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DOM MIGUEL'S EXILE IN ENGLAND 1847-51

Malcolm Howe

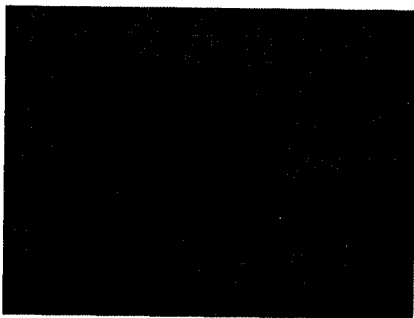
António Ribeiro Saraiva (1800-90) was a fervent adherent of Dom Miguel and was appointed secretary of the Portuguese Legation in London, during the King's six-year reign. Two beautiful engravings of Batalha and the Lisbon Aqueduct, which once belonged to him, grace the Portuguese Embassy in Belgrave Square and his lawyer's certificate, issued by the University of Coimbra, is still kept in the Embassy safe in a tin box.



Antonio Ribeiro Saraiva 1800-90
Dom Miguel's agent in London

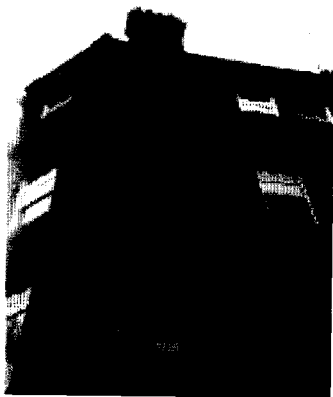
The Convention of Évora-Monte ended the Civil War of the Two Brothers, between Dom Pedro and Dom Miguel. The terms included a renunciation of Dom Miguel's rights, in exchange for an amnesty for his supporters and a pension for himself, provided he left Portugal within a fortnight, deposed and exiled forever more. On 1st June 1834 he sailed from Sines, in the British frigate *Stag*, accompanied by a large entourage,

for Italy, never to return in his lifetime. Dom Miguel promptly issued a protest, which was published in the Italian newspapers, tearing up the convention of Évora-Monte and reaffirmed his rights, in consequence of which he never received any financial settlement. Dom Miguel moved to Rome and was received by Pope Gregory XVI who in 1831 had recognised him as King of Portugal and initially refused to recognise Queen Dona Maria II. They remained on friendly terms during the ex-King's sojourn in Rome and the Pope granted him a small monthly pittance, five-sixths of which he spent alleviating the penury of his fellow exiles.



House at Evora-Monte where the Convention was signed in 1834
Photo taken on a BHS visit

Following the fall of Dom Miguel in 1834, Saraiva did not return to Portugal but stayed in England. He was a prolific writer and was a regular correspondent for the *Morning Post* (predecessor of *The Daily Telegraph*) and several English Catholic newspapers. At this time he lived at 13 Marylebone Lane, off Oxford Street, London in straitened circumstances; sometimes he could not even afford the postage due on despatches delivered to him from Portugal. He had to resort to borrowing money although he also tried to sell Portuguese wines. Saraiva



13 Marylebone Lane,
off Oxford Street
where Saraiva lived in 1834

directed from London the movement for the restoration of Dom Miguel.

Pope Gregory XVI died in 1846 and on 16th June Pius IX was elected Pontiff. The new Pope disapproved of the reactionary policies of his predecessor and was initially regarded as an enlightened conservative with liberal views. Following a General Election the Whigs ousted the Tories in July 1846 and Lord John Russell became Prime Minister with Viscount Palmerston Foreign Secretary. Towards the end of the year, Dom Miguel left Rome in the British brig *Black Cat*, which belonged to a retired captain, John Thomas Bennett and set sail for England.

Dom Miguel arrived secretly in London on 2nd February but it was not long before the Government knew. Palmerston wrote to Queen Victoria on 12th February 'Viscount Palmerston presents his humble Duty to Your Majesty and begs to state that he has this morning received Information confidentially given him by a private Informant that Dom Miguel has been in London since last Wednesday week; and that he is present residing with a Captain Bennett who went to Italy to bring him to England in the Disguise of a Servant and that he is at Captain Bennett's house N^o 4 Canonbury Cottages, Islington.

