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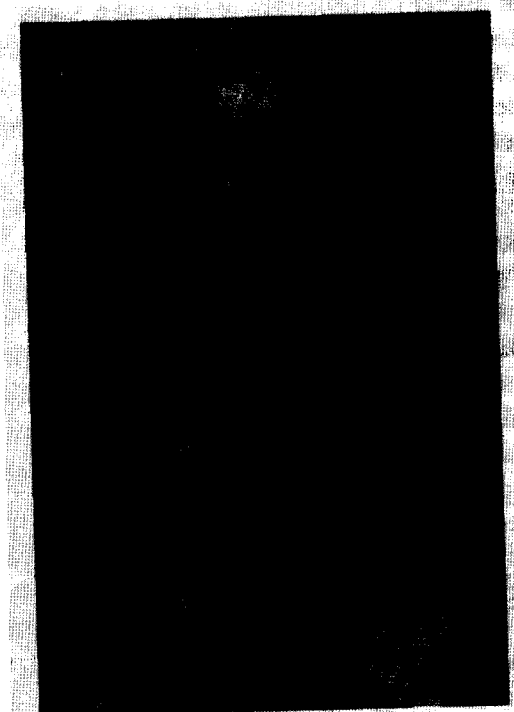
Notes, Which will be found to contain an account of all the Naval Actions, and Other Important Events, From the Commencement of the Late Reign, in 1760, to the Present Period

by John Marshall, Lieutenant Royal Navy
London 1827

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THE MARQUIS OF SOVERAL **Paulo Lowndes Marques**

Luíz Maria Pinto de Soveral was born in 1851 in São João da Pesqueira very near the left bank of the Rio Douro. He died in Paris in 1922 exactly 12 years later to the day when the Republic which he so abominated had been proclaimed in Lisbon. He was born at the Quinta de Sidrô – which was rebuilt in the second half of the 19th century by his father which is architecturally different from the 18th-century mansions we find in the north of Portugal such as his mother's family's "solar" which is now the Court House of São João da Pesqueira. Her family was Sande e Castro. Soveral come from a good, what



Luiz de Soveral.

you would call a "county", old family. His great grandfather was the 5th Visconde de Asseca and his mother was a niece of the Duke of Saldanha. Soveral's sister married the 8th Visconde de Asseca and eventually his nephew the 9th Visconde became his universal heir.

His father was a diplomat and for several years an unpaid Minister at the Sublime Porte, that is Constantinople as it continued to be named until after the First World War.

Eduardo, his father, was later made Visconde de S. Luís. Soveral had also an uncle diplomat whose career spanned mostly London and Madrid. He became the Visconde de Soveral often confused with our hero's father. This uncle went to the University of London, married an English protestant girl called Eliza Bayne and I found devotional books of what we call Tractarian inscribed with her name at Quinta de Sidrô. She is buried in the British Cemetery in Lisbon. They had no surviving children and when he died in 1905 he left over £65,000 (in today's value about £3M) to this nephew the Marquis of Soveral, who being a diplomat "en poste" paid no death duties at all.

Soveral therefore came from a family of what the French would call small nobility with a strong sense of public service and a certain international flavor. Luíz Maria himself obtained a doctorate in Political and Administrative Science at the University of Louvain in Belgium.

The 1850s in Portugal very much brought to a close the confusing and difficult times caused first by the Peninsular War, then the Civil War between the two royal brothers and within the constitutional victors all the tensions and constant

upheavals between the Conservative and the Radical wings. With the constitutional amendments in 1852 there was a sort of peace arrangement between the various political currents and the next half century benefited from a relative calm and prosperity. Politics were dominated by what was called "o rotativismo", basically a two party system, the parties governing alternatively. One can say that Soveral chose well the years of his public life.

In 1853 D. Maria II died of childbirth and her son D. Pedro V, then a minor, reigns with his father D. Fernando de Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, a first cousin of Prince Albert, as regent.

