verdade *Felicitas Iulia Olisipo*.

## 1. O Elogio do Aqueduto

Parte significativa do texto de Robert Bisset Scott é dedicada ao Aqueduto das Águas Livres, onde R. B. S. enleia comparações de Lisboa com Roma e referências a D. João V:

Seven hills, like those of Rome, form its site; an aqueduct, equal to that of "the eternal city," cuts through the hills, and diverges beneath temples and palaces in beautiful colonnades, of height fully equal to that described by Procopius (291).

E mais à frente:

I have already spoken of the aqueduct as equal in every respect to the description of those of Rome; it is built like them on an inclined plane, whence the water proceeding to its level issues forth through beautiful fountains in every direction. I had opportunities of applying to the archives of the persons of rank, to whom they are intrusted, as in ancient Rome; but even a plan of their subterraneous structure was unfinished, so that I cannot add to what I have stated at the outset, more than that no ancient nation could possibly surpass the Portuguese in their apparent reverence for water, if one may judge, besides their numerous eulogies, from their magnificent endeavours to preserve its purity. The south entrance is at a short distance from the Tagus, beneath the fountain of Loretto, which (from being admirably surmounted by his statue) might well cope with that of Neptune at Rome.

Immediately on entering the passage, I was astonished by the beauty of the lengthened arch which presented itself, or rather arches, for to right and left, as they diverge to different quarters, it is the same. On each side of the passage are two narrow channels elevated about two feet; along one of which only ran the water, the purpose of the other being to act in its turn, whenever any sediment is deposited from the little stream, which at this time exhibited a slight ferruginous colour. The passage is wide enough for two persons to pass together, and the arch sufficiently high to realize, as before noticed, the statement of Procovious, of a man passing up it on horseback. The whole of the exquisite Portuguese masonry in hard firestone, seemed as perfect and as clean as if erected yesterday, which, with the water brightly sparkling against the lights which were carried, appeared almost supernatural.

The whole is one of the creditable efforts of John V.; but that it is on the Roman model, if not partly on a Roman foundation, is certain. It is on record that the water for the supply of the ancient city, was concentrated within its walls: and as the Romans pro-

vided aqueducts in various provinces of Portugal, it is hardly to be supposed they would neglect the apparently foundled capital, "happy Julia." It is stated by Marinho and others, that the waters of the old city did not extend to the modern Lisbon; as also that it had long been projected to bring the waters from Bellas, &c. to it; that the senate of Lisbon had, at the commencement of the 17th century, laid apart 70,000l. for that purpose, but which was wasted in fruitless rejoicings on the arrival in the city of Philip III of Spain. I conceived I saw something of mere Roman remains about the valley of Alcantara, so famous under the Moors, over which pass the beautiful lofty arches so celebrated throughout Europe (296).

## 2. O Alvará de 1721

Eventualmente mais interessante que as suas deambulações arqueológicas olisiponenses ou mesmo as pormenorizadas referências ao aqueduto que abastecia Lisboa, Robert Bisset Scott verteu para a língua inglesa e publicou numa longa nota no artigo aqui lembrado dois dos documentos mais relevantes da história da defesa do património entre nós: o alvará de 20 de Agosto de 1721 e o texto da republicação deste em 4 de Fevereiro de 1802.

Em primeiro lugar diga-se que esta *démarche* de Robert Bisset Scott é inédita, pois a actividade em Portugal em prol da salvaguarda do seu património, independentemente dos seus méritos ou deméritos, raramente mereceu a atenção dos autores estrangeiros mesmo daqueles que têm traçado grandes panorâmicas patrimoniais, quer de âmbito europeu, quer mundial<sup>3</sup>. Ao invés, são muitos os testemunhos estrangeiros publicados sobre vandalismos patrimoniais praticados entre nós. Vejam-se dois exemplos centrados no "famoso" afrontamento entre a quinhentista Torre de Belém e a Fábrica de Gás erguida a partir de 1888 em seu redor<sup>4</sup>. Primeiro excerto:

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<sup>3</sup> Assim aconteceu, por exemplo, com Françoise Choay, Dominique Poulot e Jukka Jokilehto. E, como estes autores, tantos outros.

<sup>4</sup> Desse confronto disse Ramalho: "a Torre de Belem emparceira-se com a chaminé do mais vil e sordido barracão, a qual sacrilegamente a cuspinha e enodôa com salivadas de um fumo espesso, gordoroso e indelevel, como se a incomparavel joia d'esse marmore, que o sol portuguez carinhosamente sobredourara pelos afagos de tres seculos, houvesse sido tão subtilmente cinzelada pelos artistas manuelinos para escarrador de mariolas, por cima do qual todavia ainda algumas vezes, em dias de gala, se desfralda e tremula o pavilhão das quinas, mascarrado de carvão como um chéché de entrudo" (83-84).

(...) and the next object which attracted attention was the square tower of Belem, serving as one of the defences of the city, its architectural beauties contrasting strongly with the buildings of the gasworks, the gasometers, and the heaps of slag immediately adjoining (Morant, 1891:6)<sup>5</sup>.

A mesma postura neste outro exemplo:

“Tell me,” the countess d’Eu asked us, “what is that horrible thing next to the Tower of Belem?”

“It is a gasometer, belonging to the new gas company,” we replied.

“It is a pity to have thus spoiled that beautiful monument” (Barman, 2002: 205).

Ganha, assim, maior relevo o texto e o autor que hoje concentrou a nossa atenção. Sobre o primeiro desses diplomas régios, a tantos títulos precioso, Robert Bisset Scott diz-nos que:

John V no sooner found himself at peace, and capable of attending in certain points to the pacific aggrandizement of his country, than he established the Royal Academy of Portuguese History, and issued an *alvara*, or edict, for the particular preservation of every species of ancient memorials; not like the Roman emperors, confining it to edifices or monuments, or the present beauty of cities, but specifying all the objects that can illustrate the history of a country; and this decree, moreover, denounces all, of whatever rank, who shall contravene it, with certain penalties (291-292).

Recorde-se que a Academia Real da História Portuguesa foi criada pelo Magnânimo por decreto de 8 de Dezembro de 1720, o primeiro alvará de que fala Robert Bisset Scott tem a data de 20 de Agosto de 1721 e na sua génese destaca-se, como já mostrei algures<sup>6</sup>, D. Rodrigo Anes de Sá Almeida Meneses (1676-1733), 6º conde de Penaguião, 3º marquês de Fontes e 1º marquês de Abrantes, gentil-homem da câmara de el-rei D. João V e censor da Academia Real da História Portuguesa. Na verdade, foi este

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<sup>5</sup> E não só em língua inglesa: “La municipalité de Lisbonne a commis le crime impardonnable de placer à côté de la tour de belem une usine à gaz. Il faudrait applaudir aux restrictions qui ont mis fin à l’autonomie communale de la ville, si c’est à l’époque de sa liberté que ses édiles on tren du possible une explosion qui sans cesse menace de détruire le plus pur des chefs-d’œuvre” (Lambert, 1896:73).

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Ramos, 2014: 223-227.

fidalgo que três anos após o seu regresso de Roma, sabemos envolvido em pelo menos duas jornadas pelo Alentejo que percorreu “de huma a outra extremidade” e que justificou de modo tão interessante:

Devo tambem eu dar conta do meu estudo, e sendo elle de pedras, só nas fabricas, que resistindo às injurias do tempo se conservão, ou nas que cedendo lhe se arruinão, pôde empregar se a minha diligencia: mas como estes volumes senão revolvem facilmente, he preciso que se mova quem os busca, e que em repetidas viagens os observe (1721: [fl.113]).

A estas “jornadas” do marquês de Abrantes – que são, sem dúvida, um dos episódios mais curiosos da história do nosso património – podemos aplicar as palavras de André Chastel e Jean-Pierre Babelon, sobre iniciativa similar de Prosper Mérimée (1803-1870) ao percorrer as províncias de França, um bom século mais tarde do que o marquês de Abrantes fez em Portugal:

(...) ils’ agit de la découverte du pays à travers son paysage historique. Ce qui suppose sans doute le besoin d’explorer un passé englouti dans la monotonie rurale et compromis par l’ignorance ou la présomption.

A cet égard, cette expérience manifeste une intuition forte et – il faut bien l’admettre – moderne du patrimoine” (1994 :75).

Regressemos a Robert Bisset Scott e, agora, finalmente, à sua tradução (incompleta)<sup>7</sup> do Alvará joanino, não antes de lembrar que até à data da sua publicação poucos eram na Europa os textos legais de carácter patrimonial que tinham visto a luz do dia. Diga-se, ainda, que as principais características do alvará joanino destacam-no face aos já existentes e, mesmo, de alguns diplomas que lhe seguiram:

The Chambers and Municipalities of the towns<sup>8</sup> of this kingdom are charged to take very particular care to preserve all the Antiquities [Phoenicians, Greek, Roman, Gothic, or Arabian]

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<sup>7</sup> Falta concretamente a passagem onde se coloca uma das questões mais interessantes, a que tem a ver com os limites cronológicos da sua aplicação. Ao definir o seu *terminus ad quem*, o alvará estabelece uma pequena distância de 160 anos entre a data da sua publicação (1721) e o reinado de D. Sebastião (antes de 1557). Rem Koolhaas, escrevendo sobre esta questão, disse: “That distance (...) in 1818 (...) was 2,000 years” (Koolhaas, 2004: 2).

<sup>8</sup> No original “Cidades, e Villas”.

which they have at present, or may henceforward discover, within the limits of their districts; and that so soon as they find or discover any newly, they give an account thereof to the Secretary of the said Royal Academy, for him to communicate to the Director, Censors, and other Academicians; and the said Director and Censors with the notice so communicated to them, will make the provision which shall appear necessary for the better preservation of the monuments discovered; and if what is so discovered newly shall be images of metal<sup>9</sup>, plates, or medals, containing figures or characters, and also coins of gold, silver, copper, or other metal whatsoever, the Directors and Censors can cause them to be purchased from the funds assigned to the said Academy. And the persons of quality who shall contravene this my disposition, deface the edifices of those ages<sup>10</sup>, statues, marbles, and monumental inscriptions<sup>11</sup>, or melt images, plates, medals, and coins above-mentioned, or deteriorate their form, so that it is impossible to know the figures and characters, or, finally, conceal them; besides incurring my *degradation*<sup>12</sup>, will experience as well the demonstration that the case may require, and their inattention, negligence, and malice merit; and persons of inferior condition will incur the penalties imposed by the Ordination<sup>13</sup>, Book V. title 12, § 5, concerning those who melt coin. And hence, of those who find images<sup>14</sup>, plates, medals, or ancient coins, desiring to sell and reduce them to current money, the Chambers shall be obliged to purchase them, pay promptly according to their just value, and remit them immediately to the Secretary of the Academy, who shall present them to the Directors and Censors, ordering the Chambers to be satisfied for their cost (Ramos, 2014: 225).

Está ainda por fazer o balanço da aplicação deste diploma. Contudo, alguma correspondência dirigida à Academia Real da História por figuras como o padre Jerónimo Contador de Argote, Martinho de Mendonça de Pina<sup>15</sup>, ou o padre D. Tomás Caetano

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<sup>9</sup> No original “lâminas de metal”.

<sup>10</sup> No original “séculos”.

<sup>11</sup> No original “cippos”.

<sup>12</sup> No original “desagrado”.

<sup>13</sup> *Ordenações Filipinas*.

<sup>14</sup> No original “lâminas”.

<sup>15</sup> Escreveu este autor: “Junto da Cidade da Guarda, em distancia de legoa e meya ao Norte, perto do pequeno lugar de Guilhafonso, a poucos passos de hum regato perrenne, em hum valle largo, ou campina cercada de outeiros, vi muitas vezes huma Anta, que hehuma mesa de pedra tosca, que tem 13.palmos de largo, e 15.de comprimento, que corre de Nascente ao Poente elevada 9.palmos de terra sobre cinco toscos Padroens: outra vi junto do lugar das Antas de Penalva, muito mayor; como o hetambem, tendo

do Bem, entre outros, de par com notícias publicadas na *Gazeta de Lisboa*<sup>16</sup> referem vestígios arqueológicos encontrados no reino ainda no século XVIII a que não será estranha a “pressão” do alvará. Infelizmente, o que é legislado nesse texto acabaria por cair no esquecimento nos anos que se seguiram. Daí, a sua republicação oito décadas mais tarde a pedido do Bibliotecário Mor da Real Biblioteca de Lisboa.

Robert Bisset Scott não deixaria de traduzir também esse novo diploma assim designado: *Alvará com Força de Lei pelo qual Vossa Alteza Real he Servido Suscitar o Alvará de Lei de 20 de Agosto de 1721, Ordenado em Benefício da Academia Real da História Portugueza para a Conservação e Integridade das Estatuas, Marmores, Cippos, e Outras Peças de Antiguidade: Mandando que as Funcções do Mesmo Alvará, que até Agora Pertenciam ao Secretario da Dita Real Academia, Fiquem da Data do Presente em Diante Pertencendo ao Bibliothecario Maior da Bibliotheca Publica; Tudo na Forma Acima Declarada:*

I, the Prince Regent, make known to those who shall see this Edict, with the force of law, that, the chief librarian of the Royal Library of Lisbon representing to me the importance not alone of antiquities sacred and polite, and the illustration of the arts and sciences, but for the ornament of the same library, of forming in it a grand collection of pieces of antiquity and rarity; and I wishing the collection referred to, to be formed for public utility, hold for good to revive the disposition of the Edict of Law of 20th of August 1721, by which Don John V, my grandfather, ordered as a grant to the Royal Academy of Portuguese History, the preservation of statues, marbles, monumental inscriptions, images, and other pieces of antiquity, on which are found figures, letters, or characters; the which edict is ordered to be republished, to have an entire and full observance for the good of the Royal Library of Lisbon. It is determined that the functions of the same declared Edict belonging to the Secretary of the same Academy, as well as the correspondence with the Chambers concerning the monuments which they find, shall remain attached to the chief librarian of the said Royal

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pela informação, que nos derão, trinta palmos de comprido, huma, que esta junto da Matanca, e outra junto de Carrapichana, não muito longe de Celorico; e me lembra de ver outra na Provincia de Alentejo, junto da Villa de Nisa” (1-22).

<sup>16</sup> Veja-se a *Gazeta de Lisboa Ocidental* de 29 de Maio de 1721: “Com as novas ordens, que S. Mag. passou a favor da Academia Real, se tem descoberto em varias partes do Reyno muytas inscripções, columnas, & vestígios de edificios antigos, de que atégora se não tinha noticia, & de que se mandão copias, & debuxos; & nos Cartorios muytos documentos curiosos, & importantes, de que vão chegando os treslados”.

Library; all being to be represented to me through the Counsellor Minister, Secretary of State for the Revenue, Inspector-general of the Revenue, Inspector-general of the Royal Library of Lisbon, that I may order the necessary provision, as also to purchase medals, images, and other similar objects, to the account of my royal revenue, towards the preservation of the same objects, and all others whatever which may be in this matter convenient.

[The legal forms as before] (292).

## Conclusão

Este texto de Robert Bisset Scott foi aparentemente esquecido. Nem mesmo em 1896 quando a *Society of Antiquaries of London* perguntou a Lisboa “what statutable provisions exist in Portugal for the protection of ancient monuments, buildings; or otherwise in regard to demolition, restoration or addition?” (Ramos, 2013: 205), nem Londres nem Lisboa se recordaram dos dois alvarás traduzidos por R. B. S. e publicados no *Gentleman’s Magazine* havia já mais de seis décadas.

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THE VICTORIAN TRAVELLER AS OTHER:  
STEREOTYPES AND HUMOUR IN THE PERIODICAL  
PRESS OF PORTUGUESE ROMANTICISM<sup>1</sup>

*Maria Zulmira Castanheira (FCSH-UNL/CETAPS)*

Intrepid then, o'er seas and lands he flew:  
Europe he saw, and Europe saw him too.  
Pope<sup>2</sup>

The past three decades have seen a great deal of attention paid in the Social Sciences and Humanities to the theme of travel and travel writing; there have been countless, multi-disciplinary studies on these matters. Of the many studies produced there is a vast set devoted to travel in the Victorian era, analysing the historical and cultural context, the different types of journey, traveller and narrative, as well as matters associated to travellers' sex, social class, occupation and ideology, and his/her gaze and preconceived notions.

The Victorian era witnessed an enormous surge in foreign travel. Some travellers were motivated by cultural concerns and intellectual curiosity, others by the wish to visit exotic, picturesque, sublime spots; yet others travelled for reasons of trade, diplomacy, missionary purposes, historical research and

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<sup>2</sup> From Pope's satirical poem *Dunciad* (IV, 293-294), in which he refers to the British Grand Tourist.

scientific exploration. Many men and an increasing number of women spilled out into the world and became, in turn, objects of observation.<sup>3</sup> As the nineteenth century progressed, traveling became more and more associated with the British will to learn even more about the non-European world, to benefit from it, the better to explore and increase Britain's hold on it.<sup>4</sup> Such intense mobility generated, in the eyes of foreigners, an image of the Briton as a great, bold traveller, imbued with enormous curiosity in acquainting him/herself with new parts of the world, but also a representative of British economic interests and the imperial vocation of the nation.

The periodical press of Portuguese Romanticism, an unrivalled medium at the time and thus the main means of dissemination of information about foreign parts, mirrored this multi-faceted image. Emerging late with regard to its European counterpart, Portuguese Romanticism only really began to assert itself after the end of the civil war and the implanting of the Liberal regime in 1834, which places the beginning of the Romantic process in Portugal and the beginning of the Victorian era (1837) very close in time. In the many journals and magazines published in the subsequent decades – for the purposes of this study, I have extended the scope of my research to 1865, a year marked by the ‘Coimbra Question’, the first major challenge to and break with the literary *status quo* and which in fact constituted a turning-point in Portuguese culture<sup>5</sup> – we find a profusion of descriptions of very varied geographical places, peoples and customs, taken from British-authored travel narratives, which bears witness to British presence not only on the old European continent but also in the most far-flung and even

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<sup>3</sup> “Most Britons who went abroad before the First World War travelled for professional or commercial purposes. They were colonial bureaucrats, service officers, traders, and missionaries, and their destinations were scattered over the two hemispheres of Britain's global empire. But a minority travelled at leisure – from choice rather than necessity; and this minority grew steadily larger as a rise in wealth and a decrease in the cost of travel made foreign holidays accessible to the lower reaches of the middle classes.” (Pemble 1)

<sup>4</sup> Inevitably travel writing at the time reflected such interests and ambitions as highlighted by Bridges in an analysis of the period from 1720 to 1914: “travel writing became increasingly identified with the interests and preoccupations of those in European societies who wished to bring the non-European world into a position where it could be influenced, exploited or, in some cases, directly controlled” (Bridges 53). On travel writing about non-European spaces, see Youngs, 2006.