Viscount Palmerston has Communicated this Information to Sir George Grey (i.e. the Home Secretary) who will give Directions to the Police to watch Dom Miguel's proceedings.. Viscount Palmerston begs also to state that Mons. Saraiva, the *Miguelite* agent who has frequently of late sent written communications to him, came yesterday afternoon to the Foreign Office, for the Purpose of asking Viscount Palmerston whether if Dom Miguel should come to England, which M.

Saraiva said he intended to do, Viscount Palmerston would see him, and hear from himself how liberal his views & opinions were. Viscount Palmerston answered that he certainly could not have any Intercourse with Dom Miguel direct or Indirect, Dom Miguel coming, as was understood, with hostile Intentions towards The Queen of Portugal; and that he would strongly recommend M. Saraiva to request Dom Miguel seriously to consider the Difficulties of his Enterprise and the Extent of the assistance which The Queen might possibly receive from her allies, before he rashly engaged in any undertaking in Portugal.'

Dom Miguel stayed with Captain Bennett for only three to four weeks and subsequently lived with Saraiva, his 'right arm'. Throughout his four years and more exile in England, he was a political refugee. In late May wild rumours were published in *The Times* that he had returned to Oporto but these were quickly denied. Saraiva's letter was published which stated 'I think it right to inform you that Dom Miguel is in London and has not left it for a single day these last four months..' On the 30th June *The Times* reported that Queen Victoria and Prince Albert, with the Queen of the Belgians attended a performance at *Her Majesty's Theatre* and 'also were present His Royal Highness Dom Miguel and suite and the Duke of Wellington' who favoured his cause.

From 1847, the supporters of Dom Miguel were called the *Legitimist Party/ o partido legitimista* ; it is believed the name came from the French Monarchists who supported the senior Bourbon line of succession. On 15th September the *Legitimists* launched the publication in Lisbon of their journal *A Nação* which was published, usually each evening, up to 1915. Meanwhile Palmerston gave careful consideration to Dom Miguel's position and wrote on 26th June a long confidential

draft from the Foreign Office to the British Envoy in Lisbon : 'Sir, you are aware that Dom Miguel was induced to come to England from Italy some months ago, by the Persuasion of his Partisans, in the expectation that the Course of events in Portugal might afford him some favourable opportunity of putting forward his Pretensions, and that he would be better able in London than at Rome to take advantage of such occasion if it should arise. But the Turn which the affairs of Portugal have now taken in consequence of the Interposition of the Allies of Her Most Faithful Majesty seems to have extinguished for the present any Hopes which Dom Miguel might previously have been led to entertain; and I have learnt within the last few Days from a Person who is likely to be well informed, that Dom Miguel is now thinking not how he may be able to gain Possession of the Throne of Portugal, but to what Quarter he may best address himself to seek an asylum and support.

His present views are turned towards Germany, and there is some notion of his establishing himself in Prussia. It is believed that the King of Prussia would be willing to receive him and to afford him some pecuniary assistance, and this is the more likely, because Count Oriola¹, a warm adherent of Dom Miguel, holds a Confidential Appointment in the establishment of Prince Waldemar of Prussia, and may have availed himself successfully of the opportunities which that appointment may have afforded him, to excite at Berlin an Interest in favour of Dom Miguel, and compassion for the forlorn and destitute Constitution of that Prince.

By the Convention of Évora-Monte, concluded on the 26th of May 1834, it was stipulated that Dom Miguel, in consideration of his high Birth, should receive an annual Pension of 60

1 - Edourd Ernst Lobo de Silveira - Portuguese minister to Prussia

Contos of Réis, but on the other Hand Dom Miguel took an engagement, not only to leave Portugal and not to return to it, but also in no way to attempt to disturb the Tranquility of the Two Kingdoms of the Peninsula. The Engagement taken towards Dom Miguel has not been fulfilled and the engagement taken by Dom Miguel can scarcely said to be executed with entire strictness and good Faith. On the one Hand, the Portuguese Government has left Dom Miguel for the last Thirteen years to depend for his support entirely upon the Charity of the Pope; on the other Hand, Dom Miguel, though he has not attempted to return to Portugal, and has not excited any open Rebellion in that Country in his Favour, has nevertheless kept up constant Communication with his Partisans in Portugal, and has maintained an organization ready to be called into action if any favourable opportunity should occur. The Circumstances of the present moment seem to afford an opening for some Communication between the Portuguese Government and Dom Miguel with a view to place their reciprocal Relations on a more satisfactory Footing. Dom Miguel is in great Penury. He has since his arrival in London lived in obscurity, and scarcely enjoying the most ordinary Comforts which are at the Command of every private Gentleman. I am told that at the present moment he could with difficulty muster thirty Pounds; and that in Fact he cannot leave England for want of means to defray the expense of Removal.