In this spirit of public service Luíz Maria joined the Navy. You had to be between eleven and thirteen and had to prove you received monthly an allowance of 7 Escudos. In 1864 aged seventeen he came to England because in those days Portuguese naval officer cadets completed their courses in the Royal Navy. But when he arrived in London he was sent back because the Portuguese Government thought it shameful that an old seafaring nation like Portugal should use a foreign navy to complete their future officers' studies. They changed the law and such change caught Soveral in London. He becomes an officer in 1871. But Soveral did not want now to continue his career in the navy. He tried to leave but was refused so he deliberately went absent without leave so he caused his own expulsion.

He then goes to Belgium where he obtains his doctorate already described. Once this was completed he applied to enter the diplomatic service by public examination in 1873. Candidates had to speak and write French "correctly" and preference would be given to those who knew English.

Among his examination papers he had to write an essay on immigration. In those days the problem was allowing people to leave a country. He defends a liberal position although recognizing that excessive emigration is not good for a country and quotes Ireland as an example. Of course now the issue is the other way round. Placing curbs on people coming not leaving. He is placed 4th in the admission ranking and in 1873 is sent to Vienna. D. Luís, D. Pedro V's brother, reigns since 1860.

VIENNA, BERLIN AND MADRID

Austria in the 1870s had accepted with reluctance its demotion as the prime Germanic Country. Defeated in the Six Weeks' War in 1864 by Prussia, assailed by the Risorgimento in northern Italy and increasing discords between its component nations it had surrendered the leadership of the German nation to Prussia, victorious in the Franco-Prussian war in 1870 proclaiming the Second Reich in Versailles in the Hall of Mirrors which Disraeli described as more important than the French Revolution. Although Prussia was the dominant country, Berlin was still a very provincial city compared with cosmopolitan Vienna. Strauss' waltzes were everywhere. Brahms and Wagner were great rivals each with their own following. When Soveral arrived in Vienna Sigmund Freud was 17 and Gustav Mahler 13.

The future Marquis of Soveral only stayed 18 months in Vienna. In 1874 he is transferred to Berlin and between 1875 to 1876, for 18 months, only aged 24, and in the absence of his Minister he is promoted and made "Chargé d'Affaires" in what was arguably the most powerful country on the continent of

Europe. His talents must have been quickly recognized.

Bismarck dominated the political scene. He was made Minister-President by the King of Prussia in 1860 aged 47. He had been Prussian ambassador to St. Petersburg and Paris where he studied and pondered how these two countries would behave in the event of war. Referring to Napoleon III's character he said "They exaggerate his intellect and undervalue his emotions".

This is the period when Africa or rather the scramble for Africa begins to dominate Portuguese foreign policy, a subject which endures until 1974 and decolonization. The matter of slavery had first appeared in an international conference at the Congress of Vienna in 1815. The indirect effects of his issue and its traffic much affected Portugal's international image. It indirectly caused British attempts to seize Delagoa Bay – the great bay of Lourenço Marques – which was settled in Portugal's favour by arbitration in 1875, the arbitrator being the French President General Macmahon. There was also a similar arbitration concerning Guiné and settled in our favour by President Ulysses S. Grant. Portugal's arguments were based on the historical rights of discovery whereby the scramble for Africa tended to give priority to effective occupation which favoured the big nations. For many centuries nobody had cared about the interior of Africa but in 1788 the British had created an "Association for Promoting the Discovery of the Interior Parts of Africa" which later merged with another Society, creating in 1830 the Royal Geographical Society. The Société des Géographes is founded in France in 1821 and Berlin had its "Gesellschaft für Erdkunde" in 1828. All these Societies promoted journeys of exploration, published the respective travel books and generally gave wide publicity to all these

discoveries. To start with the intention was merely scientific but quickly a political dimension took over.