<sup>5</sup> The historian José-Augusto França called 1865 “a fateful year for national Romanticism” [“um ano fatídico para o romantismo nacional”], as it “would tear to pieces the institutionalised Romantic edifice” [“iria esfrangalhar o edifício romântico institucionalizado.”] (França 323, 577).

inhospitable places.<sup>6</sup>

Besides the valuable contribution which such writings provided toward a better understanding of the world, the scientific worth of many of the travels described in these accounts and the way they illustrated the relation which was not infrequently attached to travelling, science, commerce, capitalism and imperialist expansionism, they also bear witness to the daring and courage evinced by British travellers in confronting the unknown, as well as their capacity to test themselves, overcome great dangers and survive very adverse situations encountered on the sea, on land and even in the air (note the many news items about hot-air balloon travelling, notably that of Charles Green, the most famous nineteenth-century British balloonist). In this regard, there is an abundance of news items on British explorations in Africa, undertaken in harsh circumstances for purposes of science, religion, for economic and diplomatic reasons, vigorously promoted by the Royal Geographical Society founded in 1830.<sup>7</sup> Such attention should come as no surprise given that Portugal nominally laid claim to extensive lands in Africa; it was, therefore, of the greatest interest to follow closely expansionist British ambitions in the continent. But even more attention was paid to British expeditions to the North Pole seeking the much-desired *northwest passage*, that is, a navigable passage through the Arctic from the Atlantic to the Pacific; the Portuguese periodical press published multiple descriptions of the hardships endured by the crews of the ships travelling in the frozen wastes.

Even without leaving Europe, the many Britons who criss-crossed the continent projected an image of themselves as of a people always on the move, busy, resourceful, energetic, restless and also possessing enough economic power to be able to travel for pleasure, as a means of entertainment, or simply to occupy their free time. When the Napoleonic wars ended, the number of British travellers increased progressively,<sup>8</sup> and the practice

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<sup>6</sup> In the pages of these periodical publications we find British-authored accounts on Spain, Italy, Switzerland, The Netherlands, Belgium, Greece, Turkey, Norway, Russia, China, India, Persia, Iraque, Arabia, Brazil, Africa, Tierra del Fuego, Polynesia, Australia, North Pole, etc.

<sup>7</sup> The travels of the Scottish missionary David Livingstone (1813-1873), proponent of the three Cs doctrine – commerce, Christianity, civilisation –, were regularly featured in the Portuguese periodical press from 1850. No praise was spared for the man who would in time be celebrated as one of the heroes of the Victorian era.

<sup>8</sup> Even the British periodical press began to comment liberally on the fact that Europe had been flooded by English travellers immediately after the end of the

of travelling became so democratised in Victorian society that, in the eyes of foreigners, the appetite for travelling became an intrinsic feature of the national character of the English (taken to mean the British as a whole), that is, one of their behavioural and mind-set peculiarities. Other traces of *Englishness*, such as melancholy, solemnity, reserve, parsimony with words, somberness, eccentricity, hypocrisy, national pride, passion for order, were also identified as traits of the traveller from beyond the English Channel, attributes which were often the butt of satire on the part of foreigners, including the Portuguese. In this essay I will analyse a number of texts published in the periodical press of Portuguese Romanticism featuring travelling Britons. Attention will be devoted to the traits of the portraits presented therein and to the stereotyped image constructed by these Portuguese gazes, in which humour is often used as a resource with which to deal with cultural difference and to critique the British and their idiosyncrasies.

The interest manifested at the time for human typology and characterology was mirrored in Portuguese writing of the Romantic period in a remarkable set of texts which portrayed the morpho-psychological features of the Irish, Scots and English, at times in comparison with those of other peoples. They include a number of narratives in which the physiognomy and the temperament of the British are portrayed through the figure of the male and female traveller.

A recurring strategy is that of the narrator's account of boat and train journeys effected in the company of Britons, as occurs in "De Jersey a Granville" [From Jersey to Granville] (1843), by Alexandre Herculano (1810-1877), "Recordações de Italia" [Remembering Italy] (1851-1852), by Lopes de Mendonça (1826-1865), and "Viagem ao Minho" [Journey to Minho] (1853), by Gomes de Amorim (1827-1891). Whether the writer travelled from England to France, wandered around Italy or set off from Terreiro do Paço to Minho, there was always an inevitable Briton on board, which led Gomes de Amorim to comment wittily – in the above text – that this figure had become a necessary prop in any travel account, as indeed he/she was in any comedy:

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Napoleonic wars; these travellers appeared to be everywhere. There were even literary satires of this phenomenon, as shown by the lines penned by Thomas Moore (1779-1852), the Irish poet cited by Buzard: "And is there then no earthly place/ Where we can rest, in dream Elysian, / Without some cursed, round English Face, / Popping up near, to break the vision?" ("Extract IV" of "Rhymes on the Road" (1819). *The Poetical Works of Thomas Moore*. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, n.d.. 587) (Buzard 84).

Mas entre os meus companheiros de viagem havia um que o não era de infortunio, porque bebia e comia por todos os outros, não desmentindo esta nobre animosidade até ao momento do desembarque.

Era um inglez. Typo obrigado de todas as narrações de viagens, farças, comedias, ou romances. E com effeito são homens para tudo os inglezes. (Amorim 142)

[But among my travelling companions there was one who did not share in our misfortune, since he drank and ate for all the others, not denying this noble animosity until we went ashore.

He was an Englishman. An essential type in all travel accounts, farces, comedies, and novels. And indeed the English are men for all seasons.]<sup>9</sup>

Apparently, as suggested in “O Inglez”<sup>10</sup> [The Englishman] by Almeida Garrett (1799-1854), one of the founders of Portuguese Romanticism, the ‘Englishman’ was created exclusively to live in his island – when he leaves his natural habitat, he becomes a figure of fun wherever he may travel. His physical type, his stance, attitude, behaviour, sartorial appearance, so characteristically and deeply etched, at once identified him and, because of his difference and singularity, triggered foreigners’ laughter, including that of Britain’s old allies, the Portuguese.

Pedro Cabral, a writer for the periodical *O Jardim das Damas* [The Lady’s Garden] who published “Revista de Lisboa” [Lisbon Journal] in the 4 October 1845 issue, provided an example of the type of mocking description repeatedly aimed at the ‘English’, be it as a good-natured peal of laughter, an ironical or sarcastic comment. In this particular case, the comments are made while crossing the Tagus:

Estava quasi a meio do rio, quando me deu curiosidade de ver os passageiros: á ré estavam cinco – duas senhoras, um inglez, e dous homens. – Por esta classificação talvez julgue o leitor que o inglez não era homem? – Pois engana-se redondamente; era um inglez do genero masculino, gordo (...), e massudo, como se fosse composto de todo o *Rossbeef*, *pudding* e *beer* que se consome nos tres reinos unidos da Grãa-Bretanha. – (...) O personagem que representava a perpetua comedia da vida, estava desenhada

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<sup>9</sup> This, and every other translation into English, is mine.

<sup>10</sup> Incomplete text, published between April and June 1845 in the journal *A Ilustração*.

[sic] pela natureza com mão de mestre. – Era o barrigudo inglez – era aquella severidade comica – aquella seriedade ridicula; ao ver aquelles olhos enterrados n’uma cara bochechuda – as faces gordas, e vermelhas – o nariz servindo de ponte de transicção do nariz do hottentote – do cafre – para o nariz aquilino, typo de belleza do romano; – quem poderia resistir a uma gargalhada? – Nem um sancto! – Ao ver aquellas orelhas purpureas, fitas como as do asno, immensas; – a bocca rasgada – a barriga preminente – as pernas curtas, o peito affogado em carne – ninguem podia recusar-lhe um diploma de estúpido. – Era a materia fria, estacionaria, – era um frade desmedido de pedra tornado homem! – Obra talvez d’algum Pygmaleão de mau gosto!... Que bello typo de grotesco! (Cabral 31)

[We had almost reached mid-river, when I felt curious to see the passengers: in the stern there stood five – two ladies, an Englishman and two men. – From this classification the reader may think the Englishman was no man? – Well, the reader is stoutly wrong; he was an Englishmen of the male sex, fat, (...), and massive as if consisting of all the roast beef, pudding and beer consumed in the three Kingdoms of Great Britain. – (...) The character who represented the never-ending comedy of life was drawn by nature with a master’s hand. He was the paunchy Englishman – it was that comical severity – that ridiculous severity; seeing those eyes sunk in a rotund face – fat cheeks, and reddened – the nose acting as a transition to the Hottentot nose – the Kaffir’s – to the aquiline nose, the Roman type of beauty; – who could do other than laugh? – Not even a saint! – Looking at those purple ears, pricked like those of a donkey, immense; – the mouth, a slash – the belly, prominent – the legs, short, the chest drowning in flesh – no one could refuse him a diploma of stupidity. – He was cold matter, stationary, – he was an excessive friar in stone become man! – the work perchance of some Pygmalion with poor taste!... What a fine type of the grotesque!]

Note the strategies used to inferiorise the British traveller, beginning with the latter’s exclusion from both the female and male sexes, so as to suggest an idea of complete singularity and place him beyond the boundaries of the human species. This clearly echoes the intention of the narrator of the memoir-like “De Jersey a Granville” by Alexandre Herculano, who, when enumerating the passengers of the *chasse-marée* bearing him from England to France, refers to the ‘English’ on board only after mentioning the dog, with the obvious purpose of belittling them – on board were 6 Portuguese immigrants, two sailors

and a French cabin boy, a “dog and three Englishmen” [“Um cão e tres ingleses”] (Herculano 130). Highlight should also be given to the adjectives used by Pedro Cabral to stress how fat the ‘Englishman’ is and provide a caricature of him, which indeed does not merely point to the physical aspect. The gravitas of the son of old Albion, which the writer regards as ridiculous, the comparison of his ears to those of a donkey and the ‘stupidity diploma’ which he is said to merit, add up to a grotesque portrayal which links obesity to impaired intelligence, ignorance and coarseness.

Another, equally negative description of the ‘English’ traveller appears in Gomes Amorim’s text, mentioned earlier. Once again, the situation that gives rise to observing and describing the behaviour of a son of old Albion is a boat journey involving the narrator and an ‘English’ passenger; here again the writer adopts a humorous register. In the simplifying and reductionist language of caricature, certain traits are set out as being distinctive of the physical appearance of the ‘English’ through the figure of that particularly British figure, notably the paunch, the symbol of Britain’s wealth and plenty, as well as of his pride and haughtiness. Given the strength of the stereotype, such features became fixed in the collective imaginary not just of the Portuguese but also of Europeans as defining the physical image of the typical Briton:

Era um inglez. (...) A cabeça calva e quasi quadrada possuia as dimensões mais enormes que tenho visto em minha vida. Da nuca até á fonte côr de rabano, havia uma proeminencia convexa, d’onde partiam pequenos raios, cuja saliencia desaparecia debaixo de algumas ruivas farripas, que descancavam sobre as longas orelhas rubras como tomates. Os olhos azues e esgaziados, desguarnecidos de sobrancelhas, e a palpebra sanguinea, pareciam os filtros por onde saíam os vapores bachicos áquele distillador. O immenso nariz encarniçado como a crista de um gallo, estava perpendicular á barriga ameaçando fural-a se continuasse a crescer; e o nariz tinha razão, porque o pobre homem já não via dous palmos adiante dos pés. As faces nedias e cheias de carne, o pescoço curto e grosso como o cachaço de um frade Bernardo, encostavam-se nos largos hombros do nosso amigo como a bomba de uma seringa. Não cobriu a cabeça durante a viagem, como se fizesse gala em mostrar aquella abobora ornada de barbas de milho.

Trajava um amplo casacão de baeta azul, que lhe descia magestosamente até aos artelhos; uma calça de panno tambem azul, estreita, como são em rigor as calças de um inglez, e curta como é uso d’aquelle povo sensato, desenhava perfeitamente as fôrmas,

mostrando as pernas em parenthesis, e a enorme barriga, teza como a pelle de um tambor. (...) Os pés, eram pés inglezes; e as mãos, verdadeiras mãos de capitão de navios, honesto mister que exercia o sr. John Street. (Amorim 142)

[He was an Englishman. (...) His bald and almost square head possessed the most enormous dimensions I have ever seen in my life. Ruddy from his neck to his forehead, he had a convex protuberance, from which there flowed slight folds, whose salience vanished under some reddish strands, which lay on long, tomato-red ears. His blue eyes, wild, ungarnished by eyebrows and his blood-shot eyelids, seemed like the filters from which the Bachic vapours of that distiller escaped. His immense nose, ruddy like that of a cockerel's comb, lay perpendicular to his belly, threatening to pierce it if it continued to grow; and the nose was right, because the poor man could no longer see two inches in front of his feet. His fleshy and fatty cheeks, his short, thick neck like the scruff of a friar of the order of St. Bernard, rested on the wide shoulders of our friend like the plunger of a syringe. He did not cover his head during the journey, as if the better to show off that pumpkin adorned with a maize beard.

He sported a large overcoat in blue baize which descended majestically down to his ankles; his trousers were also of blue fabric, tight as is de rigueur in an Englishman's trousers, and short as is customary among that sensible people, and perfectly moulded his contours, showing his legs in parenthesis, and his enormous paunch, tight as the skin of a drum. (...) His feet were English feet; and his hands, veritably the hands of a ship's captain, an honest job done by Mr John Street.]

In a novel titled "O Vento do Levante" [The Wind of the Levant] published by the Lisbon periodical *A Semana* [The Week] between November 1851 and February 1852, Bulhão Pato (1829-1912) also helped to perpetuate this type of unfavourable image. The narrator, suffering from unrequited love for a young Englishwoman, Ophelia, travels from Madeira to Lisbon. When characterising the many Britons on board the vessel, he highlights some of their features which, at a deeper level, bring together antipathies stemming from Victorian Britain's colonial policies: circumspection, terseness, 'too-tight' trousers ["a calça excessivamente estreita"] (a sign of rigidity), the rasping voice "with its haughty overtones" ["como o seu character soberbo"], the too "washed-out" ["deslavadamente"] lightness of the skin (Pato 445).

The terseness associated with the British way of being (to

which Bulhão Pato points) was one of the traits of Victorian British travellers which writers most consistently exploited to conjure up laughter at Britain's expense. "Excerptos d'uma viagem a Inglaterra. AS. A. AS. S. P. A. M." [Excerpts from a Journey to England. AS. A. AS. S. P. A. M.], a travel account published in the journal *O Instituto* [The Institute] between October 1856 and April 1857 and signed with the initials A. A.,<sup>11</sup> presents the eye-witness account of a Portuguese in John Bull's island who was effectively able to prove how silently the 'English' behaved on a journey and the great difference between British and Portuguese customs:

Os inglezes em viagem, como em quasi tudo, são a gente mais abhorrida, menos communicativa que pôde imaginar-se, ou, melhor, que um portuguez nunca pôde imaginar. Nós encontramos numa hospedaria algumas pessoas, não importa de que parte do paiz; – pôde um ser de *Mertola*, outro de *Freixo de Espada-à Cinta*, outro de *Cazorrães*, outro até de terra innominada – ou encontramol-as em jornada, ou accompanhamol-as em barco, e d'ahi a pouco todos fallam e conversam, e discutem e riem, como se foram familia de trato muito intimo. Os inglezes são absolutamente o inverso.

O mais das vezes que viajei [sic] aconteceu-me não dar, nem ouvir uma unica palavra durante muitas horas. Ao entrar para a carruagem um tira d'algibeira um livro e vai completar o pensamento que tinha deixado em meio na pagina registada; outro, transformando os joelhos em carteira d'escriptorio, pousa-lhes em cima a sua correspondencia e começa cotando a lapis as cartas que lê; outro, abrindo o sacco de jornada, escolhe uma meia duzia de bolaxinhas que come, fazendo guardanapo do peito da camiza em regaladissima disposição, e outro, emfim, á voz do gaiato que apregoa ao longo das carruagens «*paper, paper*»; *Times*, *Observer*, *News of the world*, etc., etc., compra com 6 *pence* uma qualquer gazetta e principia a sua leitura com tanto ou mais desenfado do que se estivesse nos amplos *clubs* de Londres. Eis os companheiros d'uma viagem de 4 ou 6 horas, por vezes. O inglez ou come, ou lê, ou dorme; mas fallar, isso só muito constrangido. (A.A. 163-164)

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<sup>11</sup> This could be D. António Aires de Gouveia (1828-1916), doctor in Law and Theology. He contributed articles for the periodical press, notably in the volume of *O Instituto* in which this article appears and there is a reference to his name in the text I have quoted. His was a satirical voice.

[The English on their travels, as in almost everything, are the most boring people, less communicative than you can imagine, or rather, than a Portuguese can ever imagine. In a hostel we come across some persons, it does not matter from what part of the country; one may be from *Mertola*, another from *Freixo de Espada-à-Cinta*, another from *Cazorrães*, yet another from a nameless place. Or we encounter them while travelling, or on a ship, and shortly thereafter everyone is talking and debating and laughing, as if they were close family members. The English are the absolute opposite.

Most of the times that I travelled, I neither uttered nor heard a single word for many an hour. On entering the carriage one gets out a book and proceeds to complete the thought he had left half-thought on the marked page; another, turning his knees into a desk top, places his correspondence on them and poises his pencil over the letters he is reading, another, opening his bag, chooses half a dozen biscuits which he eats, making a napkin of his shirt front, seated most comfortably, and finally, another, hearing the news vendor's cries of *«paper, paper»; Times, Observer, News of the world, etc., etc.*, coming down the corridor, takes sixpence out to buy some gazette and begins to read as much at his ease as if he were in one of those ample London clubs. These are the companions of a journey that can take up to 4 or 6 hours. The Englishman either eats, or reads, or sleeps, but he only speaks when really forced to do so.]