I have to instruct You to bring these Circumstances to the knowledge of the Portuguese Government, and to suggest that it be wise for the Queen to offer Dom Miguel some suitable pecuniary Provision, to be enjoyed by him upon the Conditions agreed to at Évora-Monte. To require Dom Miguel to renounce his Pretension to the Throne of Portugal would be inexpedient.

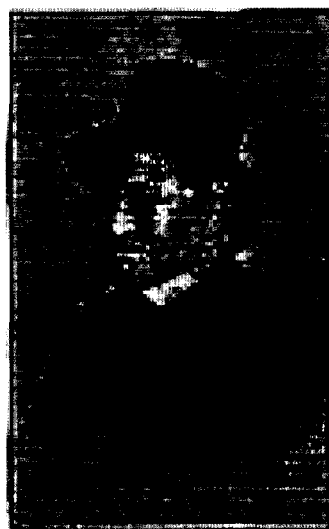
In the first Place, it would be to ask that which he could

not reasonably be expected to do, and which his Feelings of Honour would prevent him from doing; and in the next Place, such a Demand on the Part of The Queen would be an implied acknowledgement that he had some Rights to renounce, an acknowledgement which The Queen could never think of making. But The Queen might properly ask Dom Miguel to abstain from disturbing the internal Tranquility of Her Dominions, and might reasonably make his continued abstinence from all attempts of that kind, the Condition upon which should depend the Continuance of his allowance ; and Dom Miguel might, without any sacrifice of personal Honour, consent to accept an allowance upon such Terms .If the Portuguese Government wish to make any overtures of this kind to Dom Miguel, Her Majesty's Government would willingly undertake to be the Channel of Communication ; but in that Case it would be expedient that Her Majesty's Government should be enabled with the least possible Delay to convey to Dom Miguel some specific and definite offer on the part of Her Most Faithful Majesty'.

The next day Palmerston submitted this draft to Queen Victoria for her approval adding that 'Dom Miguel cannot leave England for the want of about Two Thousand Pounds to clear himself of his engagements.'

In 1849 Costa Cabral was appointed Prime Minister of Portugal and was determined to take action against those Portuguese that supported the exiled King. Once again Portugal was deep in a financial morass; the treasury was overdrawn and future receipts were mortgaged. The army was in arrears of pay and tradesmen regularly threatened to cease supplying barracks. The ambition and energy of Cabral made him the object of all the opposition's hostility, redoubled by his inability

to clear himself of various scandals. He was declared to have received a carriage in return for an honour whence 1849 was nicknamed the year of the calèche. Castelo Branco attacked Cabral in a fifteen-page bulletin published in *O Nacional* in Oporto in December following the disclosure in *A Nação* in November. *The Morning Post* acting on this information, no doubt fuelled by Saraiva, made revelations about Cabral's wealth and later suggested



Squire Brook of Bexhill

that he had been appointed 'through the light behaviour of an exalted personage with this favourite.' This was taken as a slight on Dona Maria II. In January 1850 Cabral brought a legal action in London against the newspaper and his affidavit contained the words 'denies expressly and positively that he has been chosen as minister through any immoral conduct on the part of the Queen of Portugal or of himself anything of an immoral or improper nature.' Cabral lost the case and in spite of the ensuing furore in the chamber it was resolved by a majority of five not to discuss the affidavit. In February his Press law aroused heated Opposition and then it was made public he had secured a 99 year lease of some Royal property for himself at a low rent. His brother consequently joined the opposition.

On 26th January 1850 it was reported in the *Peninsular Mails* that Dom Miguel had mysteriously disappeared from London and intent on landing in Portugal. However on 5th February 1850

the same source stated that 'his disappearance from London upon a sporting excursion appears to have been availed of as a pretext. He certainly was in Bexhill by the Sussex coast in April. It is likely that Dom Miguel was the guest of the 'Squire of Bexhill', Arthur Sawyer Brook (1810-90), of Court Lodge, Master of the Bexhill harriers who was devoted to his hounds. His pack was renowned and in 1864 the Prince of Wales hunted hares with the squire.