Livingstone, who detested the Portuguese, is perhaps the best-known explorer of this period, as are Stanley and Brazza. Portugal expresses great indignation because they had indeed been there before. But nobody knew this, no accounts had been published and often alas such journeys were linked to the slave trade. For example, Pedro João Baptista and Amaro José crossed Africa between Angola and Mozambique between 1804 and 1814. But, as stated, nobody knew. The Sociedade de Geografia in Lisbon is only created in 1875. King Leopold of the Belgians calls a Scientific Council in Brussels in 1876 to which Portugal is not invited. We protested, got invited but did not go because there was “no verba” – no money. We only sent explorers in the modern sense as late as 1877. But it was too late. The north of the River Congo was already considered to belong to others – France and Belgium. It is in this decade that Portugal loses the race for the space between Angola and Mozambique – later known as the Rose Colored Map – which caused the British Ultimatum of 1890.

Bismarck with reluctance followed public opinion in this matter. He told an enthusiast “your map of Africa is very pretty, but my map of Africa is here in Europe. Russia is here and here is France and we are in the middle. This is my map of Africa” and doubtful on the economics “Colonies are like Polish noblemen, under the sables and silks they have no shirt”.

Owing to all this confusion the Congress of Berlin met in 1884. It consecrated the principle of effective occupation over the priority of discovery to Portugal’s detriment.

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During the period in which Soveral is Chargé-d’Affaires in Berlin there is very interesting correspondence about, for example, Bismarck’s campaign against the Catholic Church (the Kulturkampf) which much interested Lisbon where informed public opinion was still very anti-clerical. Religious orders were expelled in 1834 and the parish priests were paid by the Government. They were in effect, a sort of civil servants. One must also remember that King D. Luís had married the Italian princess D. Maria Pia who was the daughter of Victor Emmanuel, King of Italy, who had conquered Rome from the Pope and had been duly excommunicated. The Balkans was very present with all the consequent problems with Turkey and rivalries between Russia and Austria. Soveral wrote to Lisbon on the possibility of a European war in which Russia, France and England would be allies against the central powers including Turkey. All this from a young diplomat aged 25 about 30 years before the First World War. He also wonders that if Cuba is attacked by the US if any European colonial Power will help Spain. How right he was. Soveral follows Bismarck’s social initiatives – such as a national insurance scheme. Also all military matters are of interest and we find him purchasing, on Lisbon’s request, a new repetition gun system to send to Portugal.

His social life began to shine. But he could not afford it all and we find a written complaint from his landlady – Frau Wichers – who gave him “logement, chauffage et nourriture”. He is pressured by the Portuguese ministry and in desperation he comes to Portugal to ask another uncle of his, Jorge Pinto de Soveral, for a loan. He finds him in Oporto already asleep in his hotel bed. Next morning he does not answer and is found

dead. But the story has a happy ending as he had left all his money to his young nephew.

Soveral is now sent to Madrid in 1881, now First Secretary. King Alfonso XII reigned after tumultuous times. Looking through the diplomatic correspondence at the time it is curious to reflect on Spain's great preoccupation with the free right of passage with the recently opened Suez Canal. This was important for Spain owing to the Philippines, which were still Spanish. They try and involve Portugal against England, but Soveral, showing his Anglophilia, advises Lisbon to have nothing to do with these manoeuvres and stick to the old alliance.

Soveral is suddenly told to leave Madrid in 1884. It is always said that the Infanta D. Eulália, sister of Alfonso XII and therefore great-great-aunt of the present King of Spain fell in love with him and wished to elope. Sir Arthur Hardinge wrote in his memoirs "A Diplomat in Europe": "*He was at that moment said to be carrying on a flirtation with the Infanta Eulália, the King's pretty younger sister, and he used, at the little theatre at the La Granja, to be constantly gazing from the stalls at her graceful figure in the royal box. After this had gone on for some time, the King of Spain conceived that the unconcealed attention to his sister on the part of the Portuguese diplomat ought to be severely discouraged... I was told at a much later date, that Alfonso XII used his influence at the Court of Lisbon to have Soveral transferred...*"

In Soveral's papers now at Vila Viçosa there are several letters from her, all of them in French and not very platonic. She eventually married an Orleans prince but it did not work. "*We never quarrelled, in reality we were never sufficiently interested*

in one another to quarrel" she said. She was a daughter of the famous or infamous Queen Isabel II whose effeminate husband used to walk his dogs in the Bois de Boulogne. He named his dogs after his wife's lovers. When he died in 1902 the Infanta said of him "*This small and thin man with his delicate hands and voice did not inspire any "saudades" in our hearts – he disappeared into the shadow of death leaving us with a vague memory of his suave hands which never caressed me or his soft voice which never expressed a word of tenderness"*.