Around this time, other writers also highlighted the brevity of British dialogue as being one of the essences of the 'English', as can be seen in Lopes de Mendonça. In "Recordações de Itália" (*A Semana*, 1851-1852), we find a good example of that major cliché of the hetero-stereotype of the 'English' in the eyes of the Portuguese. The narrator portrays the splenetic British pair who sit facing him on the train to Milan and who only interrupt their silence on arriving at their destination. At this point one of them says "*Come!*" and the other replies "*Go!*": "E foram-se, tendo consumido durante um trajecto de vinte minutos tres letras por cabeça. É um assombro de avareza de palavras: uma especie de capitalisação sobre a voz humana, que as nações meridionais só teem que invejar humilde e respeitosa-mente." (Mendonça, 1851-52: 468)<sup>12</sup> [And off they went, having consumed three letters per capita on a journey lasting 20 minutes. What a wonderment of avarice with words: a kind of capitalisa-

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<sup>12</sup> The author repeats this episode in another of his texts quoted in this essay, "Phisiologia do spleen."

tion of the human voice which meridional nations can only envy humbly and respectfully.]

Years earlier, Alexandre Herculano, another of the founders of Portuguese Romanticism, had already satirised this British peculiarity in the text mentioned before, the autobiographical “De Jersey a Granville”, the result of a painful experience of exile in Britain in 1831, into which the writer was forced because of his Liberal militancy. Describing two of the ‘Englishmen’, his fellow-travellers en route to France, Herculano notes the telegraphic concision of their speech, even counting the number of words one of them utters during the day. The risible number summed up, half a dozen, strikes him as enlightening in their paucity:

Mr. Graham Junior, apenas seu respeitavel irmão cessou de ler, volveu para elle o rosto melancholico, e murmurou depois de um suspiro:

*Aye! – Very good!*

Com os tres Yes precedentes, fazia a conta de seis palavras, ou grasnos, que despendêra naquelle dia Mr. Graham Junior. (Herculano 133) <sup>13</sup>

[Mr Graham Junior, just as soon as his respectable brother stopped reading, turned his sad face to him, and murmured after a sigh:

*Aye! – Very good!*

With the three preceding Yes, it all amounted to six words, or croaks, which Mr. Graham Junior had spent that day.]

But terseness, which very often elicits mordant comments on the mono-syllabic nature of the English language,<sup>14</sup> is merely one of the different facets which were the pretext for the writer to let flow his strong anti-British (Anglophobic) feelings, laughing at the all-powerful Britain led by its capitalist profit logic, riven by pronounced social inequality, domineering in its imperialistic policies. Herculano did not forgive Albion for its hold over Portugal’s recent past and the political and economic

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<sup>13</sup> “Travelling in packed stagecoach was in England a quite different experience from elsewhere. Ludwig Wolff [*Briefe in die Heimath*, I, 21-22] reckoned that he heard not more than a hundred words during the entire journey from York to Leeds in 1833 in company with five other passengers. This would have been barely possible in Germany and inconceivable in France. Among the English it was the norm.” (Langford 177)

<sup>14</sup> On the critical and humorous view of the English language in the periodical press of Portuguese Romanticism, see Castanheira 2003.

influence it exerted on Portuguese life.

The 'Englishman' full of boredom and existential angst despite his material well-being and civilisational progress was also targetted by Herculano's satire, a stance also taken up by many other Portuguese writers.<sup>15</sup> For the rich 'English' consumed with this deep anguish which cast their souls in mourning travelling represented the search for a cure, as many texts published in the periodicals of the time never tired of pointing out in humorous ways. In his novel "Memorias d'um doido" [Memoirs of a Madman] (1849-1850), Lopes de Mendonça refers to the "celebres viajantes inglezes, carregados de *bank-notes*, e de *Spleen*, que passeiam de casaca e luvas brancas, pelas ruinas de Pompeia" (Mendonça, 1849-1850: 541). [famous English travelers, covered in bank-notes and spleen, who, in frock-coat and white gloves, wander around the ruins of Pompeii.]. Some time later, in a text titled "Phisiologia do spleen" (1851) [Physiology of Spleen], he would return to the *landlords*, Members of Parliament and British industrialists who went off to "distrain o *spleen* para Italia, para a Suissa, para Constantinopla, para todos os sitios imaginaveis." (Mendonça, 1851: 2) [distract their spleen to Italy, to Switzerland, to Constantinople, to every conceivable place.]

In "Tres Cartas" [Three Letters] (1862) Júlio César Machado (1835-1890), describing his journey to Victorian London, points in the same direction, but, reflecting on the reasons that led the British to travel so much, he considers that to the desire 'to see the world' was added the desire to flee the 'boredom of English life'. He thus hints at another distinctive trait of *Englishness* to the eyes of foreigners – the monotonous uniformity of the 'English', their unique customs and rituals which made them stand out and become the easy targets of caricature and parody.<sup>16</sup> Outside their island they were able to relax for a time from the rigid etiquette which they imposed on themselves and ignore it as Júlio César Machado observes in the mordant style which characterises him:

O inglez não attende a essa famosa etiqueta, que tanto apre-

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<sup>15</sup> On representations of the splenetic Englishman in the periodical press of the period, see Castanheira 2012.

<sup>16</sup> I quote a note that highlights this English characteristic: "O inglez visita as ruinas de Palmyra de casaca preta e luvas brancas, porque até nessa solidão receia cair no *improper*, que é o eterno *cabrion* da nação britannica" (Machado, 1857: 1) [The Englishman visits the ruins of Palmyra in his black frock-coat and white gloves, because even in that solitary space he fears being found guilty of impropriety, the eternally importunate characteristic of the British nation.]

gôa, senão na sua terra. Na sua terra, todos os escrupulos de bom tom, todos os esmeros de vestuario lhe parecem poucos: na terra dos outros andam como quem vae ao quintal; no seu theatro vellos-heis de casaca e gravata branca, obrigando até os estrangeiros a vestirem-se assim, ou a não lhes ser permittida a entrada; nos theatros dos outros paizes vão elles mesmos de casaquinho de riscado, calça de côr, gravata exotica, e chapêu de palha! (Machado, 1862: 202)

[The Englishman does not heed that well-known etiquette which he so loudly preaches, except in his own land. In his land, every scruple of good manners, every sartorial care seem too little for him: in other people's lands they walk around as if they were going out into the garden; in his theatre you will see him in white tie, making even foreigners dress that way lest they be denied entrance; in other countries' theatres they themselves go in striped calico jackets, coloured trousers, exotic cravats and a straw hat!]

The examples I have provided in this essay make it clear that the Portuguese saw in the Victorian traveller an Other who represented a significant cultural difference. The male British traveller almost always supplied the wherewithal for the caricatured stereotype, reduced to a few traits which made him immediately recognisable for being so original. More, the idea is conveyed that this is an unalterable national type, however much he may have travelled and no matter how many other lands he may have visited; convinced of his superiority (an idea which many British-authored travel narratives helped form), his nomadic instinct leads him to travel everywhere but he returns home unchanged. This precise point is remarked upon in a text entitled "A Litteratura Ingleza" [English Literature] (1860), signed with the single initial M. and published in the Coimbra *O Instituto* [The Institute] where, a propos of the British people, the following is stated: "Não haverá na historia povo mais turbulento na apparencia, e mais immutavel no fundo. Percorre sem cessar os quatro cantos do mundo, e volta como foi; e nos logares, que habita, o que encontra mais curioso é elle mesmo. ("A Litteratura Ingleza" 57) [There can be in history no more turbulent people in appearance nor more immutable in essence. They ceaselessly travel to the four corners of the world, and return just as they were; and in the places they inhabit what they find of greatest interest is themselves.]

British women travellers, very often portrayed as beautiful but cold, impassive, melancholic, are, they too, a source of curiosity given their physical difference and their freer behaviour.

The independence with which they travel on their own aroused surprise. If for conservative minds such emancipation may have come as a shock, for progressive writers it was worthy of praise. In “Excerptos d’uma viagem a Inglaterra. AS. A. AS. S. P. A. M.”, the author of these loosely linked notes congratulates himself on having a beautiful Englishwoman as a travel companion from Richmond to Windsor.<sup>17</sup> Above all, he finds it especially noteworthy that women could travel on their own without being harassed, contrary to what would be the case in Portugal:

Oh! que linda camarada que tenho até Windsor! – vou só com ella na carruagem.

Que nobre costume que é este! – a donzella de dezeseite annos em Inglaterra viaja com tanta segurança e independencia como um rapaz de vinte e cinco. Adoro a emancipação da mulher ingleza. Ninguem se atreve a dirigir-lhe um dicto menos proprio, um gracejo menos conveniente. Entre nós é exactamente o inverso. Uma menina só, é logo considerada uma mulher perdida: não pôde apparecer nas ruas, nos passeios, nos jardins, nos theatros sem um parente, ou pelo menos uma criada, a não querer immediatamente o infundado e estupidissimo anathema de mercenaria do corpo. Nisto está o nosso bello sexo dous seculos atrazado. – Em Londres quasi que não se encontra uma senhora acompanhada d’ homem. (A.A. 164)

[Oh! What a beautiful companion I have until Windsor! – I am the only other person in the carriage.

What a noble custom this is! – The young lady of seventeen in England travels as safely and as independently as a young man of twenty five. I adore the emancipation of the Englishwoman. Nobody dares address a less proper word to her, a less acceptable joke. Among the Portuguese it is exactly the opposite. A young lady on her own is immediately viewed as a fallen woman: she may not come out onto the street, the promenades, the gardens, the theatres without a relative, or at least a maid servant, unless she wishes to draw down on herself the unfounded and very stupid anathema of mercenary of the body.<sup>18</sup> In this the members of our

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<sup>17</sup> Women’s greater mobility is associated with, among other factors, the technological progress made in means of transport, especially trains, as noted by Sidonie Smith: “The expanding mobility of certain women in the middle to late nineteenth century came as an effect of modernity – democratization, literacy, education, increasing wealth, urbanization and industrialization, and the colonial and imperial expansion that produced wealth, and the investment in ‘progress’.” (Smith xi)

<sup>18</sup> A prime nineteenth-century example of blaming the victim.

fair sex are two centuries behind the times – In London you hardly ever encounter a lady accompanied by a man.]

As this excerpt proves, the travel experience promotes a comparative view. Thus, just as this remarks on the fact that British women were freeing themselves from ideas of femininity associated with a sedentary existence in confined spaces, taking up practices that were completely different from those of Portuguese women, other comparisons with Britain slip into the Portuguese mind when pondering the theme of travelling. In a text titled “*Phisiologia do viajante*”,<sup>19</sup> [Physiology of the Traveller], Júlio César Machado, with the mordant wit which characterises him, makes a distinction between the traveller from the North and that of the South, using economic power as a measure: “O caracter do viajante varia, todavia, conforme a nação a que pertence. O homem do norte, e o homem do meio dia constituem dois viajantes totalmente diferentes. O primeiro viaja para gastar dinheiro: o segundo gasta dinheiro para viajar” (Machado, 1857: 1). [The traveller’s character varies, however, depending on his nationality. The man of the north and the meridional man constitute two completely different travellers. The former travels to spend money, the latter spends money to travel.] Clearly, the Portuguese traveller fell into the second category; unlike the British, not having the means to travel around the world and spend the fortune he has amassed, the Portuguese rarely travels but when he does, he is proud and full of himself:

O portuguez não é viajante. Limita-se a viajar até Cintra de sege, até Belem no omnibus, até Cacilhas no vapôr! mas se acaso viajou logo o conhecereis, e logo vol-o dirá: tem certo ar de quem tem a consciencia de haver feito sensação nas terras por onde passou, e não poupa occasião de exclamar no tom proprio de um homem que viu coisas grandes – «quando eu estava em Paris...». (Machado, 1857:1)

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<sup>19</sup> This text had already been published the year before, in June 1856, in the Lisbon journal *O Ecco das Provincias*, but under a different title: “As Festas de Illuminação. Apontamentos de um viajante. Ao meu amigo o Dr. Francisco Manoel de Mendonça, actualmente no Brazil. Capitulo I. Especie de prologo, ou coisa que o valha, em que se faz a physiologia do viajante, e onde o leitor encontrará um tal espirito d’ observação que de certo hade ficar encantado de tão bello capitulo.” [The Lights Festival. Notes by a traveller. Dedicated to my friend dr. Francisco Manoel de Mendonça, currently in Brazil. Chapter I. A sort of prologue, or something similar, in which the author draws the physiology of the traveller, and where the reader will find such attention to detail, whom so beautiful a chapter will surely charm.]

[The Portuguese is no traveller. He is content with travelling to Cintra by chaise, to Belém on the omnibus, to Cacilhas by boat! But if he did indeed travel, you would find out immediately, and he would at once tell you: he displays a certain expression of one who is aware of having caused a stir in the countries through which he travelled and does not begrudge the opportunity to exclaim in the kind of tone used by a man who has seen great things: 'When I was in Paris...']

As we can note, the humorous tone so often used by the writers of the periodical press of Portuguese Romanticism to describe the British traveller and, through him, the 'English' as a people,<sup>20</sup> can be applied to Portuguese reality itself. While wandering around Europe, Queen Victoria's subject became an attraction in and of him/herself and was transformed from someone who sees into someone who is seen; on the other hand, however, the one who looks at him/her is led to set up comparisons by analogy and contrast, this process sometimes resulting in a critical awareness of the looker's identity.

The entire humorous discourse surrounding the features of British travellers and their idiosyncracies should be read against the backdrop of the history of Anglo-Portuguese relations, since it is there that we find most of its justification. Although the two countries were linked by a centuries-old alliance, many Portuguese voices denounced the way Britain harmed Portuguese interests, serving itself. The laughter aimed at the Victorian on his travels thus appears, on a deeper level, as a way of critiquing capitalist and imperialist Britain, the exploiter of those who were weaker, including Portugal. Perceived as a cultural Other, whose peculiarities contributed to the construction in the Portuguese and continental European mind of an image of outlandishness and eccentricity crystallised around stereotyped sweeping statements, very often ridiculed, the Victorian traveller was also taken as a symbol of an economic and political Other, whose interference in Portuguese affairs and the conflicts between the two nations throughout the nineteenth century gave rise to feelings of dislike. In this regard, the prominence given to humour served the wish to punish. As has always been the case throughout history, humour is used as a weapon to attack the

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<sup>20</sup> "Within Europe, the Continental image of the Englishman was largely derived from the encounter with travellers and tourists: the *milord* is represented as a hybrid between gentleman and John Bull, combining 'spleen' and assertive arrogance." (Beller and Leerssen 148-149)

powerful, to humiliate and discredit them for “anyone who can be made fun of, or who can cause us to laugh because of something ridiculous in her/his behaviour beyond her/his control, can be esteemed to have lost something of her/his normality and hence is less worthy of trust and respect.” (Cameron 7).

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MODERNISM'S NOVEL APPROACHES TO THE NOVEL  
IN THE *BOOK OF DISQUIET* AND *ULYSSES*

Madalena Lobo Antunes<sup>1</sup> (IELT)

Can an unpublished book disturb the stability of a category? We know that there is a difference between the novel before *Ulysses* and the novel after it, but that is, in part, because James Joyce became a world-renowned author. To what extent is it useful to discuss the limits of a category in these terms? How can a text that disturbs the stability of a category find its place in the canon?

One of the texts that I will be discussing is not a novel. Nonetheless, it could be. Or more appropriately, it could have been. Its title is the *Book of Disquiet* and its author is Fernando Pessoa. Pessoa is an unusual author to say the least. First, the *oeuvre* of this Portuguese author overcomes and transfixes genre, then, it erupts into authorial confusion. Poets, editors, translators, prose writers, crime-fiction writers, characters constructed with various amounts of detail, have a word, a fictional word, in the literary universe created by Fernando Pessoa; some are authors with detailed biographies, some function simply as pseudonyms, others are proto-authors that never reach a stage of fictional embodiment. Kevin Jackson writes that: "Largely unnoticed by Britain and the rest of the Anglophone world, Portugal has quietly gone about the task of producing at least three of the century's greatest poets: Alberto Caeiro, Ricardo Reis, and Álvaro de Campos" (38). These are three separate

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authors and three separate literary projects with fictional biographies. Besides these three poets, protagonists in Pessoa's literary galaxy, there is also a prose-writer, the author of the *Book of Disquiet*.

Very few of Fernando Pessoa's literary projects were completed. The *Book of Disquiet* is the most obvious example of a megalomaniac undertaking that remains dispersed but has been fashioned into a somewhat solid literary object as a book by posterity. Editors have chosen to organize the texts chronologically or thematically<sup>2</sup>, however, Fernando Pessoa died without making a final decision as to what the book would be and how it would be organized. Even though it never acquired final form, some of the texts that the author indicated as being part of the *Book* were published in literary journals in Pessoa's lifetime. Many of them, however, were left in an envelope marked *Book of Disquiet* as finished texts or fragmentary notes. There is also the question of authorship. Initially destined to be the work of its real author, Fernando Pessoa (cf. Sepúlveda, *Livros*, 2014), the book acquired another authorial mark, that of fictional Vicente Guedes, a decadent aristocrat, prior to its final authorial unity and the signature of the also fictional, Bernardo Soares. In a note precisely about this transition – from Vicente Guedes to Bernardo Soares – Fernando Pessoa writes the following concerning this turning point:

The organization of the book should be based on a highly rigorous selection from among the various kinds of texts written, adapting the older ones – which lack the psychology of Bernardo Soares – to that true psychology as it has now emerged”<sup>3</sup> (*Prose*: 471).

In this way it becomes obvious that the authorial identification of each text is done after its composition.

As Pedro Sepúlveda has shown, Pessoa's character-authors are constantly producing editorial conundrums. Moreover, the creation of fictional characters could have been the natural consequence of Pessoa's desire to organize books and collections of books, a practical solution to bring together the creative chaos

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<sup>2</sup> Cf. Zenith *Desassossego*, 2011, as an example of the first case and Pizarro *Desassossego*, 2010, as an example of the second.

<sup>3</sup> “A organização do livro deve basear-se numa escolha, rígida quanto possível, dos trechos variadamente existentes, adaptando, porém, os mais antigos, que falhem à psicologia de Bernardo Soares, tal como agora surge, a essa vera psicologia.” (Pessoa, *Desassossego*: 509)

forced by the writing of different projects in different genres (cf. Sepúlveda, *Livros* 2014). Pessoa occasionally created fictional editorial roles where fictional editors are to present the works of his fictional authors. In the case of the *Book of Disquiet*, the fictional editor has the same name as the actual author, Fernando Pessoa.