On 18th April 1850 Dom Miguel sent two letters to Portugal from Bexhill concerning the juntas entrusted with providing him with assistance and sustenance. The equivalent of about £40 was raised each month but Cabral was determined to stop this and take action against the offending juntas. The letters were printed in full in the Portuguese press with favourable reports:

To the editors of *A Nação*

Dear Sirs,

It is the first time that I write a letter to your newspaper, but at this moment it is a duty of mine.

In the land of exile, plundered of all my property and (I pride myself in so saying), poor, because during the five years of my government there was never in me the selfish and unpatriotic thought of amassing wealth to provide against the banishment that force imposed upon me and later found means to aggravate, I have been, for some time, parsimoniously supported only by the tribute of the loyal affection of Portuguese people who, from the little that remains for them, most spontaneously share with me.

I know now, however, that the government that now exists in Portugal obstructs, by means of threatening measures, the work of those who so nobly promoted the subscription destined for my indispensable subsistence. So I do declare, in testimony of gratitude to my faithful friends, that I would rather suffer the ultimate misery, and let the world see it, than serve as pretext for any persecution which might increase the number of victims of loyalty and I further declare that if the intention is to force me through penury to commit any act that is incompatible with my dignity and honour, the intention is ill-thought out because, delivering myself into the hands of Divine Providence, I shall remain faithful to my duties.

On this occasion, as a Portuguese national, I wish to express to you the satisfaction with which I have seen the truly patriotic way you have defended the interests of our dear land.

I am your devoted

D. Miguel de Bragança Bexhill, 18th April 1850

Letter to the Countess of Pombeiro², D. Maria Carlota de Lima Botado d'Almeida,

D. Anna da Cunha Mendonça e Menezes, D. Maria Rita Corrêa de Sá.

I would be deemed ungrateful if I failed to thank you, dear ladies, you who constituted the central commission in Lisbon, with the aim of promoting in Portugal, and on my behalf, a

2 - D. Maria Francisca Luisa da Sousa (1807-96) Condessa de Pombeiro, daughter of the Marquês de Borba, married in 1835 the 8th Count de Pombeiro ; both were adherents of Dom Miguel and she was a singer of exceptional merit.

maintenance allowance and therefore I take this opportunity to fulfil my duty to testify my gratitude for your very noble and kind mindfulness. I do thank you and the gentlemen who have helped you, for the efforts you have made to alleviate the painful situation to which the unfair plunder of all my property, of which I have been deprived for sixteen years, has reduced me in a foreign land.

In the conviction that you will value this special proof of gratitude of mine, if therefore you would wish to publish it, I shall greatly rejoice that the entire world can appreciate your virtue and that to the sentiment of charity you add the heroism that is natural to Portuguese ladies.

I pray Heaven to reward your noble qualities.

I am yours affectionately

D. Miguel de Bragança
Bexhill, 18th April 1850

The Sustenance Commission/*Comissão Alimentícia* had two branches of *Noble Ladies/Nobres Senhoras* and *Traditionalist Men/ Homens tradicionalistas* and was dissolved due to the dictatorial powers of Cabral.

On the night of the British national census of 1851, taken on 30th March, Dom Miguel is recorded as living with Saraiva at 21 Nottingham Street, Marylebone, London, together with the Visconde de Queluz³.

3 - Visconde de Queluz : António Bartolomeu Pires (1795-1860) accompanied D Miguel during his first exile in Vienna in 1824 and returned with him to Portugal in 1828, when he was appointed doctor to the Royal Household. He received the title of Baron in 1828 from D. Pedro IV and elevated to Viscount in 1829 ; granted a coat of arms in 1828 with the first quarter displaying the arms of the Infante D. Miguel as an

He was styled 'De jure King of Portugal'. The three Portuguese were listed, without any servants, as a separate household after the English family of eight and their house servant. Hence it is likely they were staying in the basement of the house, which would have its own entrance from the street above.

During the summer of 1851, Dom Miguel visited the Great Exhibition in London, which had been opened by Queen Victoria on 1st May, with Prince Albert and his cousin, the reigning Duke of Saxe-Coburg.

