

The Anglo-Portuguese Alliance (1812-1834)

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I – Preliminary Events (1789-1808)

Before addressing the specific period of history of 1812-1834, there are a few previous historical events (1789-1808) that need to be kept in perspective:

The Portuguese experience of living and trading in a neutral trading scenario

In 1812, Portugal had a relatively small population of approximately 3.1 million, when compared with the UK (16 million), Prussia (9 million), Austrian Empire (24 million), and France (30 + million). With 250,000 inhabitants, Lisbon was smaller when compared with London (1,400,000), Paris, and St. Petersburg, but it was however much larger than any other European capital, reflecting its important mercantile activity.

From the 18th Century up to its invasion by the French in 1807, Portugal had adopted a neutral political and trade policy, supported by various international trade treaties. This was in effect a “Collaborating Neutrality” with the UK, which caused, however, various disagreements with the French Republic and later Napoleon, including the following “incidents”: the War of Roussillon of 1793 to 1795; various Portuguese naval actions in collaboration with the Royal Navy, particularly with Nelson’s Squadron in the Mediterranean, and the refusal to close Lisbon’s harbour to British trade and consequent brief invasion by the French and the Spanish (led by Godoy) in 1801, which resulted in Portugal having to “pay France” and losing the fortified town of Olivença.

The period between 1792-1807 was, however, a golden age for Portuguese maritime trade, during which trade revenue increased four-fold, representing 74 % of GDP. Up until 1807, Portugal had, on average, a positive trade balance with Great Britain, often paid for in gold from Brazil. The Portuguese national interest was to maximise profit from its global trading network, based on a 300 year old colonial empire. After losing America, British national interest was no longer anchored on territory, but rather industry, trade and finance, and Portugal’s colonial trade became more sought after by Britain. Under Napoleon, the French national interest was building a European Empire and promoting its vision of a “new social order based on meritocracy”.

French invasions, the end of the “Neutrality Policy” and the country’s new political choice (1908).

After the Battle of Trafalgar in 1805, Napoleon conceived the Continental Blockade to try and ruin Britain’s economy. After the Tilsit Treaty in June 1807 between France and Russia, Napoleon, having lost its sea power at Trafalgar, secretly decided to capture the fleets of Denmark and Portugal, the last large and neutral world fleets. British spies warned London and as a pre-emptive measure, a powerful British Task Force raided Copenhagen before the arrival of the French invasion force. While Denmark’s Prince Regent and the Danish army was away facing Marshal Bernadotte’s French army that was advancing north from occupied Hanover to seize the fleet, the British Task Force stormed Copenhagen September 1807 and the large captured Danish fleet was taken away to Britain.

Britain and Napoleon then turned their attention to Portugal. The Treaty of Fontainebleau was signed on the 27th of October 1807 between Charles IV of Spain and Napoleon, secretly agreeing to the occupation and partition of the Kingdom of Portugal and all Portuguese dominions between the signatories. Britain urged the Royal Family and the fleet to move to Brazil before the arrival of the Franco-Spanish invasion force, a measure already agreed a month earlier between the two allied sovereigns. The Portuguese Prince Regent still tried to settle a truce with Napoleon and the nervous London government sent a strong Royal Navy force threatening to destroy the Portuguese fleet if it did not leave Lisbon. On the 27th of November, 1807, with French and Spanish troops already invading Portugal, the Portuguese Royal Family and the Government and State apparatus, including archives, musicians, artisans, marines, etc., consisting of 15,000 people, including crews, boarded 23 warships and 31 merchant vessels and moved to Brazil, escorted from Lisbon by the Royal Navy, as all the ships were heavily loaded and defenceless. A day later, the French invading army under Junot entered Lisbon, but he had missed Napoleon's orders to capture the Royal Family and the Fleet...

The new Portuguese State structure and the Anglo-Portuguese Alliance at work (1808-1811)

Portugal moved its Capital and the Royal Court to Rio de Janeiro in Brazil, the first European State to move an empire's capital to the New World, and Portugal finally declared war on France. The Portuguese government now concentrate on developing its alliance with Britain, which agreed to help finance and reorganize European Portugal's defence capacity, receiving opportune trade compensations for such, particularly the direct access to the huge Brazilian market.