In one of the many prefaces Fernando Pessoa wrote for the *Book* he describes, how he met the fictional writer of the book, inserting himself in the work through a fictional paratextual role. Upon meeting this man, the fictional author of the *Book of Disquiet*, the fictional editor, named Fernando Pessoa, decides that he should publish the book and support Bernardo Soares' editorial endeavour. Fernando Pessoa describes Bernardo Soares in the following manner:

Fairly tall and thin, he must have been about thirty years old. He hunched over terribly when sitting down but less so standing up, and he dressed with a carelessness that wasn't entirely care-less. In his pale, uninteresting face there was a look of suffering that didn't add any interest, and it was difficult to say just what kind of suffering this look suggested<sup>4</sup> (5).

Pessoa underlines Bernardo Soares' inability to impress. Furthermore, he explains why he became the person responsible for publishing this author's work:

Nothing ever prompted him to have friends or lovers. I was the only one who was in some way his intimate. But even if I always felt that I was relating to an assumed personality and that he didn't really consider me his friend, I realized that he needed someone to whom he could leave the book that he left<sup>5</sup> (6).

This socially inept nobody, a scrivener like Melville's *Bartleby*, meets Fernando Pessoa in a restaurant and by chance takes

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<sup>4</sup> "Era um homem que aparentava trinta anos, magro, mais alto que baixo, curvado exageradamente quando sentado, mas menos quando de pé, vestido com um certo desleixo não inteiramente desleixado. Na face pálida e sem interesse de feições um ar de sofrimento não acrescentava interesse e era difícil definir que espécie de sofrimento esse ar indicava (...)." (Pessoa, *Desassossego*: 43)

<sup>5</sup> "Nada o aproximou nunca nem de amigos nem de amantes. Fui o único que, de alguma maneira estive na intimidade dele. Mas – a par de ter vivido sempre com uma falsa personalidade sua, e de suspeitar que nunca ele me teve realmente por amigo – percebi sempre que ele alguém havia de chamar a si para deixar o livro que deixou." (Pessoa, *Desassossego*: 45)

him to visit his house where the assistant-bookkeeper hands him his book. Fernando Pessoa not only takes an interest in the book, but he offers to become its patron. Bernardo Soares is a solitary figure, a discrete writer that scribbles and comments on the events that take place in his insignificant life and random self-analytical thoughts. Fernando Pessoa is the publisher of a recent obscure literary review that Bernardo Soares not only knows but also has read and admires. On meeting Pessoa, Soares is impressed and responds to their literary connection by sharing his otherwise secret book. According to Pessoa-the editor, the book would have perished in nothingness, had it not been for this meeting, due to its author's inability to establish social connections with anyone. There are many incongruities in Fernando Pessoa's description of Bernardo Soares. Pessoa is, in that fictional context, like the narrator in *Bartleby the Scrivener*, an outsider observing an odd man, in this case, one with literary inclinations.

The timeline of the *Book of Disquiet* is a long one. The first-person narrator, the voice that speaks of his attempt to write the book, reiterates his insignificance. Written from 1913 to 1934 as separate texts, some acquiring finished form, others remaining as fragments, the *Book of Disquiet* is under constant revision and transformation throughout Pessoa's life. The earlier texts appear closer in tone to the decadence related to end of century symbolism and to aristocrat Vicente Guedes, whereas the later ones come together as the musings of the narrator-author that I have already mentioned, Bernardo Soares. These are of a particular aesthetic tone that drifts away from symbolism, representing a different kind of personal decadence, the solitude of someone who has almost nothing besides writing, a solitary activity. Bernardo Soares is the character of his own book wherein he repeatedly declares his inability to finish or give substantial form to "his" book. This, of course, mirrors Fernando Pessoa's own problems in giving shape to the *Book of Disquiet*. So, to make this clearer – the character and his creator face the same problem simultaneously – experiencing constant defeat from their writing.

In one of the texts of the book, the narrator claims that it is composed of "his" confessions and in another he describes it as his "factless autobiography". The narrator enables the confusion as to how the book should be characterized in terms of genre.

Returning to my initial questions: seeing as one book or text is not sufficient to trigger the creation of a new literary genre, how can one examine the possibility of the *Book of Disquiet* in

the literary canon? This gesture necessarily implies turning the term 'novel' as category inside out. This can be substantiated by the research begun by Kenneth David Jackson concerning his theory of adverse genres in Fernando Pessoa: "By practicing adverse genres, which are historical literary forms with a diverse or estranged content, Pessoa makes a revolution in the way language is understood, leading a radical revision of Western literary practice" (18). This is Jackson's hypothesis, a theory of everything, so to speak, that could explain Fernando Pessoa's authorial universe. For the same critic it is the *Book's* similarities with the autobiographical genre that bring it closer to the novel: "When read in its totality, the 'Book' as a journal or diary takes on characteristics of the modern novel through character development and becomes an open work of art through its indeterminacy." (167). This inevitably creates instability in the novel as genre and brings about questions as to the novel's capacity for verisimilitude prior to the modernist transfiguration of the genre. The other example that produces a similar effect of bringing instability to the category of genre, *Ulysses*, is held together by a backbone of chapters divided into episodes, with a classical parallel. However, in the *Book of Disquiet* there is no such backbone. In a single novel, *Ulysses*, James Joyce explores several genres, subgenres and styles. Prose, poetry, drama, stream of consciousness, so-called female literature, psychodrama, in a gesture that brings together novelistic characteristics often as parody, as one can see, for example, in the 'Nausicaa' episode in Gerty Macdowell's narration. One could argue, therefore, that Joyce also explores "adverse genres" and makes different genres equivalent, bringing them together in an epic novel and thereby dismissing their hierarchical structure. In *Ulysses* there is a route that can be traced, one can imagine that, if the Odysseus parallel runs its course the novel will eventually end in a space that will very likely resemble Ithaca. In *Ulysses* there is a multiple universe of perspectives, even though it is clear that there is one protagonist, Leopold Bloom, and another very important character, Bloom's desired son, Stephen Dedalus. However, one can also observe a sort of collective abstract protagonist in Leopold and Molly Bloom's relationship. If one accepts this possibility then this could be another one of James Joyce's innovation to the novelistic genre. The novel ends with the voice of Molly Bloom's inner thoughts, even though she is a character with a mostly silent role. Up to that point she is mentioned, described, and even judged, but only in the final pages does she enlighten us as to the problematic issues in her marriage. Molly and Leopold's relationship and the way it intertwines

with Stephen Dedalus' family life (his difficult relationship with Simon Dedalus, his siblings' poverty) is the main topic explored from different characters' perspectives.

James Joyce explores family dynamics and the way they are transformed. In the beginning of the novel, Stephen is struggling to accept his mother's death and the fact that he refused to pray at her deathbed. Her death triggers the alcohol fuelled emotional downfall of her husband, Simon, and Stephen's rejection of his father. This is the Dedalus family's drama. Simon Dedalus, however and unlike Leopold Bloom, has a fascinating public persona and attracts the admiration of his fellow Dubliners. Leopold and Molly Bloom have their own family crisis because they have not had a successful sexual relationship since the death of their son, Rudy. We know this because Leopold Bloom says at one point: "Could never like it again after Rudy" (Joyce, *Ulysses*: 213). Even though this does not mean that he is not a sexual being, it is a burden he carries and one he cannot escape.

*Ulysses* is constructed around social experiences and the expectations created by social conventions and this is brought about by urban coexistence. Desmond Harding considers that:

As Bloom traverses the city (...) the centripetal force of his empathetic consciousness engages with the life of the city; indeed his odyssey evokes and contains life-sustaining memories and desires and much as it chronicles the ambivalent and complex life-work of a metropolis" (134).

James Joyce leads us to interpreting the possibility that Leopold Bloom could become a surrogate father to Stephen Dedalus, and the "Ithaca" episode is the final test of this possibility, but Stephen does not want Bloom to play that role in his life.

As I mentioned before, Bernardo Soares' defining characteristic is insignificance. This becomes the justification for the book never becoming something concrete. He speaks of himself in such terms: "I'm the character of an unwritten novel wafting in the air, dispersed without ever having been, among the dreams of someone who didn't know how to complete me"<sup>6</sup> (Pessoa, *Disquiet*: 227). Here one can see that Bernardo Soares is describing a creator outside of himself, an abstraction, but

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<sup>6</sup> "Sou uma figura de romance por escrever, passando aérea, e desfeita sem ter sido, entre os sonhos de quem não me soube completar" (Pessoa, *Desassossego*: 265)

there is a clear space between the character and its creator, and the creator is an abstract entity. It's as if his insignificance is the natural result of his creator's indecisiveness, his failure. In another text, however, this is not the case:

How I envy those who produce novels, those who begin them and write them and finish them! I can imagine novels by chapter, sometimes with the actual phrases of dialogue and the narrative commentary in between, but I'm incapable of committing those dreams of writing to paper<sup>7</sup> (Pessoa, *Desassossego*: 250).

Soares identifies himself as someone who desires to write a novel but is too inept to conclude it. He is a failure at literature just as he is a failure at life. Nonetheless, he is less of a failure than he claims to be – that is the irony of it all – by writing the book, his book, he proves himself wrong. In another text he explains how at times he feels less real than his surroundings:

Sometimes, when I'm actively engaged in life and have as clear a notion of myself as the next man, my mind is beset by a strange feeling of doubt: I begin to wonder if I exist, if I might not be someone else's dream. I can imagine, with an almost carnal vividness, that I might be the character of a novel, moving within the reality constructed by a complex narrative, in the long waves of its style<sup>8</sup> (Pessoa, *Disquiet*: 245).

In this case lucidity brings uncertainty and a clear notion of self generates doubt. The reader can interpret this as a character coming to terms with his fictionality or a human being accepting his social insignificance. In this case, metaphors are constructed around their literal potential, references destroyed and then reconstructed but in a slightly different manner, and language reiterates the character's ambivalence to reality and the ambiguity of his place in fiction. The more one collects information and reads on the more puzzling it all becomes, most

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<sup>7</sup> “Como invejo os que escrevem romances, que os começam, e os fazem, e os acabam! Sei imaginá-los, capítulo a capítulo, por vezes com as frases do diálogo e as que estão entre o diálogo, mas não saberia dizer no papel esses sonhos de escrever (...)” (Pessoa, *Desassossego*: 285).

<sup>8</sup> “Às vezes, em plena vida activa, em que, evidentemente, estou tão claro de mim como todos os outros, vem até à minha suposição uma sensação estranha de dúvida; não sei se existo, sinto possível o ser um sonho de outrem, afigura-se-me, quase carnalmente, que poderei ser personagem de uma novela, movendo-me, nas ondas longas de um estilo, na verdade feita de uma grande narrativa” (Pessoa, *Desassossego*: 280).

metaphors about the act of writing become litotes. Fernando Pessoa uses fictional layers and language indeterminacy to bemuse the reader's natural desire for coherence.

In fact, the texts of the *Book of Disquiet* are often constructed around *reductio ad absurdum* and the narrator even claims in one of the texts that: "*Reductio ad absurdum* is one of my favourite drinks"<sup>9</sup>. This just adds another layer of irony to an already ironic construction, an inward spiral of doubt. Or, as Álvaro de Campos, one of the heteronyms, described Fernando Pessoa, "a ball of yarn wrapped in on itself"<sup>10</sup>. On one hand, what holds together the texts is an aesthetics of negation, on the other, the fact that the book exists proves that that negation is dubious. As Paul de Man explains, irony can expand and develop as *vertige*:

Irony possesses an inherent tendency to gain momentum and not stop until it has run its full course; from the small and apparently innocuous exposure of a small self-deception it soon reaches the absolute. Often starting as litotes or understatement, it contains within itself the power to become hyperbole (215).

The narrator of the *Book of Disquiet* claims that "novelistic figures, as we all know, are as real as any of us"<sup>11</sup> (344). Evidently this is not true for us, but in Soares' case it might well be. He exists in a fictional universe where he is constantly questioning his own reality and doubling his nonexistence. However, it is his insignificance, his ability to construct himself in his nothingness that has made the *Book of Disquiet*, Fernando Pessoa's most popular book in the Anglophone community. He is the antihero of the office desk fighting a dreary life of routine by failing to write a book. Leopold Bloom is a man with an extremely interesting life in comparison.

The *Book of Disquiet* could be interpreted as Fernando Pessoa's attempt to overcome the novel that he could never have written. Nonetheless, its existence brings up questions as to what the novel is and how one can outline the boundaries of prose-fiction's first-person narratives. If it is not a novel then

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<sup>9</sup> "A *reductio ad absurdum* é uma das minhas bebidas predilectas" (Pessoa, *Desassossego*: 290).

<sup>10</sup> "(...) o próprio Fernando Pessoa seria um pagão, se não fosse um novelo embrulhado para o lado de dentro" (Campos, *Notas*: 42)

<sup>11</sup> "As figuras de romance são – como todos sabem – tão reais como qualquer de nós" (Pessoa, *Desassossego*: 378).

what is it? Clearly it cannot be an autobiographical literary form as there is no possibility of an autobiographical pact with a fictional author. The question will remain unanswered with each new reading raising new questions, making the *Book of Disquiet* an open work of art *par excellence*.

Looking closely now on the initial comparison I made between the *Book of Disquiet* and *Ulysses*, and after having established that the *Book* is a self-referential piece of writing, one can look back on *Ulysses* and observe Joyce's, more subtle than Pessoa's, references to writing. A large part of Joycean exegesis examines "Penelope" as an example of stream of consciousness writing, or as a paramount model for how writing can resemble the "flow" of the mind (Cf. Attridge, 1989). Derek Attridge, however, demonstrates quite clearly, how James Joyce uses graphic marks to illustrate the relationship between writing and thinking in this episode:

"Penelope" is a text that exploits readerly habits to fuse speech and writing, or more accurately to demonstrate the inseparability and interdependence of speech and writing in a literate culture. Though its visual techniques it is able to suggest the unceasing passage of thoughts, impelled by strong opinions, desires, and memories, while at the same time revealing that thought, far from being a pure realm of subjectivity is traversed by the material, differential, and cultural properties of language (552).

That this characteristic of "Penelope" evaded most criticism for so long (Attridge's study dates from 1989) proves how subtle and hidden away some of Joyce's literary innovations really can be.

I will examine now what Fernando Pessoa had to say about *Ulysses*. Only one note on Joyce and on *Ulysses* in particular has been found so far in his literary estate. This being so it can still help us to understand his apparent rejection of it and even to consider the difficulties and prejudices that came about in subsequent criticism. Pessoa writes: "The art of James Joyce, like that of Mallarmé, is an art preoccupied with method, with how it's made. Even the sensuality of *Ulysses* is a symptom of intermediation. It is a hallucinatory delirium – the kind treated by psychiatrists – presented as an end in itself"<sup>12</sup> (*Prose*: 222).

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<sup>12</sup> "A arte de James Joyce, como a de Mallarmé, é a arte fixada no processo de fabrico, no caminho. A mesma sensualidade de *Ulysses* é um symptoma do intermedio. É o delirio onirico, dos psychiatras, exposto como fim" (Pessoa, *Apreciações*: 148).

One can argue that the *Book of Disquiet* is also an example of “an art preoccupied with method” it is a book conceived of texts without a stable organizational principle, most of them concerning the writing of said book. Now taking Pessoa’s ambiguous evaluation of Joyce even a little bit further: is not heteronymy a form of “intermediation”? Is the term “hallucinatory deliriums” so far off from Álvaro de Campos’ sensual and sexual rants in the “Ode Marítima” (“Naval Ode”)? The conclusion one can take from this note on Joyce written by Pessoa is that the Portuguese poet fails to see a point in Joyce’s experimental artistic gestures. Nevertheless, if one analyses the tone that characterizes other texts and notes written by Pessoa on other authors, one realizes that contradiction is an authorial mark of his appreciations of literary texts, especially those of those that could be considered his “rivals”. Pessoa’s possible intentions behind this note on Joyce require a more in depth comparative study, but his desire to manipulate posterity’s evaluation of his own work can not be an excluded factor. One recalls Joyce’s famous declaration on *Ulysses*: “I’ve put in so many enigmas and puzzles that it will keep the professors busy for centuries arguing over what I meant and that is the only way to insure immortality” (Ellmann: 501), an intention that Pessoa might have shared with Joyce but that the Portuguese poet never admitted with such blatant honesty.

This study only sheds a light on some of the ways which James Joyce and Fernando Pessoa overcame the boundaries of the novel. To this day one cannot affirm with complete certainty that the *Book of Disquiet* is a novel, nevertheless, its implications into the transfiguration of the genre cannot be ignored. *Ulysses* is more widely accepted as a novel, a consensus that the exegesis has had to admit so that it could move on to the more hermeneutically demanding, and therefore more “open” to new readings and innovative interpretations, *Finnegan’s Wake*. One can, nonetheless, accept that both Pessoa and Joyce were pioneers in the destruction of the mostly plot-oriented novel of the past, giving birth to an age of the character. Exploring character through language in its most human dimension: by depicting incoherent minds reacting to life and social conventions as they appear: a life of social improvisation and survival.

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A VOZ DO MINEIRO [THE MINER'S VOICE]: RAISING  
WORKING-CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS IN A BRITISH-OWNED  
MINE IN SOUTHERN PORTUGAL – A DISCURSIVE APPROACH

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## **1. Introduction**

*A Voz do Mineiro – Órgão dos Mineiros Portugueses Aderentes à Federação Mineira Internacional* [The Miner's Voice – Organ of the Portuguese Miners Affiliated to the International Miners' Federation], a monthly owned by the SOIM São Domingos [São Domingos Mine Workers' Syndicate], first came out on 22 February 1930 and lasted little less than two years. A total 21 issues of 500 copies each were released on the first of every month<sup>1</sup>. As the official newspaper of the miners' syndicate, it played an important role in raising the miners' political and social consciousness in one of the districts in Portugal most stricken by poverty, unemployment, hunger and social injustice. The periodical helped them realize that they were not alone in their plight, and that their fight for better working and living conditions, as well as for a fair day's pay, was part of a wider struggle for human emancipation that was playing out across Europe and the world.