The Marquês de Abrantes⁴ then arrived in London to accompany Dom Miguel to Germany to marry. Relations with Saraiva were difficult as he had no time for the *Legitimist* secret cabinet based in Lisbon, one of whose principal objectives was to eliminate him from all transactions. Saraiva considered Abrantes arrogant with no regard for what he had achieved. It was through his work, by his initiative and influence of his friends, that he had obtained the money to bring the King to London in 1847 and maintain him. He had arranged the official visit to the Great Exhibition. Saraiva considered that these *Senhores Lisboetas*, as he called them, principally the Marquês de Abrantes, had treated him with disdain, ridiculous falsehood and deception, to make him mislead Lord Palmerston and the British Government. Since 1842, when Dom Miguel had

augmentation of honour. He followed D Miguel to Rome in his second exile, went to live in Germany and was one of the witnesses at the ex-King's wedding in 1851. In 1854 he married Princess Malvina second daughter of George Wilhelm Ludwig, Prince von Löwenstein-Wertheim-Fredenberg and Princess Charlotte Sophie Henrieta Luisa. She had been previously married to Frederick, Count of Isemburg but they had divorced in 1830 and she died in 1864. In 1860 D Miguel elevated his title to Count with Grandeeship.

4 - 6th Marquês de Abrantes: D. José Maria da Piedade de Lancastre (Silveira Castelo Branco de Almeida Sá e Meneses 1819-70). His quinta at Benfica was purchased by the Infanta Dona Isabel Maria (1801-76) who was the fourth daughter of King John VI. She was Regent 1826-28 and a strong supporter of her brother D. Miguel. He succeeded the Count of Barbacena, who died in 1854, as Dom Miguel's Surrogate-Lieutenant

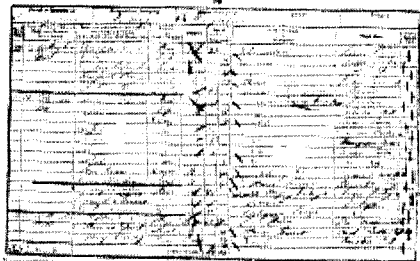
appointed him his agent, all communications had come to him. He had remitted all contributions which he received to the King and dealt expeditiously with correspondence from Portugal.

Had he not resuscitated the Cause, for which had they not figured as the strongest constituent until 1847? Had he not gained the favour from Lord Palmerston that he would not oppose again the restoration of the King? It is the consequence that without the foolishness, the ingratitude and the insensitive vileness of that Lisbon clique, the Restoration would have been certain. The farce that they now contrived was that Dom Miguel should feign illness and pretend to go to take the waters at Aix-la-Chapelle. Saraiva procured, with the help of high ranking diplomats who were his friends, a passport for the stateless ex-King from the Austrian Embassy in London. Interrupting a secret meeting with the Marquês de Abrantes, he handed over the passport to Dom Miguel, who placed it in the breast pocket of his overcoat without saying a word.

When Saraiva could speak to Dom Miguel alone he said 'Senhor, Your Majesty has been in England these years without anything to complain of the Government, the authorities or the English people; you are going to leave now and it may happen that with the arrival of the news of the movement in Portugal by Saldanha, the Government might suspect that Your Majesty is leaving here with some project relative to the Kingdom and your Cause; it is because of this that they have directed that some unnecessary precautions should be taken. Consequently as soon as Your Majesty has departed - but only after this, in order not to stamp one's feet to ask permission, I am going to write to Lord Palmerston saying simply to him that Your Majesty has left for Germany, for reasons of health, on the advice of doctors'.

The ex-King responded approving that he so did. Lord Palmerston wrote in reply thanking him; imagine what Palmerston would have thought when shortly afterwards came the news of the King's marriage, showing him that he had gratuitously deceived the Minister and without purpose. One can only conjecture what Palmerston and the Government kept thinking of the ex-King and his counsellors but Saraiva was certain that they did not judge that he had wanted to deceive them.

His recollections were published nearly thirty years after the events he described so vividly, including his account of what he considered to be the ultimate insult. The day after he handed over the passport to Dom Miguel, the Marquês de Abrantes, giving himself rather ridiculous airs, accosted Saraiva. Everything was a farce of conceited children whose principal ardent desire was to show that already they needed nothing from him and more sharply still was that they wanted to give him orders. Subsequently Saraiva only received only one or two insignificant communications from the Marquês de Abrantes. Clearly he had been removed from any important position of influence.