June 1808 saw popular revolts against the occupying French forces in both Spain and Portugal. London realised that with Spain now turning against Napoleon, Portugal could be defended. Intervening in the Peninsula was also a way of embarrassing Napoleon. The *de facto* Portuguese government was in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, with a Regency Council detached to Lisbon to administrate European Portugal's home affairs and the local Peninsular War effort. British diplomatic envoys were present both with the Portuguese Government and the Court in Rio, and also in Lisbon with the Regency Council.

Wellington landed on the 1st August, 1808 at Lavos, near Figueira da Foz, with a small "expeditionary force" which expelled Junot's occupation army out of Portugal. By 1809 the Anglo-Portuguese military machine was being rapidly created with British financial and military help, under the competent organization and management of Dom Miguel Forjaz, the Lisbon's Regency Secretary for War, and under the command and the strict discipline of General Beresford, who was made Marshal-General and Commander-in-Chief of the Portuguese Army. By the end of the last French Invasion of Portugal by Massena in 1810-1811, the Portuguese Army and Militia were 70,000 and 80,000 men strong, respectively, with 215 embedded British officers.

Difficult days for the good cooperation between the Allies then followed, with complications arising from the resentment of Wellington's "scorched earth policy", the Portuguese population's sufferance and the heavy war casualties, together with the destruction of town and country and the collapse of the country's economy. The reliance on British financial subsidies was also a matter of constant debate, with Whigs politicians questioning Wellington's operations and war costs in London, and consequent payment delays. Now that the war effort had moved to Spanish territory, the Lisbon's Regency Council also started questioning the cost of keeping a large army contingent far away from home and draining the manpower that economy needed.

II – The Liberation campaign and the Invasion of the South of France (1812-1814)

Securing Portugal's borders; Fuentes d'Oñoro, Ciudad Rodrigo, Albuera and Badajoz. The Offensive in Spain; Salamanca, Madrid, Burgos, Victoria, the Pyrenees, and St. Sebastian. The Invasion of France: Bidassoa, Bayonne, Nivelle, Nive, Orthez, Bordeaux, and Toulouse.

The expulsion of the French from the Iberian Peninsula was characterised by bloody sieges, decisive battles, and difficult cooperation with the Spanish Army, which was, nevertheless, a reliable ally in the open offensive war and in keeping up a permanent war against the French occupation forces. Portuguese troops accounted for 30% to 50% of Wellington's Anglo-Portuguese field army, which in turn varied in strength from 60,000 to 90,000 men, including the King's German Legion. The Allied Army was always short of artillery and cavalry, and the Portuguese Army contingent suffered from sickness and deserters returning to Portugal, although overall, Portugal's recruiting efforts had doubled its manpower through the Militia and Ordenanza (embodied levies) contingents at home.

As Wellington increased his influence in Spain and London with his battle successes, and adopted an offensive posture, Napoleon withdrew troops from his "Spanish ulcer", to muster 600,000 men to attack Russia. The failure of Napoleon's Russia campaign in 1812 led in turn to nationalist revolts against the French in Northern Europe in 1813, and by 1814 the North of France was invaded by the Allies. Meanwhile, Wellington's Allied Army had invaded the South of France by the middle of 1813. After the occupation of Bordeaux and after the battle of Toulouse on the 10th of April 1814, news arrived of Napoleon's abdication four days beforehand. The Peninsular War was finally over.

Wellington pursues his Peninsular War strategy. Cooperation difficulties between the Allies. The Portuguese Regency's new priorities.

By 1811, Portugal was liberated, but bankrupt, and the cost of its large army was a drain on the State's finances and on the country's human resources. Wellington continued to concentrate his attention and efforts in expelling the French from Spain and later in invading France. The logistical centre of the war moved from Lisbon to Northern Spain's harbours, creating a big impact on Lisbon's crucial harbour activity, custom's revenue, and the State's economy. Trade with Brazil and Europe had also drastically fallen from pre-war levels. As an economy measure, the Regency started delaying sending reinforcements from Portugal to Wellington's army in Spain, and later in France. Britain reduced its subsidies to Portugal in 1813 and 1814, having contributed 2 million pounds per year towards Portuguese military expenses in previous years.

As the war was coming to an end, the Regency and the Portuguese officers corps was also beset by problems arising from the lack of appointment of Portuguese officers to senior army command posts, which continued after the war to be majorly filled by British officers in Portuguese service. The Regency also started to prepare itself for the difficult days that lay ahead with its Spanish neighbour.

The political struggle surrounding the Prince Regent in Brazil. Portugal hinders cooperation.