Soveral and Eulália remained friends all their life and letters show more than a memory of mere friendship. She died as late as 1958, aged 94.

Soveral is appointed to Rome but manages to alter this and goes to London. His brilliant life was about to begin.

But diplomats at their peril ignore what goes on or the sensibilities of their own countries. Soveral had many good friends among his Portuguese contemporaries and with his talent to amuse very much kept in touch with his generation. He was part of that brilliant group of 11, which included Eça de Queiroz, known as the "Vencidos da Vida".

He was a close friend of the then Prince Royal and future King D. Carlos. In 1885 D. Carlos writes to him: "*I have no news of you and to know anything I must ask Mme Arapoff (an Opera Singer) as a favour"* and after a tedious Carnival the future King writes "*... since you have gone to England you took the good weather and all the fun of this Capital of marble and granite placed on the edge of the sea"*. Although Soveral was obviously very international and cosmopolitan he kept some very local habits – he always loved bacalhau which

he accompanied with champagne, played the guitar and had a good voice, no doubt for fado.

It is not generally known that he had a romance with Emilia de Castro daughter of the Conde de Rezende who later married Eça de Queiroz. But they all remained good friends and Eça wrote many and amusing letters to Soveral. Eça de Queiroz writes to a friend after a trip to London "*When I arrived I was with Luíz... He lives almost exclusively in the St. James Club, which is the club for diplomats – formally conventional, vague phrases on the European situation and champagne for dinner*".

The King in Lisbon writes to him asking for guns and occasionally of new delicate problems such as his fear that Masonic Lodges (then dependent on English Freemasonry) were becoming republican in sentiment.

The United Kingdom in the '80s of the 19th century was at the high point of its imperial splendour.

The Prime Minister Lord Salisbury, immensely tall, was the epitome of English aristocratic rule. Short-sighted, he was once walking with a friend in St. James Park. They crossed with someone who raised his hat. Salisbury asked his companion who he was and he was told he was a member of his Cabinet for the last four years. "I thought I had met him somewhere" replied the Prime Minister. On another occasion he was reprimanded by the Prince of Wales for wearing at a court function the wrong kind of trousers. The venerable Lord Salisbury said something about a new valet but the Prince insisted that he should have noticed the error himself, to which the Prime Minister said "Your Royal Highness, I must have been thinking of a matter of lesser importance".

British politics are dominated during this period by the two great giants of late Victorian political life – Gladstone and Salisbury.

King D. Luís dies of syphilis in 1889 and the young King D. Carlos succeeds aged 26. He is immediately confronted with the huge crisis of the Ultimatum. We have described the problem for Portugal which arose from the "Scramble for Africa" and how the big powers had imposed the doctrine of effective occupation as the paramount justification. It was of course convenient for the powers but also for countries such as Germany and Belgium which had no historical links with Africa whatsoever. Portugal considered that it had a right to the territory between Angola and Mozambique – The Rose Coloured Map and this clashed with the British ambition of joining the Cape to Cairo with a railway line (which was never built) over British-held territory. The main instigator of this was Cecil Rhodes a dynamic figure of questionable scruple, then Prime Minister of Cape Colony,

Portugal's great mistake in all this issue was to think it could mobilize France and Germany against Great Britain. It signed agreements with both these countries whereby they accepted the Rose Coloured Map as Portuguese areas of influence (but not dominion). When these treaties were published the British Government protested at once "*this enormous space*" "*In the territories where Portugal attributes to itself supremacy and which with the exception of the sea areas and certain parts of the Zambezi river, there is not a vestige of Portuguese jurisdiction and areas where British establishments exist and others where Great Britain has an exceptional interest*". Portugal responds with mainly historical arguments. But the British protest and

its answer remained unpublished, so Portuguese public opinion considered the Rose Coloured Map as an acquired fact. Also the missionaries, especially Scottish Presbyterians, protested. Salisbury writes to them established in Nyasaland of Portugal: "*She is a most tiresome little Power*". Salisbury also comments "ruined forts which were never rebuilt or replaced can only prove, if they prove anything, that regarding such territory the sovereignty which they guaranteed, is also in ruins".