1851 Census record



Nottingham Street.
Marylebone where
Dom Miguel was recorded
In the 1851 Census

On 24th September 1851, Dom Miguel, aged forty-eight, married in Bavaria the twenty year old Princess Adelheid, orphaned daughter of the hereditary Prince of Löwenstein-Werheim-Rosenberg, whose ancestor had been created a prince of the Holy Roman Empire. On 19th September 1853 Dom Miguel's only son and heir was born at Kleinheubach and christened, of course, Miguel.

The ex-King returned to London in 1862, together with his wife, when a photograph was taken of Dom Miguel, who looked prematurely old for his sixty years, with some of his faithful Portuguese adherents who had strongly supported him during his exile.

Always a superb horseman and keen hunter, on 14th November 1866, he died in a hunting lodge in the Bavarian forests after a day's chase with his brother-in-law. Throughout Portugal during December 1866, memorial services were held in some of the grandest churches, attended by his faithful followers.

His devotion and dedication manifested in all his actions made Dom Miguel a legend in his life time, ensured the enduring support of his adherents, and the survival of the cult of his cause. Miguel I passed into posterity as The most Portuguese King of Portugal/ *O Rei mais português de Portugal*

Saraiva died on 15th December 1890 at Ramsgate in Kent, never having received any honour so well deserved from his King to whom he was so loyal. Saraiva has been ascribed the epitaph '*so dignified, so wise, so poor /tão digno, tão sábio, tão pobre*'. However Dom Miguel's son ordered that on Saraiva's tomb there should be inscribed :

Viro perpetue in Deum, Patriam, Regem fidelitate eximio –

*To a man exceptional in his everlasting loyalty to God,
Country and King*

a worthy tribute indeed.

With acknowledgements to Maria Teresa Mónica, Mary Hart
(Bexhill Museum Association) Francisco Fernandes, Clive
Willis and Dr. Stephen Holland.

Sources :

Documentos dos Arquivos de Windsor 1846/7

Ruben Andresen Leitão Coimbra 1955

*A vingança de / the vengeance of António Ribeiro Saraiva e
a quebra do juramento/ and the breaking of the oath –*

Letters published in *O Conimbricense* 22 July 1879 - 5
October 1880 174-195



Dom Miguel I in London in 1867 looking prematurely old for his sixty years, photographed with some of his faithful Portuguese adherents in exile : João de Lemos, António Ribeiro Saraiva, the Count of Avintes, the Count of Bobadela, the Marquess of Abrantes, Luís Candido Xavieres Osório, Francisco de Lemos (de Alca), De Gomes de Abreu, António Pereira da Cunha, Dr Carlos Zeferino Pinto Coelho and the Count of São Martinho.

• João de Lemos 43 ; editor of *A Nação* from 1848 to 1864 ; militant catholic served on diplomatic missions to France, Rome, Vienna and Berlin for the *Legitimist* cause, , prolific writer of works of political character, dramas, travel, memoirs and principally poems , his *Lua de Londres* was a spectacular success, a model of ultra romanticism, also *As Rosas de Santa Isabel* from *Canções da Tarde* 1875

• António Ribeiro Saraiva 62

• Count de Avintes 32; son of 6th Viscount de Asseca and married to the only surviving daughter of 5th Marquês de Lavradio who had the right to the title used by his son-in-law

• Count of Bobadela 58 Adjutant-general of Dom Miguel's army

• 6th Marquês de Abrantes 43; Dom Miguel's Surrogate-Lieutenant

- Luís Candido Tavares Osório; Colonel, strongly opposed the capitulation of Évora- Monte

- Francisco Paula de Lemos (de Méca); Captain 5th Infantry Corps

- Dr António Joaquim Gomes de Abreu ; teacher of law, Coimbra, tutor of Dom Miguel (II) and his sisters

- António Pereira da Cunha; subsequent Surrogate-Lieutenant and Head of Legitimist party

- Dr Carlos Zeferino Pinto Coelho 43; subsequent Head of Legitimist party, Deputy 1857-66, lawyer and orator, founder of Lisbon Water Company, president of general assembly of Bank of Portugal

- 3rd Count de São Martinho 33; Latin scholar, member of delegation from Portugal to Germany to express condolences on death of Dom Miguel in 1866

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