The organisation, which counted over seventeen hundred members in July 1931, also took the responsibility for representing the workers in their talks with Mason & Barry Limited, the English registered mining company that had been awarded

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<sup>1</sup> There is an inconsistency in the sequence of issues. No issue was published in June 1931, and so issue no. 16 only came out in July. However, August saw the publication of issue no. 18. Therefore, issue no. 17 was never released. The final issue of December 1931, numbered 22, should in fact be 21.

the mining concession in 1858<sup>2</sup>. With its head offices in London, the company's executive board showed little sensitivity to the claims of the Portuguese miners and their dire economic situation. In fact, the miners' fight against the power of the company was, from the outset, asymmetrical and their chances of success were indeed rather slim. This, however, did not deter them. In fact, the company's lack of responsiveness appeared to corroborate the organisation's thesis that more unity and resolve were needed on the part of the workers, not only to force the hand of the company at a local level, but also to counter capitalist oppression and exploitation worldwide.

This paper aims to analyse the discourse of *The Miners' Voice*, in particular the means by which it exploited representations of capitalism (and of its physical embodiment, the English company), constructed the identity of the workers, and sought to raise their social and political consciousness, deemed necessary to develop a culture of intervention and action under the principles of syndicalism. It also looks into the political purposes that lay behind these discursive strategies, as well as into the historical circumstances that framed the actions of the key stakeholders.

## 2. The Newspaper's Political Room for Manoeuvre

*The Miner's Voice* joined the handful of Portuguese periodicals belonging to similar organisations that were already in circulation. That was the case in Oporto of *Vanguarda Operária* [*Workers' Vanguard*] (first published in 1929), and in Lisbon of *A Voz dos Marítimos* [*The Mariners' Voice*], *O Proletário* [*The Proletarian*] (1929), *O Ferroviário* [*The Railway Man*] (1925), *O Eco Metalúrgico* [*The Metallurgical Echo*] (1925) and *O Tipógrafo* [*The Typesetter*] (1880). *The Miner's Voice* exchanged issues not only with the above titles, but also with periodicals associated with political organisations – the weekly *República Social* [*Social Republic*], the official organ of the Socialist Party (1921), and with local republican periodicals, namely *Ala Esquerda* [*The Left Wing*] (1925) and *O Porvir* [*The Future*] (both from Beja, 1906), *O Serpense* (Serpa, 1884), *A Velha Guarda* [*The Old Guard*] (Guimarães, 1910), and *A Voz Republicana – Órgão Democrata Anti-Clerical* [*The Republican Voice – Anti-Clerical Democratic*

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<sup>2</sup> The company would continue its operations of extraction of manganese, copper and pyrites at this western end of the Iberian Pyrites Belt until the mid-1960s.

*Organ*] (Entroncamento, 1923?). From across the border, the newspaper used to receive copies of *El Socialista* (Madrid, 1886), considered to be “the axis of the Spanish labour journalism” (Checa Godoy, 1989: 73) and *El Fraternal* (Huelva, 1930), the miners’ official organ belonging to the *Unión General de Trabajadores*, whose chief editors, Julián Zugazagoitia and Ramón González Peña respectively, would be elected Members of the Cortes for the PSOE in the 1931 general election. Another important anarchist magazine, *La Revista Blanca* (Barcelona, 1923), was also quoted on the pages of the Portuguese newspaper.

This exchange of copies between newspapers and magazines ended up forming, along with the sharing of news and articles (some of them translated), an international information network of critical importance to the labour movement. It turned it into a community endowed not only with a collective identity (grounded in the existence of common ideas, experiences and goals), but also with the power to work together and plan joint actions. It also allowed them to find a discursive counterpoise through the negotiation of meanings and the maintenance of a common repertoire of symbols. Actually, the readers of *The Miner’s Voice* were invited to visit the newspaper office and read from this repository of titles, which was also a way of adding legitimacy, credibility and veracity to its discourse.

This does not mean that information was free to circulate. In Spain, Primo de Rivera, still acting within the purview of the Press Act of 1883, had established in 1924 the “Oficina de Información y Censura” [“Bureau of Information and Censorship”], which kept strict control over the publication of any political material (Costa Fernández, 2013: 388-9; Green & Karolidis, 2005: 540). In Portugal, the situation was not that much different. The monthly from São Domingos was blue-pencilled by the Censorship Board, although at that time the ideological surveillance of the National Dictatorship was far more permissive than the 1933 constitution and the subsequent decree-law 22469 came to allow. The latter piece of legislation, which embodied a new conception of the State, reflected Salazar’s tightening grip on Portuguese society and his drive to suppress civil liberties and all forms of ideological dissension. Its Article 3 read: “censorship will only aim to avert the perversion of public opinion in its function as a social force. It must be exercised so as to defend it from the factors that turn it away from the truth, justice, morals, good governance and common good, and to prevent an attack on the fundamental principles of the organisation of society.” However, by the beginning of the thirties the regime still appeared to be disinclined to question

the freedom of expression consecrated in the Press Act of the First Republic. Passed on 28 October 1910, it permitted the discussion and criticism of bills, political and religious doctrines, acts of the government, corporations and bodies serving public functions, with a view to enlighten and prepare public opinion for the necessary legal reforms (Article 13)<sup>3</sup>.

Therefore, despite the fact that the Military Dictatorship had suspended the republican constitution of 1911, this legal framework provided the room the organisation needed to drive home their Left message without having to encounter strong opposition from the Government. Nevertheless, one must bear in mind the fact that, in the context of the political tensions of the thirties, *The Miner's Voice* also served the interests of the regime, paradoxical as it may seem, at least in three important respects.

To start with, the organ offered the miners the space they needed to vent their discontent with the way the company was being run and to speak up against the evils of capitalist exploitation and oppression. The alarming levels of destitution in their local community lent credence to their arguments. This emphasis on local conditions helped to take some pressure off the government, as it diverted the readers' focus away from the discussion of the public policies that should be implemented to address social inequalities and injustices. No doubt, the Censorship Board was instrumental in suppressing any news that might put the spotlight on the vulnerabilities and shortcomings of the government, thus succeeding in silencing those inside the syndicate willing to use the monthly to overtly antagonize political decision-makers. This discursive blind spot, however, does not mean that the miners were themselves supportive of the government or that they were unable to realize the degree to which the National Dictatorship was responsible for the state of affairs in which the country found itself.

The newspaper also served to keep an eye on the miners' intentions. It was a question of making sure that labour issues were being properly addressed inside the company and that they would not turn into large-scale labour disputes affecting other economic sectors. In fact, by allowing these periodicals to circulate, the government was able to measure tensions and anticipate unrest. Prior access to the content of what the newspaper wanted to publish allowed the government to quantify the degree of radicalisation that existed inside the syndicate and thus

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<sup>3</sup> Anyway, this did not stop the First Republic from trying to strangle the syndicalist movement in its first years of existence.

prevent more politically dangerous views from seeing the light of day. On the other hand, those news revealing the subservience of the syndicate to the government would usually take the front stage, as when petitions were addressed to the President of the Ministry in the most respectful terms (for example, issue no. 10, December 1930). In any case, the Military Dictatorship had already inflicted the *coup de grace* on the syndicalist movement back in 1927 when it dissolved the “Confederação Geral do Trabalho”(CGT) [General Confederation of Labour] – founded in 1919 – and, shortly after that, banned the right to strike. Not that the regime was interested in completely suppressing the syndicates, as they knew that these bodies could serve as a means to keep the labour movement in check. So much so that in the 1933 constitution and in the National Labour Statute the syndicates would be integrated into the corporative organisation of the State.

Finally, it helped divide the Left in its fierce attacks on the communists and criticisms directed at the Soviet Union. As it was to be seen later in the failed attempt against Salazar’s life on 4 July 1937, the combined efforts of anarchists, syndicalists and communists would always pose a real menace to the security of the State (Madeira, 2013). Such threat could only be defused by fostering animosity and deepening the division between these radical opposition groups. Unlike the anarchists, syndicalists were not committed to dissolving the State, although they recognized that the extant despotic bureaucratic structure, functioning as the main tool of capitalist of oppression, could not lend itself to reform. Despite the organisation’s repeated calls for unity, the theoretical divisions of the Left between the syndicalist, anarchist and communist movements would surface on the pages of the monthly and the regime knew that, while they existed, the likelihood of concerted action being taken would be very low, although not necessarily negligible. Besides, the syndicalist movement in Portugal lacked proper articulation (the regime had already solved that problem with extinction of the CGT) and its inability to offer a credible political solution to the dictatorship paved the way to the success that the message of *Reviralthismo* would have, despite its consecutive failures, among the Portuguese workers. Ramiro da Costa (1979) once referred to the latter as a form of bourgeois ideology that had taken hold of the vanguard of the labour movement, in order to subordinate it to the interests of the republican bourgeoisie, which was desperately seeking to win back the rights lost in the 1926 coup.

### 3. Mason & Barry and the Creation of a “Colonial Space”

The existence of a syndicalist movement in this part of the Portuguese territory can only be accounted for by the industrial development that the English company had brought about from as early as the 1860s. The transformation of the human and physical landscape was remarkably swift. The open air excavation began in 1867. The purpose, in the words of James Mason, was “to diminish the cost and facilitate the mining; to be able to increase rapidly the production, if necessary, and to allow the pulling out of all the ore with less danger for the miners”. This would entail “the cutting away of the sterile earth covering the mass to the depth of 32 metres” (Mason, 1865: 11). Besides the installation of mining equipment and the construction of a 17-kilometre-long railway from the mines down to the staithes on the Guadiana River in Pomarão, a whole new village was built on site to replace the original mining village located in the area of excavation. The latter project followed the principles of the model villages, a type of settlement that first appeared in Britain in the late eighteenth-early nineteenth-century to house the workers in the vicinity of the workplace and that offered integrated community amenities. The two impounding reservoirs built there represented an important feat of engineering while electricity, the telegraph and later the telephone and the cinema marked a major technological leap forward.

Demography also underwent significant changes as people from other parts of Portugal (namely, the Algarve and the Beiras), the neighbouring Spanish province of Huelva (Andalusia), Piedmont (Italy), and Britain flocked to São Domingos to settle and work in the mines (Guimarães, 2005; Garcia, 1996). As it used to happen in other parts of the world, the small community of British expatriates, most of them technical experts in charge of running the mining operations and the administration, held on to their customs and traditions, and never dropped their social codes and cultural practices (Silva, 2012). As Bill Nasson reminds us, these communities remained “stiffly aloof from their host society” (2004: 101), and were therefore unable to integrate themselves into the native communities.

The economy of the towns and villages around the mine and down the Guadiana River (in particular Vila Real de Santo António) equally benefited from the continuous investments that were being made by the English company at several levels. Nevertheless, the impact was, to a certain extent, limited. As Garcia points out:

The hypothetical social and economic development of the border region, which would result from the mining exploitation and from the profound modifications of the traditional river navigation, materialized into changes heavily dependent on the conjuncture, which in itself did not allow for the emergence of original and autonomous fluxes potentially able to leverage other economic activities (1996: 653; my translation).

On the other hand, the pitmen's living and working conditions could be deemed satisfactory. In fact, the effects of the mining activity and of the sulphur factory on both the environment and human health were in many respects devastating. Ore treatment, aimed to increase the concentration of metal, include roasting, flotation and leaching. These processes invariably resulted in the emission of sulphurous gases and in the formation of acid waters, causing irreversible damages in the local ecosystems, contaminating the air, soil, phreatic water and nearby waterways. The absorption of the chemicals through the skin or through the respiratory and digestive tracts would also leave indelible marks on the human body. Little was known at the time about the full consequences of human exposure to these high levels of contaminants, and therefore effective preventive measures were barely adopted.

Considering the type of transformations that the territory and the communities underwent during the mining cycle, Garcia did not hesitate to classify the Lower Guadiana as a "colonial space" (1996: 653). Almost nine decades earlier, the republican journalist and writer Albino Forjaz Sampaio, in his *Crônicas Imorais [Immoral Chronicles]*, had made a similar point about the colonial logic that governed the relationship between the company and the territory – a logic grounded not only in appropriation, but also in subordination, racial difference and disenfranchisement. São Domingos, he argued, was nothing but a factory ("feitoria" – or trading post) where the miners were treated like "slaves" by the company's own police, who "armed with beautiful rifles, latest model, (...) watch over the masters' sleep in the dark of the night, finger on the trigger, while the miners grapple with hunger" (1909: 35; my translation).

## **4. The Miner's Voice: Discourse in Action, Action Through Discourse**

### **4.1. Drawing the (Editorial) Line**

The first issue featured an editorial where the main lines of the periodical were laid down:

As the champion of the class interests, this newspaper will not be a disordered organ, but rather the concise voice of the workers' just aspirations, the guarantor of the continuity of the work of the SOIM, and the intrepid defender of reason and justice that, based on the morality of facts, intends to bring to the knowledge, not of the whole world, but of our fellow brothers, the existence of this humble and hard-working class that tears the entrails of the earth apart to seize, with their hands deformed by misery, the precious metal that fills the safes of the masters, who, producing nothing, own everything, including the spirit of hangmen, which prevents them from pitying the miner's cadaverous wife in rags and their half-naked, bare-footed children, who keep begging for alms while their father, holding a pick-axe or pushing a wagon, drags himself under the crust of the earth and in the darkness of the mine (Issue no. 1, February 1930; my translation).

Dramatic scenes aside, the editorial manages to set the ideological tone of the new periodical in its first sentence, while conveying at least seven fundamental messages to its readership: (a) the movement needs stability and order (the "newspaper will not be a disordered organ"); (b) the organisation must remain coherent with its past as it builds a future strategy (the newspaper is expected to be "the guarantor of the continuity of the work of the SOIM"); (c) the values that it upholds stem from a critical observation of social reality (the so-called "morality of facts"); (d) social evils are the product of sheer greed (they "produce nothing", and yet "own everything"); (e) capitalism lacks morality and is indifferent to human suffering; (f) Portuguese society in general, and the working class in particular ("our fellow brothers") must be made aware of the dire consequences of capitalist oppression; (g) the syndicate is the only means by which this state of affairs can be stopped. Not once in this first editorial is there a single reference to the Government, which is also indicative of the silence the Censorship Board would impose on the newspaper for the duration of its existence. However, indirect exposure of political repression surfaces every now and then, as when the newspaper launches fund-raising campaigns to alleviate the suffering of the families of people who were either in prison or being persecuted for what was euphemistically referred to as "social reasons" (issue no. 7, August 1930).

A Manichean logic – which is typical of the period anyway (the ultra-left policy of the so-called "Third Period" of the

Comintern would last from 1928 to 1934) – governs the editorial line from the outset, dividing the world into two apparently irreconcilable camps. As in all Manichean models, reductionism operates through the simplification of complexity and the identification of the sources or causes of what is being explained. This allows the individuals to conform social reality to a set of predetermined (sometimes dichotomous) categories and notions. Relying on mutually exclusive dichotomous categories, as was the case in *The Miner's Voice*, not only brings a sense of coherence about the world, but also helps to define the moral grounds on which to base one's actions. By ignoring the irreducible complexity of the social phenomena, individuals are also less prone to question such categories and merely act in terms of antagonistic positions of conflict. Moreover, this simplification veils those contradictions threaten the very model – as seen in the calls for unity while attacking other Left organisations, in particular the communist.

The construction of the miners' identity around the category of class is based on the same Manichean logic. In the light of the tenets of Althusserian structuralism, Michel Pêcheux (1982) proposes the existence of three distinct mechanisms, all of which are clearly discernible on the pages of the newspaper through the representations that are made of the different actors. The first of them is identification, which occurs when individuals freely consent to the subject position positively valued by discourse. The constant references to the international workers movement, and, on specific occasions, to the Spanish anarcho-syndicalist CNT and the Miners Federation of Great Britain (MFGB) are instances whereby Portuguese miners could see themselves as belonging to one single international class, whose interests and demands were the same regardless of country, language or culture. The second mechanism is counter-identification, which is the firm rejection of, or opposition to, a negatively marked subject position. In a syndicalist periodical like this, the bourgeoisie, as the first economically dominating class and the driving force of capitalism, is depicted as the true enemy of the proletariat and the main opponent of social change. However, other actors moving within the orbit of the dominating class were also condemned: scant labourers; informers, here metaphorically referred to as "patos reais" [literally the "mallards"]; and the "amarelos" ["yellows"], the *agents provocateurs* who sought "to manipulate and disrupt the organisations they infiltrate" (Milne, 2004: 350). Although less justifiable in the light of the anti-capitalist discourse of the newspaper, the communists and the Soviet Union are equally exposed on a number

of occasions. Russia – “where there is no freedom of the press,” where the government system is “oppressive and tyrannical” (issue no. 21, November 1931), and where dissenting “voices are silenced by imprisonment and death” – is ruled by “tyrants” who “defrauded the revolution” (issue no. 22, December 1931).

In both identification and counter-identification processes, individuals remain locked in a mode of thought that perpetuates the system they intend to abolish. Pêcheux would have argued that counter-identification alone does not suffice to give rise to a truly revolutionary subject position. This can only happen when a third mechanism enters into play, namely disidentification, which “constitutes a working (transforming-displacement) of the subject form and not just abolition” (1982: 169). This means that the miners would have to be able to envisage not just a whole new social order, but also new subject positions beyond the ones imposed by the ideological boundaries of the capitalist mode of production. In this respect, an organ of the syndicalist movement as was *The Miner’s Voice* would have had no problem in providing the critical stance the individuals needed to take that ideological leap. However, this would have entailed a radically new vision of society and censorship was there to avoid any such ideological excesses. Still, the way in which education and knowledge were valued on the pages of the newspaper already shows that the syndicate knew what it took to free the miners from the ideological pull of the capitalist system.

#### **4.2. Raising the Voice in the Denunciation of Social Injustices**

*The Miner’s Voice* was particularly derisive of British capitalism. In issue no. 5 (July 1930), an article allegedly written by one of the miners, Carlos Marques, sought to denounce the global reach of what he called the “economic imperialism” of British capitalism. As he wrote:

Whoever takes the trouble of learning more about the political and economic geography of the world will certainly realize that three fourths of the planet are under the grip of European capitalism. To be more specific, England – the first colonial power in the world – with its dominions in Canada, Australia, southern and western Africa, British India and most of the Pacific islands, as well as concessions and privileges in several politically independent countries. Everywhere is the domination of British capitalism to be felt. Canada provides them with wheat and furs; Australia

with wools, its main product; South Africa with wools and copper; and India with spices and cotton.