On the Portuguese political side, two factions had developed since 1783. The Azevedo's and Lafoes's "French" faction, versus the Sousa Coutinho's and Mello e Castro's "English" faction. The "French, or Aristocratic party", which was the equivalent of the Portuguese Whigs, wanted independence from Britain's economic constraints, to grant governing power to Old Nobility Houses' members, and sympathised culturally with France, and later with the Napoleonic Empire. Its leading members included: Lafoes, Araujo de Azevedo, Alorna, Gomes Freire de Andrade, the Duke of Sussex

(living in Portugal), and the Masonic order members. Many were to volunteer for the *Legion Portugaise* which was raised in 1808 by Junot, and which fought at Wagram and in Russia for Napoleon.

The “English, or Pombal’s meritocratic, or State functionaries party” pledged service to the King, the defence of the Colonies and the development of the Economy, and it defended political, military and economic cooperation with Britain. Its prominent figures included: Martinho de Mello e Castro, the intelligent and “eternal” Navy and Colonies Minister, the diplomat and economist Dom Rodrigo de Sousa Coutinho, a powerful close adviser of the Prince Regent, his brother Domingos de Souza Coutinho, the Portuguese Ambassador in London, Dom João d’ Almeida Mello e Castro (Galveias) the minister of Foreign Affairs, and Pina Manique, the minister of Home Affairs and Police. Dom Miguel Forjaz, who was with the Regency in Portugal was connected with Azevedo, and as a consequence he was harassed by the Sousa family. However, he worked tirelessly with Wellington, Beresford, and Stuart - the British Minister (Ambassador) in Lisbon.

The collaboration between Britain and Portugal in finishing the Peninsular War

Wellington praised Forjaz as being “the ablest statesman I had to do with in the Peninsula” in his letters to Charles Stuart, the ‘Minister’ in Lisbon in 1813, and in a letter to the Earl of Stanhope¹, and also in a letter to the Prince Regent in Brazil on the 24th of July, 1811, defending Forjaz from cabals.

Dom Miguel Forjaz strongly supported the war efforts of Wellington and Beresford, in spite of the perceived British arrogance, trade hypocrisy, and the inevitable war’s destruction, which was sometimes directed by Wellington. However he believed that Portugal could not succeed in defeating Napoleon’s aggression without Britain’s financial, material, and military assistance. Wellington in turn had little doubt that Britain had ruined Portugal with its conquest of preferential trade privileges with Brazil, in that he wrote: “...was it wise to destroy the power and resources of an ally, simply to enrich a few British merchants who pocketed what would previously have gone into the Portuguese Treasury and been employed in the support of the Army”.² Britain, whose volume of trade had been falling since 1803, benefitted from the access to Brazil’s market (which represented 50% of the American and Caribbean market). In the Oporto area, between 1811 and 1813, 183 out of a total of 513 factories went bankrupt and closed as a result of the fall in Brazilian trade. Exports from Portugal to Brazil during the 13 years up to 1808 were 84 million cruzados, yet during the 11 years from 1808 to 1820, they had fallen to 21 million cruzados.

In 1800 France imported few goods from Brazil/Portugal, but by 1803 it had started to be the recipient of considerable trade from Brazil/Portugal, with 78% being raw cotton. In 1805/1807 Lyon constructed important textile factories to process Brazilian cotton, as France’s access to the traditional cotton sources in the Middle East and America were denied by the Royal Navy. This raw material source from neutral Portugal was crucial to France, and this was one of the reasons why the Prince Regent believed up until the end that Napoleon was bluffing, and would not carry out the economical stupidity of ruining its cotton textile industry by attacking neutral Portugal!

III - The Anglo-Portuguese Alliance up until 1821. The Congress of Vienna (1814-1815), the “100 days”, and the Alliance’s new struggles

¹ Notes Conversations, 1831-1851.

² Wellington’s Dispatches, letter to Lord Liverpool, 8th of August, 1811.

The major powers of Great Britain, Russia, Austria, and Prussia intended to dictate the discussions of the Congress of Vienna on the reorganisation of Europe, but they were convinced to enlarge this group to eight countries, known as the “Eight Powers Committee”. Portugal was admitted as one of these powers, on the basis of the importance of its colonial Empire, of having signed the 1814 Paris Treaty, and on having remained neutral on European territorial conflicts. The other countries admitted to the “Eight Powers Committee” were France, Spain, and Sweden.