The crisis occurs in the Shire Valley next to Lake Nyasa where Portuguese forces led by Serpa Pinto subdue local tribes which were flying the Union Jack. A note is handed to the Portuguese Government giving 24 hours for the Portuguese military presence in the Shire to leave. The implied threat was that the Home Fleet which was in Gibraltar could block the Tagus, that the island of Mozambique then the capital of Mozambique could be occupied by a Royal Naval fleet then in Zanzibar. Even the occupation of Goa in India was contemplated.

Young King D. Carlos met with the Council of State that same evening and a decision was taken to comply. The effect on Portuguese public opinion was huge. "*Not since the French Napoleonic invasion had the foundations of Portugal been so shaken*" says Basílio Teles and Eça de Queiroz refer to the greatest crisis suffered in his generation. The upheaval gave great impetus to the Republican party and was in the long term instrumental in the regicide of 1908 and the Republican Revolution of 1910. The young D. Carlos never really recovered politically from this crisis.

The Lisbon street which still exists: "Travessa das Inglesinhas" was renamed "Travessa dos Ladrões". My grandfather Jayme Arthur Marques who worked for an English company resigned

and schoolchildren were dispensed of their English language exams.

Salisbury stated laconically in Parliament on "*Portugal's archaeological arguments*".

Soveral then Chargé d'Affaires in all this in London worked hard to pick up the pieces and mend fences. He had always been against the idea that Portugal could play Germany and France against Great Britain. When the crisis came Germany and France of course did nothing. Soveral using his royal contacts, he was a great friend of the Prince of Wales, put across that the British position would endanger the Portuguese monarchy which indeed proved true. Prince Edward was in a difficult position as his son-in-law, the Duke of Fife was Chairman of "The British South Africa Company" known as the "Chartered" and very close therefore to Cecil Rhodes. Even the Kaiser tried to intercede on Portugal's behalf. Soveral manages to negotiate a "Status Quo" allowing negotiations to take place. He is much celebrated in Lisbon for this. His uncle the Visconde de Soveral writes a book: "The Anglo-Luso-African Difficulty Explained".

Eventually a new agreement was signed in July 1891 where in reality the Rose Coloured Map is lost. Portugal however gained in Angola the large north-east area, Lunda, where the diamonds come from. Mozambique became in practice completely dependent on its British-held hinterland. Today it is even part of the Commonwealth, perhaps the last humiliation imposed on Portugal by the British Ultimatum of 1890.

Soveral, recognized for all his efforts, is promoted to Minister to the Court of St. James. During all this difficult period many

other subjects were dealt with. We find a curious case of a murder by a Portuguese sailor on the high seas and Soveral's fears he might be hanged. He arranges that the culprit be handed over to Lisbon, after a quick trial in England where he is only condemned to 13 days in prison. It is interesting to read the very modern preoccupation from Lisbon that a prisoner should not be handed over to a country while he might suffer the death penalty. Portugal by then had no capital punishment.

It is remarkable to consider the direct and rapid access Soveral had to the "great and the good" in England. At one time he saw Salisbury, the Prime Minister, almost every day and the same with the Foreign Secretary. Undoubtedly this came from his close connections with the Prince of Wales and generally his social success. How did he, the diplomatic representative of a weak and unimportant country, achieve this standing?