Portugal's subservience is also brought up:

In all corners of the Earth, the English influence manifests itself to a greater or lesser extent and even in our country the main riches of the subsoil and the flourishing industries of transport and communications, of coal, of oil and essences, are run in obedience to London and the pound sterling.

Race and discrimination provides the main explanation for this supremacy:

Being politically liberal, England is, in the economic field, the biggest oppressor and tyrant. Those forty million inhabitants who people that small island surrounded by St. George's Channel, the North Sea and the English Channel have in their midst the shrewdest and sliest creatures of the human race. They know how to make concessions with their natives, the English proletariat, because they are sure that three hundred and fifty million slaves, who are the ones who people their colonies, work and moan under the most brutal weight of exploitation.

Then criticism turns into indiscriminate attack on everyone, including the unemployed:

This is why England is a well-governed country and its two million unemployed stroll around and play football joyously and carefree, without any concerns whatsoever for their economic situation. These phlegmatic people, brought up under materialistic principles, have succeeded – through intelligence, cunning and force – in subjugating humanity, making it nuzzle the sludge of moral, material, and, in some aspects, political subordination.

Unsurprisingly, calls for unity and international solidarity do not include the English worker:

What imperialist capitalism – be it of England or be it of any other country – is capable of can be seen in the miserable situation of the "coolie" in China, of the "sudra" in India, and of the natives in Africa. Like the situation of animals harnessed to the "riper", when they dare raise their heads and challenge their slavery, they immediately feel the presence of the machine gun, the police and the

asphyxiating gases. It is therefore important that the proletariat in the whole world open their arms in a brotherly embrace and organize themselves in a fraternal way. Blacks or yellows, reds or whites, we are all men, and by natural instinct of creation we all possess the innate feeling of life and family (my translation).

The newspaper's attacks on capitalism also rested on the exposure of social problems associated with its modes of production, in particular unemployment, alcoholism, prostitution, venereal diseases (issue no. 11, January 1931), illiteracy, slavery (meaning absolute dependency on the company's meagre wages for survival), poverty and hunger (in particular in Aljustrel, after seven hundred workers were laid off (issues no. 8, October 1930, and no. 14, April 1931). Besides, the discussion of some of these evils – prostitution, alcoholism, illiteracy – served a pedagogical purpose, since it would be up to the workers themselves to find the means to fight them off:

Amongst the several festers that shake today's society, prostitution is undoubtedly one of the most conspicuous and that must call our attention.

Due to the terrible structure of the capitalist system, prostitution keeps rising as it becomes more and more difficult and bitter for people to live their lives honestly.

As a matter of fact, the unmarried woman or the widow surrounded by children usually earns, as a result of their almost always exhausting activity, such a miserable scant pay that it cannot cover expenses with food, let alone all the other needs.

Not living, but vegetating in her martyrdom, her gaze is constantly stumbling upon the prostituted woman, luxuriously dressed and rich in her adornments, and the contrast that she sees entices her and leads her down the path of doom.

The solution lay in the hands of the workers:

It is therefore *our duty, as conscientious proletarians*, to carry the materials needed for the construction of a new society that will eliminate not only prostitution, but also all the other evils that plague humanity and that are, after all, the logical outcomes of a rotten and decrepit social structure (issue no.18, August, 1931; my translation and my italics).

The other problem that needed to be urgently dealt with was alcohol abuse, and again it had to be the workers' responsibility to act together and end this scourge:

Amongst the dens of disgrace that contribute to the general

malaise of humanity, maybe the tavern comes first for the repugnant purpose for which it was created, and for the fact that in the heads of its customers – minds disturbed by vice, true automata – predominate ideas that almost always originate fatal dramas. (...) Therefore, this moral degradation in which we live must disappear, and as such it is urgent that people who are not addicted deviate those who are, and that the latter, in their normal moments, reflect on the future of their generation, as one of the most awful consequences of alcohol is moral degeneration, unfortunately so abundant among us (issue no. 2, April 1930; my translation).

The only way to escape this grim reality would be, as it was often argued, to earn higher wages. However, the constant threat of reductions in the number of working days per week due to what the company claimed to be reductions in prices of minerals would also implicitly result in cuts in wages. The arguments of the company appear to be realistic. In a letter addressed to the syndicate, Mason & Barry acknowledged that production had increased from 1930 to 1931 (issue no. 19, September 1931: 1). However, they also argued that such an increase had entailed more costs, and that, due to the uncertainty of future shipments, the company would not be able to satisfy the miners' demand for higher wages. Nevertheless, a closer analysis of the figures of the world market for pyrites shows that was not exactly so. In fact, the prices of pyrites increased significantly from 1930 to 1931. According to the data in the *Minerals Yearbook*, 1935, pyrites imported into the United States from Spain rose from 325,992 long tons – corresponding to a value of \$891,352 – in 1930 to 327,771 long tons – worth \$1,386,457. This means a 64% increase in the price of pyrites. Although they dropped by 38% in 1932 (\$637,526 / 241,178 long tons), they would rise again by almost 9% in 1933 (\$995,551 / 341,878 long tons) and again another 9% in 1934 (\$1,162,574 / 346,974 long tons) (Ridgway & Mitchell, 1936: 1026). These values must have not been that different in relation to the imports from Portugal. To the arguments advanced by Mason & Barry, the syndicate would oppose the record price of £100 a ton that copper had reached that year.

On the other hand, despite the fact that there were percentage differences in the prices of pyrites from country to country (the same source also shows differences in the imports from Canada and the USSR), wages varied in the order of multiples. The newspaper would compare figures so that its readers could have an idea of how far exploitation of the Portuguese miners went. In the issue of July 1931, they stated that the Portuguese

were earning significantly less than the pay of two pounds a week that was being demanded by the English miners. At an exchange rate of PTE 18\$00 a pound, this meant that wages in Portugal (namely in S. Domingos, Aljustrel and Louzal, corresponding roughly to a universe of six thousand workers), which varied from 10\$00 to 12\$00 a week, were less than one third of what was being paid in England and approximately one half of the amount paid to Spanish miners (see issues nos. 2, April 1930; 16, July 1931; and 18, August 1831).

Curiously enough, in spite of the ongoing tensions between the SOIM and Mason & Barry Limited, the miners' relationship with the mine manager and the other English staff appeared to be cordial and respectful. The newspaper quoted the head of the engineering department, a Mr. Arthur, who sought to show his sympathy for the country and the workers in the following terms:

[He] spoke of his love for Portugal and above all for the workers of this mine where he has been living for the past 21 years. He told me he has always fought for the poorest and, unless it is a backslider, he has rarely punished his workers. He is sorrow for the miners' terrible economic situation, and he also deplored the fact that many workshop professionals have not been dedicating themselves to learning more about their professions, so that they can be qualified to work wherever they decide to move (issue no. 16, July 1931).

One may always wonder what had led him to "punish" his workers, even if only "rarely", but in relation to the SOIM, he would add that "he had never spoken evil of the syndicate" and that he "thinks it is fair that the workers have their own associations to defend their interest". Even when the newspaper announced that Mr. Brown, the Chair of the Administrative Board of Mason & Barry was visiting the mine, the syndicate said that they wished him to learn more, not only about the precarious economic situation of the majority of the workers, but also that they were trying to make their "best efforts to make all workers committed to being more concerned about their production" (issue no. 13, March 1931). Nevertheless, every now and then the company would let the miners know what they thought of the syndicate, namely that the latter wanted "to run the industry" (issue no. 3, May 1930). The syndicate rebuffed such an accusation, but they did not hesitate to claim that they formed the only "unsurmountable trench" to defend the miners' interests against their employers (issue no. 1, February 1930).

### 4.3. A Voice Speaking in Defence of the Miners

Equally important in the discursive strategy of the newspaper was the discussion of those aspects that the syndicate believed to be essential in the positive construction of the miners' identity. Here the syndicate takes the centre-stage. The syndicate, it is argued, is not just an organisation where workers take their complaints or where they will find someone who will intercede in their behalf. That is, according to the SOIM, a misconception similar to the belief that people have in God's intervention. The syndicate "is you, me, and him – is everyone who lives from their wages, is all of us who suffer, (...) because we work so that others may take advantage of it..." That is why instead of asking "what does the syndicate do?" or "what is the syndicate for?" workers should be asking "what are we to do?" and "what are we for?" (issue no. 20, October 1930). This can be read as a call for the conscious involvement of the worker in the cause, but it can also be understood in discursive terms as a move towards the universalisation of the subject by resorting to an inclusive "we".

In this respect, the international dimension of the movement, namely the syndicate's affiliation to other national and international bodies, namely the National Miners' Federation and International Miners' Federation respectively, proved to be a decisive card. The newspaper opened the door to the world by showing that the miners of S. Domingos, Aljustrel and Louzal were not isolated from the rest of the world and that theirs was a universal struggle: other workers like them, facing similar economic situations, were also struggling with the conditions imposed by the mining industry in many other countries. That is the reason why they lent their ears to what labour leaders like Arthur James Cook (the General Secretary of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain) and Manuel Llaneza (founder of the *Sindicato de Obrero Mineros de Asturias* [the *Asturian Miners' Syndicate*]) had to say (issues no. 4, May 1930, and no. 7, September 1930, respectively). Therefore, the attempt to develop and articulate their class-consciousness was not exclusively a matter of building their identity on opposition to capitalism: it is also a matter of building it on the unity that was believed to exist among workers worldwide. Unity and solidarity (even with political prisoners), and not simply their hatred of capitalism, should be their strength. As the syndicate once beseeched, "Open to the working-class generation the road to Freedom" (issue no. 5, July 1930).

This “road to Freedom” and to the workers’ emancipation was to be the outcome of their own struggle, and not a mere concession from the State or from the capital. In fact, although *The Miner’s Voice* acknowledged that the government had passed laws in defence of the workers, it also had to recognize that no minister or secretary was actually committed to enforcing them (issue no. 16, July 1931). Despite this criticism, the syndicate avoided direct clashes with the government. In blatant contradiction to their claims above, on the same page another article entitled “Politiquice” [roughly meaning “small-town politics”] reads: “To us, workers, who have no direct intervention in the affairs of the State, and therefore no responsibilities in such affairs, only very superficially are we interested in international politics.”

Without this involvement in the affairs of the State, how could the syndicate ever expect to see their values thrive? Public health and social prophylaxis, women’s rights, local and regional development, safety at the workplace, and mutualism – all of these concerns keep surfacing on the pages of *The Miner’s Voice*. However, the one that best reflects the hope for a future change of society is education. There is an ingrained belief in the perfectibility of the human being and in social regeneration and only education can guarantee that such goals can be successfully achieved. And this, they had to concede, could not be done without the State playing a decisive role. The syndicate’s vision of education is not that far from the principles that underpin public education nowadays: investment in infrastructures, teaching quality and equal opportunities for both the rich and the poor. A propos a campaign launched earlier that year by *Diário de Notícias* [*News Daily*], Sousa Furtado would argue on the pages of *The Miner’s Voice*:

The campaign of *Diário de Notícias* is most useful and necessary. (...) This movement, which is bound to have a socially regenerating effect, must persist until it rivets the country with schools.

Is money needed? There is no lack of it... All we need to do is to reallocate public expenditure for useless or harmful purposes and apply the money in education and child assistance, providing clothing, food in school canteens and books to all poor children.

(...) the primary schools we are looking for must follow the modern pedagogic principles, with the introduction of a comprehensive school system for both the poor and the rich.

The poor, whose condition is to work, could guide their innate tendency towards the profession or art that best suit their temperament, hand in hand with the intellectual skills acquired in school.

The rich, whose condition is to lead a lazy life, could join – besides their other intellectual courses – the professional courses that best suit their talent, thus becoming equally useful and necessary to a balanced society.

And since everything is moving towards a new world, if the above was done, we could avoid bloody fights in the transition from this decaying society to a society ruled by education and work – those two cornerstones on which the free and voluntary agreement between men of good will is built (issue no. 22, December 1931; my translation).

## 5. Concluding Remarks

*The Miner's Voice* had a relatively limited political room for manoeuvre. On the one hand, it could not overtly antagonize the regime. Since the newspaper was being censored by the government, it was not only prevented from serving a more subversive purpose, but was also compelled to deny the very “political” matrix of the syndicalist movement, as when they argued that it was not their intention to interfere with the affairs of the State. The truth was that the frailties of the syndicalist movement in Portugal in the late twenties-early thirties prevented organisations like the SOIM from taking more decisive actions, namely strikes and demonstrations. Moreover, their overt attacks on the communists corroded their calls for working-class unity.

On the other hand, the newspaper could not meet the mining company head-on, as the company was constantly threatening with less working days, and kept insisting on the volatility of the market to justify their refusal to raise the miners' meagre wages. The chances of fostering local and regional development rested entirely on the company's presence in this part of the Portuguese territory. The local communities knew only too well that they could not rely on the government in Lisbon to start pouring money into a region that, except for its mining activity, had always held only a peripheral importance.

In spite of these limitations, the newspaper provided the miners with the signifiers they needed to construct both their identity – based on the notion of a universal subject – and the narrative of the syndicalist movement – engaged as it was in a universal struggle for human emancipation. It also sought to drag them out of the cave of ignorance and misery, and restore their hope and faith in humankind. It did so by allowing them to catch a glimpse of the world to come, of a new social order the miners could dream of,

something that could make all their efforts and sacrifices count, if not for them, at least for their children.

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## “THE ENCHANTMENTS OF THE PORTUGUESE COUNTRYSIDE”: ESCRITA DE VIAGENS E PROPAGANDA TURÍSTICA<sup>1</sup>

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### Introdução

Produto da parceria entre Ann Bridge (pseudónimo de Mary Dolling O'Malley<sup>2</sup>) e Susan Lowndes Marques<sup>3</sup>, *The Selective Traveller in Portugal* representa um exemplo paradigmático da escrita de viagens nascida das multisseculares relações entre

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<sup>1</sup> Este artigo resulta, em larga medida, da investigação levada a cabo no 2º semestre do ano lectivo de 2014-2015, para o Seminário “Problemáticas em Línguas, Literaturas e Culturas” (Doutoramento em Línguas, Literaturas e Culturas da Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas da Universidade Nova de Lisboa), sob a orientação da Professora Doutora Teresa Pinto Coelho.

<sup>2</sup> Mary Ann Dolling Sanders O'Malley (1889-1974), fruto da relação entre James Harris Sanders (1844-1916) e Marie Louise Day (1852-1923), estabeleceu-se em Londres em 1904, tendo casado, no dia 25 de Outubro de 1913, com o diplomata Owen St. Clair O'Malley (1887-1974). Acompanhando o marido, que havia sido, em 1945, nomeado embaixador britânico em Portugal, a embaixatriz escreveu, conjuntamente com Susan Lowndes, *The Selective Traveller in Portugal* (1949). Tendo-se convertido ao catolicismo em 1948, a autora inglesa (utilizando o pseudónimo Ann Bridge) publicaria, ainda, obras como *Frontier Passage* (1942) e *The Tightening String* (1962).

<sup>3</sup> Nascida, em 1907, em Londres, Susan Antonia Dorothea Priestley Lowndes, filha do jornalista Frederick Lowndes (1868-1940) e da escritora Marie Belloc Lowndes (1868-1947), visitou Portugal, pela primeira vez, no Verão de 1938. Em permanente contacto, por via materna, com figuras como Arthur Conan Doyle (1859-1930), Herbert Henry Asquith (1852-1928) e Winston Churchill (1874-1965), a autora casou-se, no dia 14 de Dezembro de 1938, com Luiz Artur de Oliveira Marques (1898-1976), director do semanário *The Anglo-Portuguese News*. Chegada a Lisboa em 1939, Susan colaborou com diversos jornais ingleses, tendo escrito, a par de *The Selective Traveller in Portugal* (1949), *A Practical Guide to Fátima* (1950). A escritora católica acabaria por falecer, no Hospital Inglês de Lisboa, em 1993.

Portugal e Inglaterra. Integrada na colecção *Windows on the World* – cujo público-alvo era constituído, embora não só, por turistas ingleses –, a obra levanta uma extensa panóplia de considerações a respeito do olhar do “Eu” britânico sobre o “Outro” português.

Ainda que tenha conhecido, no decorrer das décadas de 50 e de 60, um notável êxito no plano internacional (factor responsável por múltiplas reedições), o livro foi, em larga medida, ignorado em território luso pela opinião pública e, curiosamente, pelo Secretariado Nacional de Informação, Cultura Popular e Turismo (SNI). À inexistência de críticas na imprensa portuguesa da época (Vicente, 2006: 227), junta-se a actual escassez de estudos académicos dedicados a analisar o texto na sua total complexidade enquanto artefacto literário e cultural. De facto, para além das referências que lhe são feitas por Ana Vicente em *Arcádia: Notícia de uma Família Anglo-Portuguesa* (2006), a obra (apenas traduzida, para a língua portuguesa, em 2009) é brevemente analisada na tese de doutoramento *O Olhar das Palavras do Turista Britânico: Representações de Portugal nos Livros de Viagens, 1950-2000* (2011), da autoria de Valentino José Carvalho do Vale Alves, bem como no ensaio, redigido por Jorge Pinho, “ ‘The Selective Traveller in Portugal’: Anacronismos e Peculiaridades de um Olhar sobre Portugal” (2009). Assim, o trabalho aqui projectado propõe-se contribuir para, de algum modo, complementar estudos anteriores, mediante a análise (à luz da época em que o livro foi escrito, publicado e difundido) das estratégias utilizadas por Ann Bridge e Susan Lowndes para perspectivar um Portugal que, como se terá ocasião de demonstrar, se encontraria bem distante da realidade.

Partindo de uma abordagem que se insere claramente no âmbito dos Estudos Anglo-Portugueses, não se pretende apresentar um estudo exaustivo da obra nascida do trabalho conjunto das autoras anglófonas, mas sim uma leitura crítica do discurso (relativo ao Portugal salazarista de finais da década de 40) por elas adoptado. Visa-se, assim, expor por que meios o constante recurso a estratégias literárias correspondentes, em larga medida, às convenções do bucolismo poético não só propagandeia a sociedade rural portuguesa, como denuncia também as ansiedades e preocupações dominantes na Inglaterra de finais do século XIX e primeiras décadas do XX.