Portugal fought for the payment of compensation amounting to two million pounds from France for the country’s destructions by the French war aggression and the loss of over 200,000 lives. However France never paid a penny. Portugal fought to oblige Spain to return the fortified town of Olivença, which had been taken during the 1801 war. The Congress promised the return of Olivença in spite of violent protests from Spain, but again this never was executed (as compensation, Prince Regent Dom João unilaterally gave the order for the Army in Brazil to take over Spain’s colony of Uruguay in 1816, “at the request of its local government”!). As a Vienna’s Congress decision, Portugal also had to give back part of French Guyana which it had occupied in 1808. Furthermore, under pressure from the Congress of Vienna, Portugal agreed to abolish its slave trade, except for that from Portuguese Africa to Brazil in Portuguese vessels. The abolishment of slavery in Brazil at that time would have provoked a revolt in Brazil, whose economy was totally dependent on slave manpower. Indeed, an attempt later by Brazil’s Emperor Dom Pedro II to end the practice of slavery in Brazil in 1889 provoked a revolution in the country, and led to the end of the monarchy, and the institution of the Brazilian Republic!

Portugal was deeply offended that Britain did not support Portugal’s claims for compensation. To the Portuguese it looked as if the British Government was only interested in abolishing slavery now that it did not have a colony in America anymore. Indeed, Britain appeared more interested in creating equilibrium in Europe and in a stable and open European economic market. As a result, public support in Portugal for the longstanding Anglo-Portuguese Alliance was negatively affected, compounded by the continuation of the presence of British officers in its Army after the war was over, blocking career opportunity, and also by the fact that after the end of the war, the Army was still commanded by a foreigner - Beresford. Some attributed this lack of British support for the Portuguese interests at the Vienna’s Congress to London’s displeasure with the Lisbon Regency’s resistance in sending the required Division of Portuguese troops, organised by Beresford, to join Wellington in Belgium before Waterloo in 1815. Later in 1816, this very same Division of Prince Royal Volunteers was sent to Brazil to help “liberate” Uruguay.

The colony of Brazil was elevated to a Kingdom in 1815, and in 1816, after the death of the sick Queen Maria I, the Prince Regent was acclaimed King of both the Kingdom of Portugal, and the Kingdom of Brazil. King Dom João VI, was a good defender of Portugal’s interests between conflicting powerful Empires in Europe, guaranteed the country’s independence and its successful participation in the Peninsular War. Dom João also acted as an intelligent mediator between the “Old Regime” and the Constitutional Liberalism, without adhering to, or identifying himself with either of the two political creeds, but instead he always fought for the unity of Portugal and Brazil, and for rational compromise.

Constitutional Liberalism in the Americas and Europe. Beresford defends the Braganzas

After the end of the war, and with the absence of Wellington, Beresford gained a new direct line of report to the Portuguese King, and became a devoted defender of the Braganza Royal Family interest. However there was conflict between the Lisbon’s Regency Council defence of European Portugal domestic interest and the Government in Rio defence of the Portuguese Empire. The Regency also had to manage the resentment of the Portuguese officer corps regarding the continuous presence of British

officers in the Portuguese Army after the end of the war, causing delay in their promotions, and access to upper command responsibility. Beresford reporting directly to the King in Rio, and therefore bypassing the Regency, also created a difficult working relation with the Regency members.

In 1817, a Freemason's political revolt took place in Lisbon, led by General Gomes Freire de Andrade, the ex-second-in-command of the "Portuguese Legion" who had fought in Napoleon's army. The Portuguese Army remained loyal to the Monarchy, and Beresford and Forjaz collaborated in suppressing the conspiracy. Freire de Andrade was executed at Forte São Julião da Barra in Oeiras.

Later, in 1820, there was a second civil uprising when the Liberal Revolution in Oporto took place. This was a movement of displeasure, mainly led by business and merchant men, regarding the trade and industrial crises that were attributed to the continued presence of the King and the Government in Brazil, the perceived power of Britain over the Portuguese economy and State affairs, the loss of Brazil's trade, and the frustration and desire to restore Portugal's political and economic control of Brazil. The unpopularity of the British ally led to Beresford's fall, and he was prevented from landing in Lisbon on his return from visiting the King in Rio de Janeiro in 1820, and was forced to sail on to Britain. But contrary to official historiography, the Freemason ideological influence during this uprising in 1820 was minimal. Although an Constituent Assembly was summoned, a Constitution was voted in 1822 and the King was forced to return from Brazil, the conservative and traditionalist *Ancien Regime* forces ended by expelling the liberal politicians and installed an Absolutist king after Dom João VI's death in 1826.