Cumpre, nesta senda, recordar os Estudos de Imagem. Inicialmente bipartida em duas linhas de investigação distintas – desenvolvidas pela escola francesa de J.-M- Carré e M.-F. Guyard e pela escola de Aachen, onde se destaca o nome de Hugo Dyserinck (Simões, 2011: 18) –, a imagologia estendeu-se

aos grandes centros de pensamento europeus no decorrer da década de 70. Postulando a necessidade de desconstruir o discurso resultante do encontro (conjuntivo ou disjuntivo) entre o “Eu” e o “Outro”, a imagética literária invadiu, nos meios académicos portugueses, o campo da Literatura Comparada através de obras como *Literatura Portuguesa, Literatura Comparada e Teoria da Literatura* (1981) e *Da Literatura Comparada à Teoria da Literatura* (2001), de Álvaro Manuel Machado e Daniel-Henri Pageaux.

O exame das imagens literárias criadas sobre o estrangeiro encontra-se inteiramente ligado à análise do léxico imagístico utilizado para traduzir não só uma eventual alteridade, mas também o contexto político-cultural em que esta se situa (Machado e Pageaux, 2001: 55). Efectivamente, a aplicação de repetições, bem como de determinados vocábulos e adjectivos, salienta o cariz simbólico da linguagem seleccionada para dizer o “Outro”. Recordem-se, a propósito, as palavras de Álvaro Manuel Machado e de Daniel-Henri Pageaux:

Eu “olho” o Outro – mas a imagem do Outro veicula também uma certa imagem de mim mesmo. É impossível evitar que a imagem do Outro (...) [surja] também como a negação do Outro, o complemento, o prolongamento do meu próprio corpo ou do meu próprio espaço. Queremos dizer o “Outro” (...) e, ao dizer o “Outro”, negámo-lo e dizemo-nos a nós próprios. De certo modo, dizemos também o mundo que nos rodeia, dizemos o lugar de onde partiu o “olhar”, e o juízo sobre o Outro: a imagem do Outro revela as relações que estabelecemos entre o mundo (...) e eu próprio (2001: 53).

Resultado de uma deslocação que tem lugar não só no espaço geográfico, mas também na ordem sociocultural e na própria mente (Machado e Pageaux, 2001: 36) –, a escrita de viagens revela-se um frutífero campo de trabalho:

(...) toda a escrita de viagem é retrospectiva. (...) o viajante tenta recompor um fragmento de autobiografia, um texto estranho, no qual se misturam observação e imaginação, estando o eu que escreve descrevendo a sua viagem ao lado do eu que viaja, alternando o eu íntimo com o espaço percorrido, descrito. O viajante tem de reviver, de reencontrar uma série de momentos dispersos da verdade de si próprio e, ao mesmo tempo, de não se esquecer da unidade da viagem em si mesma (Machado e Pageaux, 2001: 42-43).

O viajante – ao mesmo tempo narrador e personagem

– rodeia-se dos instrumentos necessários para que o seu relato adquira uma dimensão invariavelmente subjectiva. Em detrimento do método da observação empírica, o “Eu” que olha projecta no “Outro” que é olhado não só o seu enquadramento pessoal, como também o horizonte de expectativas do(s) leitor(es) a que se dirige.

Por todas as questões anteriormente referidas, dificilmente se poderá passar ao lado de *The Selective Traveller in Portugal*. Decorrente da literalização do olhar do “Eu” inglês sobre o “Outro” português, a viagem romanceada subentende (e torna imperiosa) uma análise à luz dos pressupostos dos Estudos de Imagem.

Para uma melhor esquematização, o presente trabalho dividir-se-á em dois momentos considerados fundamentais. O primeiro – “A Construção da Arcádia em *The Selective Traveller in Portugal*” – centrar-se-á nos aspectos bucólicos do guia de viagem. No segundo, intitulado “A Promoção Turística no Estado Novo”, procurar-se-á analisar, como o próprio título indica, o carácter propagandístico da obra de Bridge e Lowndes.

## **1. A Construção da Arcádia em *The Selective Traveller in Portugal***

Contactada, em 1947, pelo seu agente literário, Ann Bridge encetou, conjuntamente com Susan Lowndes, a tarefa de redigir um novo guia de Portugal. Dividido em quinze capítulos, *The Selective Traveller in Portugal* procura dar a conhecer as viagens das escritoras a turistas britânicos. Após uma breve introdução aos momentos históricos por elas considerados de maior importância – entre os quais se destaca uma curiosa referência ao que entendiam por era vitoriana portuguesa (Bridge e Lowndes, 1949: 18) –, o livro foca questões como o clima, a religião, a flora e a arqueologia, a par do quotidiano dos homens e das mulheres que povoavam as aldeias (Vicente, 2006: 224-225).

O retrato esboçado pelas viajantes é facilmente identificado com o bucolismo. Com efeito, as escritoras cantam e estereotipam a vida dos agricultores, bem como as paisagens que os enquadram:

The Portuguese as a race have many charming characteristics, but none is more delightful (...) than their attitude to work (...). They make a festival, a gay and social occasion, of all the principal operations by which crops are secured to man's use. Beating the trees and gathering the olives becomes a family picnic (...).

(...) they come with music, guitars and tambourines, and, men and women together, sing and dance their way along the dusty roads towards an agreeable and lucrative (if arduous) employment (Bridge e Lowndes, 1949: 24-25).

Assim, celebrando a união do humano com o mundo natural, as autoras (ao abordarem os costumes da sociedade rural) idealizam a vida campestre como “an agreeable and lucrative (if arduous) employment”.

Convirá salientar que a sociedade portuguesa continuava predominantemente rural, sendo tal característica consolidada nos primeiros decênios do Estado Novo e atingindo uma inquestionável expressão demográfica (Baptista, 1996: 944). Contudo, a agricultura esteve na origem de vários conflitos que se desenvolveram, no Portugal de 1940, entre os proprietários agrícolas e os trabalhadores com ou sem parcelas de terra:

São vários os sinais para que as autoridades vão alertando o poder central: sabotagens do caminho-de-ferro perto de Elvas; incêndio de vagões carregados de artigos para exportação em Alhandra; inúmeros casos de fogo posto (navios de trigo, armazéns com mercadorias de exportação, matas, pastagens, lenhas, palhas, alfaias, etc.). Ao mesmo tempo verifica-se por todo o país (...) roubos de fruta, lenhas e capoeiras [,] razias de espigueiros e tulhas [,] desaparece o ferro das ramadas e das noras, somem os carros de água (Rosas, 1994: 363).

Indissociável da escassez de géneros (resultante, em parte, do racionamento imposto pelo Governo durante o segundo conflito mundial), o descontentamento generalizado dos anos 40 – que se traduziu não só em roubos, sabotagens e incêndios, mas também num surto de greves, manifestações e motins – rapidamente alastrou a milhares de camponeses. Como consequência da manutenção das “más condições de vida e de trabalho”, articulada com o “relativo sucesso das lutas”, o período compreendido entre 1945 e 1949 assistiu ao prolongamento da agitação nas regiões onde se encontrava a maior parte dos assalariados rurais e das organizações políticas clandestinas (Freire, 1996: 406-408). Contudo, Bridge e Lowndes, aparentemente alheadas das greves rurais que percorriam o país, fundem, sob o signo ilusório da referencialidade objectiva, a memória e a imaginação (Rocha, 1992: 46-47), perspectivando um Portugal muito mais vinculado à Arcádia do que às duras, difíceis e claramente visíveis circunstâncias da época.

Por outro lado, *The Selective Traveller in Portugal* implica

frequentes e acerbas críticas à indústria e à urbanização. Neste panorama, justifica-se sublinhar que, na Grã-Bretanha da viragem do século XIX para o XX, a promessa de melhores condições de trabalho nas áreas urbanas, a modernização das técnicas agrícolas e a depressão que se fez sentir em meados da década de 70<sup>4</sup> contribuíram para incrementar o já antes crescente êxodo rural. Impossibilitando o desenvolvimento equilibrado, a franca expansão da mancha urbana de Londres (que, em 1911, contava já com 7 300 000 habitantes) traduziu-se num alastramento de zonas de pobreza muito mais avassalador do que o visível na maioria das capitais europeias (Morgan, 2009: 474).

Articulada com um acentuado decréscimo da importância do sector primário para o PIB inglês, a urbanização intensificou-se ao longo do século XX. Esbatendo a dicotomia cidade/campo, a alucinante expansão de zonas citadinas realçou a hierarquização das classes sociais, por um lado, e, por outro, as desigualdades no âmbito do acesso à educação e aos cuidados de saúde (Thompson, 1990: 77). A grandiosa e simultaneamente paupérrima Londres salientava os profundos contrastes da sociedade urbana inglesa, colocando em questão tanto o estatuto do império, como a supremacia do que se considerava ser a “raça” britânica. Desta forma, cumpre mencionar as constantes críticas de Ann Bridge e Susan Lowndes ao desenvolvimento de aglomerações urbanas, contrapostas a igualmente frequentes elogios à vida idílica dos campos portugueses:

One of the enchantments of the Portuguese countryside is that there one can see life as it was lived in England when England was still merry, say in the 17<sup>th</sup> or early 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. Conditions are leisurely, since the country has not yet been organized on an industrial basis, and if the villagers are often illiterate, their standard of communal enjoyment is exceptionally high. (And if that is not a desirable “standard of living”, what is?) Not only is work itself turned into an occasion for festivity and jollification, but jollifications pure and simple are freely undertaken (Bridge e Lowndes, 1949: 30).

Tendo em vista o horizonte de expectativas do público-alvo

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<sup>4</sup> Aquando de 1870, as más colheitas, aliadas à abertura das pradarias norte-americanas – cujas características permitiam um cada vez mais acelerado e barato transporte de mercadorias –, resultaram na “great depression”. Exceptuando o leite, o feno e a palha, os produtos ingleses (de entre os quais se destaca o grão) sofreram vigorosos golpes por parte da concorrência estrangeira (Morgan, 2009: 477).

a que se dirigem (constituído, em larga medida, pelas classes média e alta britânicas provenientes de meios urbanos), Bridge e Lowndes exploram a tensão entre a cidade e o campo. Convidando o leitor a cooperar activamente na interpretação do seu universo simbólico, esta visão arcadiana do Portugal da década de 40 pressupõe um olhar retrospectivo e nostálgico para uma alegada idade de ouro, ao mesmo tempo que comenta o presente. Leia-se, a propósito, a descrição da Nazaré:

NAZARÉ (...) is one of the most fascinating places in Europe (...) because of its inhabitants. (...) the whole place has a strange peace and dignity, a sort of serene self-containedness – “The world forgetting, By the world forgot.” – (...) Most of all is the visitor aware of the antique peace and remoteness towards sun-down, when those strangely-shaped boats are coming in round the headland beyond the bay, and the women sit in black circles on the white sand, the shawls hiding their gay skirts, awaiting the return of their men, like Norns, or some beings from another world (Bridge e Lowndes, 1949: 141-142).

Reportando-se à mitologia nórdica, a obra postula a fuga terapêutica do viajante para um passado edénico vinculado, em larga medida, à incorruptibilidade da vida rústica.

Recorde-se, então, o enquadramento histórico-cultural de Mary O'Malley e Susan Lowndes. Ainda que a obra seja desenvolvida e publicada entre 1947 e 1949 – anos marcados pelas políticas de Clement Attlee<sup>5</sup> no âmbito do planeamento urbano –, a embaixatriz e a sua companheira haviam abandonado Inglaterra em 1925 e 1939, respectivamente. Assim (sem esquecer as esporádicas visitas ao país natal), Bridge e Lowndes reflectem criticamente sobre a Grã-Bretanha da viragem do século XIX para o XX, elogiando o campesinato português:

Portugal is still, thank goodness, mainly an agricultural country: something like three-quarters of its population of nearly seven and three-quarter million people are engaged in agriculture in one sort or another (Bridge e Lowndes, 1949: 22).

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<sup>5</sup> Líder do Partido Trabalhista no período compreendido entre 1935 e 1955, Clement Attlee (1883-1967) nasceu em Londres, no seio de uma família de classe média. Formado na Universidade de Oxford, Attlee geriu a organização de caridade Haileybury House, tendo, ainda, participado como Capitão na Primeira Guerra Mundial. Nomeado primeiro-ministro britânico em 1945, Attlee criou o Serviço Nacional de Saúde, procedendo também à nacionalização de diversos ramos da indústria inglesa.

A relação dialogante entre o “Eu” (não só autor, mas também actor) e o “Outro” traduz-se no desdobramento do sujeito. Sob a máscara de uma pretensa veracidade, as escritoras – evocando o seu sistema de referências – recriam-se e revelam-se, projectando-se na representação do “Outro” português (Rocha, 1992: 46-52).

## 2. A Promoção Turística no Estado Novo

Um país de “turismo saudável, campesino, [que] deve satisfazer as exigências mínimas do viajante sem (...) perder (...) o seu carácter lírico, familiar” (Ferro, 1948: 48), o Portugal perspectivado por António Ferro (1895-1956) ecoa as palavras proferidas por Joaquim Roque da Fonseca na comunicação “Portugal, paiz de turismo” (1933). Importa, então, sublinhar que o discurso profundamente simbólico de *The Selective Traveller in Portugal*, ao invés de apelar somente ao horizonte de expectativas da alta burguesia e da aristocracia britânicas, revela-se de cariz propagandístico. A este propósito, leia-se a tradução de uma das cartas enviadas por Mary O’Malley à sua companheira:

A vida no campo em Portugal tem aspectos muito curiosos, dado que a sua economia é quase igual à dos tempos bíblicos. Ainda por cima, o Ministério da Informação e da Propaganda ficaria decerto muito contente com um livro deste tipo, porque estão a apostar no turismo. Também precisamos de um bom mapa, talvez o velho Michelin seja o melhor, porque já constatei pessoalmente que os publicados actualmente estão repletos de incorrecções (Vicente, 2006: 225).

Assim, as escritoras procuraram enquadrar o guia da colecção *Windows on the World* na estratégia política do SNI. Na senda de Hilaire Belloc<sup>6</sup>, tio de Susan Lowndes (autor que havia chegado a Lisboa em 1939 com o intuito de escrever, a pedido do antigo Secretariado de Propaganda Nacional, um livro laudatório do regime vigente em Portugal), as viajantes enviaram exem-

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<sup>6</sup> Nascido em 1870 na comuna francesa La Celle-Saint-Cloud, Joseph-Hilaire-Pierre-René Belloc é o irmão mais novo de Marie Belloc Lowndes (mãe de Susan Lowndes). Após a concessão da nacionalidade inglesa por naturalização, o poeta, historiador e ensaísta tornou-se membro do Parlamento britânico como liberal e, mais tarde, independente. Antes da sua morte em 1953, Hilaire Belloc publicou *Europe and the Faith* (1920) e *The Modern Traveller* (1898).

plares de *The Selective Traveller in Portugal* ao então Presidente Óscar Carmona (1869-1951), a António de Oliveira Salazar (1889-1970) e a António Ferro, bem como a outros membros do governo português (Vicente, 2006: 46-48).

No entanto, o texto não recebeu quaisquer críticas na imprensa portuguesa da época e nenhuma editora se ofereceu para o traduzir e publicar. Ainda que a obra tivesse sido ignorada aquando da sua publicação, o SNI comprou, em 1956, quinhentos exemplares de outro livro que plagiava *The Selective Traveller in Portugal* (Vicente, 2006: 226-227). Ao que parece, o tom paternalista das autoras poderá não ter sido do agrado de António Ferro. Com efeito, estabelecendo uma relação dialéctica entre um “Eu” civilizado e um “Outro” primitivo, as autoras adoptam um discurso colonial, ao mesmo tempo que evocam a multissecular dicotomia Norte/Sul:

As far as agriculture is concerned, Portugal has indeed an almost biblical economy still: reaping, gleaning, threshing the grain, fetching the water – all are done as they are described in the Old and New Testaments (...). Europe is sharply divided into countries where man digs *away* from himself, as in the British isles, and *towards* himself; Portugal belongs in the second category, and the peasants use a sort of magnified hoe with a blade as large as a normal spade, set at right angles to the long handle, to dig their fields (Bridge e Lowndes, 1949: 26-27).

Tendo em vista “a criação de uma arte nacionalista, [o] aprimoramento dos padrões estéticos da sociedade, (...) [e] o aperfeiçoamento do gosto” (Paulo, 1996: 357), o antigo director da revista *Ilustração Portuguesa* estaria longe de concordar com uma imagem de Portugal em posição de menoridade face à velha aliada inglesa. O posterior afastamento do chefe da propaganda (nomeado ministro plenipotenciário de Portugal em Berna e, mais tarde, em Roma) pode justificar o renovado interesse do Estado Novo pelo livro de 1956.

Complementando os dados atrás aduzidos, impõe-se observar as palavras de Terry Gifford. Na senda de Raymond Williams em *The Country and the City* (1973), o autor de *Pastoral* (1999) afirma que o recurso ao bucolismo e a construção multissecular da Arcádia desaguam frequentemente em reflexões de cariz político-social:

There is a sense in which the English pastoral has always been able to make criticisms of the establishment, whilst at the same time warning against a radical disturbance of the social or-

der. (...) The retreat from the urban world of court and commerce, where riches are valued, not only provides an opportunity for criticizing material values, but implies that others should not aspire to them. (...) *The Shepheardes Calender* (...) is an interesting example of this double function (Gifford, 1999: 52).

À luz dos pressupostos acima aflorados, a análise do texto de Bridge e Lowndes revela, desde logo, uma função alegórica semelhante à exercida pelo pastor Piers em “*The Shepheardes Calender*” (1579). Elogiando a vida campestre portuguesa, as autoras contemplam com aparente satisfação o campesinato, razão pela qual impedem o leitor de questionar as relações de poder vigentes no Portugal dos anos 40. Acresce que, ao ecoar os desejos do SNI, *The Selective Traveller in Portugal* adopta um papel preventivo contra a possibilidade da disrupção da ordem social.

## **Conclusões**

Desdobrando-se naquele que observa e no que é observado, Bridge e Lowndes desenvolvem uma “miragem” do Portugal salazarista da década de 40 (Machado e Pageaux, 2001: 61). Ora, as imagens projectadas por um sujeito (hierarquicamente superior, inferior ou, até, semelhante) de um objecto implicam relações de poder, devendo ser entendidas como decorrentes de um processo de mediação:

Images are not just a particular kind of sign, but something like an actor on the historical stage, a presence or character that parallels and participates in the stories we tell ourselves about our own evolution from creatures “made in the image” of a creator, to creatures who make themselves and their world in their own image (Mitchell, 1986: 9).

Permanentemente condicionado pelo momento histórico-cultural em que foi produzido, o discurso do “Eu” a respeito do “Outro” é, não raro, um acto agressivo de apropriação. As seguintes palavras de Christopher Prendergast explicam a ideia acima enunciada: “if representation is the process whereby ‘a’ stands for ‘b’ (...), by what authority does it do so? The question then is a question about authority in representation, though inevitable (...), is not only alienating but also oppressive” (2000: 8, 9). O investigador deverá, como tal, desconstruir as imagens perspectivadas por quem olha a alteridade, expondo, simultaneamente, os processos através dos quais estas representações

são produzidas<sup>7</sup>.

Procurando capitalizar a campanha turística lançada pelo regime de Salazar na década de 40, o tipo de discurso adoptado pelas viajantes revela-se de teor propagandístico. Concebido para influenciar uma determinada audiência e a ela apelar, a propaganda é entendida, por Mark Wollaeger – autor de *Modernism, Media and the Propaganda. British Narrative from 1900 to 1945* (2008) –, como um discurso que visa persuadir uma audiência a agir em conformidade<sup>8</sup>. Veiculando uma representação da sociedade rural portuguesa susceptível de persuadir os turistas britânicos e o próprio SNI, *The Selective Traveller in Portugal*, de Bridge e Lowndes (um artefacto cultural indissociável da época histórica em que foi produzido e publicado), abarcando uma série de implicações político-sociais, edifica imagens sem qualquer correspondência com a realidade do Estado Novo.

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# RECENSÕES CRÍTICAS REVIEWS

LANDEG WHITE: *LETTERS FROM PORTUGAL*.  
KONDWANI PUBLICATIONS, 2014

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Landeg White's new book is full of poetry and poetic epistolography to tell us again some stories about Portugal, *from* Portugal. No one wants letters or poems FROM Portugal these precarious days. We are not good news to anyone in the world anymore and no one wants to hear FROM us. Nonetheless, we could only wish that all good news FROM Portugal could equal Landeg White's news translated into poems and letters.

These are letters from a man of letters and not from a common traveller to this country, so we must expect from these readings not travelling logs or discourses of one occasional journey but a strong reflection from a man of letters that has absorbed Portuguese culture as part of his own life. He teaches literature, he writes literature, he translates literature, and all those instances are summoned into this book, which, from its "Foreword", claims the right place for writing poetry:

Language as metaphor was the original  
take, which the linguistics dodged  
as too fuzzy for classification, tip-toeing  
round the elephant in the classroom  
in their hunt for the scientific rigours  
of semantics, morphology, syntax, etc.  
But I was happy with the imagination  
with nouns as names and verbs what  
they were doing, anything beyond  
(as Aristotle has said) being argument

by analogy, some uses of metaphor outranking others.

These opening lines mark White's poetic strategy without a hesitation. We will need to come back to the classics to understand the form of the poem as the play of meaning and its stylization; we will need to go back to the power of imagination, so that we can understand that poetry is not an academic subject matter to take to the laboratory so that a scientist or a teacher of literature can determine which truth it conceals, or which lines should be examined in order to validate a hypothesis.

This position will close the book, so that the reader will not forget that in poetry the power of indeterminacy is stronger than the power of prediction, or academic prescription of any solution for how to write, how to set up meaning or how to read from an outline already created. Poetry is against all determinacy, and this cry is all over White's book.

The intromission of the narrative into poetic discourse, which is so intense in many contemporary poets, Landeg White included, does not signify the death of lyricism but rather the exploration of new formats for poetic text, which tend to increasingly conform to the orality of everyday discourse. At the same time, contemporary poetry has almost lost its pastoral side to give itself up to the world of the city, civilisation, and urbanity, where every form of language convenes. It is in such a way that we read the poetry of Landeg White, which is marked by the urban acculturation of the poet to Portugal and its habits, as can be examined in previous books like *Where the Angolans are Playing Football: Selected and New Poems* (2003) and *Arab Work* (2006).

In *Letters from Portugal*, we are again reliving the way to transform an experienced life story or just a piece of it into a poem or a poetic letter. These poems/letters are also personal chronicles, because narrative poetry does not have to restrict itself to a unitary form of expression. It also does not necessarily constitute writing as exile in relation to the limits of poetry. I've been calling this tendency of narrative poetry to establish a discourse which requires other discursive forms in order to develop, using techniques from narrative fiction without wishing to adopt the respective fictionality, *narrotics*. In this book, I choose a quite surprising short poem to illustrate the triumph of *narrotics*. Many contemporary poets have been surprising me with unexpected themes, but I think that it is the very first time a poet writes about the result of a student's exam *em branco*, as in the poem "A show of fine words". This brilliant piece about

nothing written and nothing taught (both student and teacher were awarded “zero”) has a new meaning when transformed into a poem: unlike the student and the teacher, a poet cannot be awarded a “zero” in words, even though if a blank page can be read as a masterpiece of literature or anything else, depending on how we see it, and how much imagination we can use to fill in the blank page.

These days, literary theorists like myself will praise books like *Letters from Portugal* as true representatives of a new post-modern self-reflexive discourse. This book epitomizes the post-modern nerve to summon literature up to its own representation, in other words, *Letters from Portugal* is a splendid book of poetry about poetry itself and all its allies and enemies, all its readers and users, all its interpretations and deconstructions. We have it all here and Landeg White is laughing, seriously, and professionally, at all this, standing from above, in his special balcony, as it is illustrated in my favourite picture in this special edition, enriched by the fine art of António Bandeira Araújo. This is the postmodern version of Eça de Queiroz’s dinning group at the Trindade in late nineteenth century, but while Eça laughed at literature at dinner parties amongst friends, White is laughing at literature from the place where it is created, discussed, and interpreted, that is why any academic or writer can be beckoned to poem to participate in this outstanding aesthetic showbiz, as in “Letter 5”:

But I come  
to the poetry with a guilty secret, I,  
Camões’s impresario to America,  
Conjuring his eloquence even in English,  
am chilled by Fernando Pessoa. (...)  
Eça de Queiroz,  
on the other hand, is a writer whose hand  
I’d be proud to have shaken. He’s  
a device of placing an Englishman  
in the restaurant corner, or in a side box  
at the *São Carlos*, dispassionately  
observing his Portuguese characters  
most volubly on display. I have been  
that Englishman many time. (...)

This book is a “show of fine words” *from* Portugal, written by that Englishman of the nineteenth century with a postmodern eye, not only to Portuguese eyes but to the world’s. You will find here stories about Lisbon, Camões, Eça de Queiroz, Portuguese

scholars, Portuguese politics, many Portuguese words smoothly entering the discourse at any moment, and of course *bacalhau à Brás* always present. But this is a book of the world as well, where you will find news from Africa, from English Romantic poets, from nightingales, from daises, from literary practitioners and theorists, international literary allusions and many voices known and unknown echoing everywhere. We still need this kind of foreigner poetry made from inside our own culture if we aspire to know our own true identity.

## ABSTRACTS

1. Miguel Alarcão, **“‘Identity Matters’: Notes Towards a(n) (In)Definition of ‘English’ Identity in the Report on the Conquest of Lisbon (1147)”**

Drawing collaterally upon terms and concepts of contemporary culture(al) studies, this article seeks to read *De Expugnatione Lyxbonensi* – the longest account of all those written on the conquest of Lisbon (1147) – in the light of possible historical-(con)textual marks of an Anglo-Norman (or perhaps still English and Norman) identity, rather than just (or already)an ‘English’ one. In fact, what makes sense is, in our view, that undefined(inable?) degree of (in)differentiation or ethnic “hybridity”, signaling the reshaping of ongoing identity processes under way and at work in mid-12<sup>th</sup> century England.

2. Karen Bennett, **“‘Like a Candle under a Bushel...’: Rhetorical Identities in Portugal and England (16<sup>th</sup>–21<sup>st</sup> centuries)”**

This paper offers a historical approach to the oft-remarked differences between Portuguese and English writing styles, tracing their particularities back to the Early Modern period when Protestant and Catholic identities became differentiated not only through religious practice and dogma, but also through their attitudes to architecture, art, dress and indeed rhetoric. Of the three Classical styles of rhetoric, the English Protestants adopted the Plain style as the only one suitable for the new scientific knowledge that was in the ascendancy, while Catholics, led by the Jesuits in the context of the Counter-Reformation, became identified with the Grand style – the verbal equivalent of the ornate Baroque in architecture and art. The paper looks

at several moments in history when these two rhetorical attitudes came into conflict, finishing with a brief discussion of the rhetorical dilemma facing humanities authors in Portugal today in the context of globalization.

3. Mariana Gonçalves, **“Travelling through Portugal at the End of the Seventeenth Century: William Bromley’s Impressions of the Portuguese Kingdom”**

In 1694, moved by the “love to foreign travel”, the English gentleman William Bromley travelled through the Iberian Peninsula and in Portugal visited Lisboa, Coimbra, Aveiro, Porto, Guimarães, Braga, Viana do Castelo, Caminha and Vila Nova de Cerveira. At that time, Portugal maintained good relations with England, due to an alliance between the two nations that had been established by the marriage, in 1662, of Charles II of England to the Portuguese *infanta* D. Catarina de Bragança, sister of the new King D. Pedro II, and that helped Portugal to strengthen its independence from Spain. This paper aims to analyse how this English traveller observes the Portuguese towns and people, as well as their way of living and presenting themselves and their country. By accompanying Bromley’s physical journey from Lisbon to the North of Portugal on his way to Spain, the reader may also sense constant movement, as Bromley does not much expand his written account about any town in particular, mainly describing a few elements and customs that caught his attention and quickly moving on to the next destination. Some examples of topics imprinted in this traveller’s mind, given that he chose to mention them, are the summer country houses, the University of Coimbra, the main products traded by Portugal, or the way Portuguese women and men dressed and their fiery temper. This account allows us to see how an Englishman at the end of the seventeenth century perceives this Other, the Portuguese, and how his opinions about the country and its people, which are mostly very negative, result from the clash between English and Portuguese sensibilities and manners.

4. Laura Martínez-García, **“A Defence of Whig Feminism in Centlivre’s Portuguese Plays *The Wonder! A Wom-***

***an Keeps a Secret (1714) and Mar-plot; or the Second Part of The Busy Body (1710)***

This paper explores Lisbon's role in two of Centlivre's Portuguese plays and argues that the capital was chosen as the setting of these works, not just for comedic or literary reasons, but as a symbol for the author's political ideas and as a tool to explore the power struggle between two social systems. Although Lisbon seems to be a very plausible meeting place for the English, Portuguese and Spanish, a place where the three nations met and carried out their business transactions, it is also chosen as an exotic location where sexual intrigues and tales of seduction are commonplace. Furthermore, and more interestingly, Lisbon has a deeper dimension which makes these plays take on a more profound meaning: the city acts, first, as a distancing tool that allows for the creation of a *déplacement* that is the perfect vehicle for the author's criticism of Tory conservatism and her defence of Whig politics. Secondly, and more importantly, the city, as the meeting point of different nationalities which represent opposite world views, works as a "neutral" battlefield upon which the ideas of the old deployment of alliance class with the newly arrived gender and class notions of the deployment of sexuality.

5. Rogério Miguel Puga, **"The Epistolary Novel as Travel Writing: the Portuguese Imagotype and the Anglo-Portuguese Dimension of *The Forest of Comalva, a Novel; Containing Sketches of Portugal, Spain and France* (1809), by Mary Hill"**

In 1809, during the Peninsular War, the unknown author Mary Hill published the epistolary novel *The Forest of Comalva, A Novel; Containing Sketches of Portugal, Spain and France* (3 vols.), whose narrators, especially Frederic Hamilton, exchange letters that narrate travels, experiences and intimate feelings. This article analyses the narrative as an epistolary novel and travel writing, as well as the self-stereotype of 'Britishness' in comparison to the (national) identity of the Continental Others, namely the Portuguese, a confrontation that is made possible by the Grand Tour.

6. John Clarke and José Baptista de Sousa, **“The Reception of the Braganças in England as Recorded in the British Press, 1827-1851”**

This article investigates the Braganças' visits to Britain in the period 1827-1851, as recorded in the British press and other contemporary sources. It consists mostly of information collected by José Baptista de Sousa for his doctoral thesis *Portugal and Holland House, 1793-1840*, submitted to the University of Buckingham in 2015. Some material not used in the thesis is included here. Owing to its biographical interest for those who study Anglo-Portuguese relations in the second quarter of the 19th century, we thought it would be useful to publish it in the *Journal of Anglo-Portuguese Studies*.

7. Paulo Oliveira Ramos, **“Robert Bisset Scott and his “Roman Remains at Lisbon”**

R. B. S., a military writer born in 1774, came to Portugal in 1830. Two years later he published the article “Roman Remains at Lisbon” in the *Gentleman's Magazine*. This is a survey of archaeological remains of the Roman period the author found in and around Lisbon as well as a detailed description of the city's eighteenth-century aqueduct and its underground network of canals built to supply the Portuguese capital with water. Moreover, this article importantly offered English language readers a translation of two of the most remarkable documents in the history of heritage preservation in Portugal: the Royal Decree of 20 August 1721 and its successor, the Decree of 4 February 1802.

8. Maria Zulmira Castanheira, **“The Victorian Traveller as Other: Stereotypes and Humour in the Periodical Press of Portuguese Romanticism”**

The past three decades have seen a great deal of attention paid in the Social Sciences and Humanities to the theme of travel and travel writing; there have been countless, multi-disciplinary studies on these matters. Of the many studies produced there is a vast set devoted to travel in the Victorian era, analysing the histori-

cal and cultural context, the different types of journey, traveller and narrative, as well as matters associated to travellers' sex, social class, occupation and ideology, and his/her gaze and preconceived notions. The Victorian era witnessed an enormous surge in foreign travel. Some travellers were motivated by cultural concerns and intellectual curiosity, others by the wish to visit exotic, picturesque, sublime spots; yet others travelled for reasons of trade, diplomacy, missionary purposes, historical research and scientific exploration. Many men and an increasing number of women spilled out into the world and became, in turn, objects of observation. As the nineteenth century progressed, travelling became more and more associated with the British will to learn even more about the non-European world, to benefit from it, the better to explore and increase Britain's hold on it. Such intense mobility generated, in the eyes of foreigners, an image of the Briton as a great, bold traveller, imbued with enormous curiosity in acquainting him/herself with new parts of the world, but also a representative of British economic interests and the imperial vocation of the nation.

This essay analyses a number of literary texts published in the periodical press of Portuguese Romanticism featuring travelling Britons. Attention is devoted to the traits of the portraits presented therein and to the stereotyped image constructed by these Portuguese gazes, in which humour is often used as a resource with which to deal with cultural difference and to critique the British and their idiosyncracies.

9. Madalena Lobo Antunes, **“Modernism’s Novel Approaches to the Novel in the *Book of Disquiet* and *Ulysses*”**

This paper examines how two modernist novels subverted and changed the generic expectations formerly attributed to the *genre*. One of the texts examined, the *Book of Disquiet*, by Fernando Pessoa, is not a novel, however, its author, through metaliterary gestures, presents, discusses, and comments ironically on the expectations that the *genre* implies. The other text, *Ulysses*, is today considered a canonical specimen of the *genre*, but also transcended nineteenth century norma-

tive structures and *topoi* and introduced many aspects of other *genres* bringing together tradition and innovation. This paper also analysis Fernando Pessoa's opinions of James Joyce's modern epic. In addition to these aspects already mentioned, the paper sheds a light on how twentieth century authors overcame the tyrannical dominance of plot, and replaced its role with that of characters voicing their opinions in first-person monologues.

10. António Lopes, "**A Voz do Mineiro [The Miner's Voice]: Raising the Working-Class Consciousness in a British-Owned Mine in Southern Portugal – a Discursive Approach**"

The concession of S. Domingos mine was awarded in 1858 to Mason & Barry, an English mining company, for a period of 50 years, but they continued exploiting it until 1965. *The Miner's Voice*, a periodical owned by the SOIM S. Domingos [S. Domingos Mine Workers Association] was launched in February 1930, aiming not only to defend the miners' interests and rights against the company's policies, but also to raise their class-consciousness and construct their collective and political identity in one of the districts most stricken by poverty, hunger and social injustice. Although this project was short-lived, it played an important role in changing the miners' perception of social reality and in developing their own capacity for political intervention. This paper aims to discuss the discursive means by which *The Miners' Voice* sought to meet these goals.

11. Teresa Pereira, "**'The Enchantments of the Portuguese Countryside': Travel Writing and Tourism Propaganda**"

Adopting an Anglo-Portuguese perspective, this paper aims at shedding further light on *The Selective Traveller in Portugal* (1949). Written by Mary O'Malley and Susan Lowndes, the 1940's guidebook idealizes the Portuguese rural society, thereby persuading British tourists to embrace the Portuguese countryside. A powerful vehicle to disseminate information about the new po-

litical regime, the discourse adopted by the authors attempts to strengthen and validate *Estado Novo*. In fact, the typically bucolic scene portrayed by *The Selective Traveller in Portugal* reflects the political strategy advocated by the SNI. Therefore, assessing how O'Malley and Lowndes link pastoral, tourism and propaganda proves particularly interesting.



## PUBLICATION ETHICS AND PUBLICATION MALPRACTICE

The editor of the journal is responsible for deciding which of the articles submitted to the journal should be published. The editor may be guided by the policies of the journal's editorial board and constrained by such legal requirements as shall then be in force regarding libel, copyright infringement and plagiarism. The editor may confer with other editors or reviewers in making this decision. The editor will at any time evaluate manuscripts for their intellectual content without regard to race, gender, sexual orientation, religious belief, ethnic origin, citizenship, or political philosophy of the authors. The editor and any editorial staff must not disclose any information about a submitted manuscript to anyone other than the corresponding author, reviewers, potential reviewers, other editorial advisers, and the publisher, as appropriate. Unpublished materials disclosed in a submitted manuscript must not be used in an editor's own research without the express written consent of the author.

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