IV - The King's return to Lisbon, the Liberal Constitution, the Absolutists seize power, the Civil War, the Liberal's victory

In 1821, Dom João VI arrived from Brazil he accepted the political legality of the Constituent Assembly and declared a Constitutional Monarchy in Portugal, to the disgust of the absolutists and traditionalists of the *Ancien Regime*. The new Assembly then tried to reverse the Brazil kingdom status back to a colony. The Brazilian delegates left the Constituent Assembly and Lisbon in protest. In Brazil, the independence idea gained momentum, and the Royal Prince Dom Pedro was offered the leadership of the independence movement. Britain support this political movement. Prince Dom Pedro accepted the role of leading Brazil's independence, and was proclaimed Emperor in 1822.

The "Legitimists", or "Absolutists" of Infante Dom Miguel (Emperor Dom Pedro of Brazil's younger brother) were reactionary defenders of the "Old Regime", attached to the respect of the old laws and old way of life. They were also characterised by an instinctively anti-British sentiment. This group comprised the majority of the population, which was largely rural-based, and had the support of the majority of the clergy, strong support among the majority of the lesser rural nobility and also by the majority of the old-established aristocracy, starting with the Spanish-born Queen Dona Carlota Joaquina.

The Anglo-Portuguese Alliance then fell into decline. Both the Tories in Britain, and the autocratic monarchs of Europe supported Dom Miguel's claim to the throne. After coups and counter-coups and the death of Dom João VI, the "Absolutists" succeeded in assembling the traditional *Cortes* parliament and in making Dom Miguel king in 1826. The politically-liberal Dom Pedro of Brazil, who as the eldest son had pushed to have his eldest daughter, Dona Maria, made Queen of Portugal, abdicated his Brazilian crown to his son in 1832, and organised the exiled Liberals, this time with British support, to defend his daughter's rights and for the creation of a Constitutional Monarchy in Portugal. In 1832 a violent Civil War started, which resulted in the victory of Constitutional Liberalism in 1834,

strongly supported by Portuguese Army officers. These officers had adopted a British constitutional model, no doubt influenced by their Peninsular War time talks and socialising with fellow British officers, who would have recounted their experiences of British political life. The Liberal army also employed many British officers, indeed the Liberal's Navy's commander was Admiral Sir Charles Napier. Dom Pedro IV died that very year, and his daughter Queen Dona Maria II ascended to the throne until her death in 1853. Her second husband was a cousin of Prince Albert, Queen Victoria's Consort.

After the historical siege of Oporto, battles in the Centre and South and a major sea combat, the Civil War was won in 1834 by the Portuguese Liberals. The Portuguese Liberals were divided into two groups. One was comprised of the political continuators of the Enlightened movement of the 18th Century, which proposed a Constitutional Monarchy Charter along the British model, rather than along the "Jacobin French Revolution" lines of the other Liberal group. This political movement defended a moderate liberal *Carta* constitution and was led by the Duque of Palmela, the Marquis de Loulé, Marshal Saldanha, Marshal Count Vila Flor, Almeida Garrett, Rodrigo da Fonseca, etc., and was a moderate force in many ways, representing the old Enlightenment of the educated, cosmopolitan, and cultured elite. The other Liberal movement, the "Vintistas" or "Setembristas", was composed by French Revolution and the Cadiz Liberal Constitution sympathisers, who, as defenders of the 1822 Constitution model, wanted to bring power closer to the people. Many of them were from the liberal bourgeoisie and urban working classes, representing a more radical urban force. These were led by General Marquis de Sá da Bandeira, Mouzinho da Silveira, Passos Manuel, Felinto Elísio, Ferreira Borges, and Joaquim António de Aguiar, among others.

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Fourteen years ago he founded the Portuguese publishing company "Tribuna da História", which has published over 140 books, specializing in history, philosophy, economics, biographies, and military history. He has played an active role in promoting public interest in Portugal for military history, for which he was awarded the Dom Afonso Henriques Medal of Military Merit in November, 2011. He has also dedicated his time to research in history and economics, having published various books, magazine articles and has spoken on these subjects at conferences in Portugal and abroad.