The proximity to the future Edward VII must have come from his friendship with D. Carlos. Edward had visited Lisbon and made good friends with the future King of Portugal. And of course in an establishment where Queen Victoria was a sort of recluse and did not allow her Ministers to show any confidential documents to the future king and generally kept him apart from all public duties, this talented prince who was a born diplomat unused by the Government, pursued a frenetic life of pleasure. He was what is described as a sybarite. In this context Soveral's "talent to amuse" and capacity to maintain close relations with the great especially, the royals gave him the rapid access which granted him the professional prestige which he placed to the good services of his country. He understood that the intimacy with royals had its rules and limits. He was appreciated for his tact and good sense.

Soveral became increasingly close to the future Edward VII not only as an adviser but also as a companion in many adventures. They were both great womanizers, not only chasing beautiful women in high society but also as clients of the famous "maisons closes" of the Parisian "belle époque".

Such was his tact that although close to the Prince regarding women he always kept the friendship of Alexandra, the Princess of Wales.

When King Edward ascended the throne on his mother's death in 1901 there was a levée for diplomatic heads of mission who passed quickly in front of the new monarchs. When Soveral came Queen Alexandra took him aside and said: "The Queen of England shall always be to the Marquis of Soveral, the Princess of Wales".

Every Friday before catching the train for Sandringham, Soveral would do the round of London clubs so that he would arrive with the latest gossip, jokes and scandals to amuse the Prince. Churchill's mother Jennie Churchill (who is reputed to have had 200 lovers) said that there was probably no one in her overlapping circles who knew as many details as who was sleeping with whom as the Marquis of Soveral. It was said that D. Carlos "*...was extraordinarily well served by his agent in London, Luiz Soveral, whose effervescent sparkle and conversational gift captivated the Prince of Wales... Soveral concealed discreetly his outstanding ability and proved irresistible to many of the Prince's women friends... and became an intimate friend... until the end*".

A Portuguese friend said: "Luís Soveral is a true "enfant du miracle" and added to be intimate of Ritz, who is the chef in the

Jockey Club, is a social triumph and to play billiards with the Prince of Wales is but a political triumph”.

Due to Queen Victoria's life style, Society gyrated round the Prince of Wales and hostesses quickly realized that to get the Prince to accept an invitation and to keep him amused, one had to also invite Soveral. Among his papers there are hundreds of invitations to all the great houses of England and Scotland.

The Prince of Wales had considerably widened his circle of friends inviting great Jewish families like the Rothschilds, commercial fortunes like Sir Thomas Lipton of tea fame and other exotic figures like our Soveral. It is told that a lady who lived in a remote castle in what was then called Russian Poland once sat down at a table next to a Portuguese and said “I know little about Portugal but I do know you have Soveral”. Not everybody liked him. The German embassy did not and called him “Soveral Überalles”.

Once a diplomat asked him if protocol permitted him to invite a royal for dinner to which Soveral answered “That only depends on the cook”. He was known as the Blue Monkey; Max Beerbohm said: *“His beard is so heavy that directly he had razored it, it looked as if he should have razored it. That is why he is called the Blue Monkey. He is really ugly and a great success – oh a monumental success – with the women”*. Lady Desborough describes him as *“marvellously cute and ugly at the same time”* and he describes her as *“stately and voluptuous at the same time”*.

He tried to hide his intelligence. As Sir Frederick Ponsonby says: *“It was only when he had to talk seriously that one realised how clever he was. Yet he did all he could to hide*

his cleverness having found by experience that both men and women fight shy of a clever man”.

But in his rear, political life in Portugal was disintegrating. The governments changed alternatively among the two large parties but whereas in a parliamentary system a government arises out of election results, in Portugal it was the other way round. A government fell because its majority did not hold together or because it was just “tired” as Eça de Queiroz describes. The King would appoint a new government from the other party and only then would the new government call elections which it invariably won. During all the constitutional monarchy period very few governments lost an election, which were fraudulently and corruptly organized. Increasingly the King was the only entity which gave legitimacy to the process. He dismissed the government, he appointed the new government, he allowed parliament's dissolution, he sanctioned the new results. The urban lower middle classes felt frustrated and blaming the King and the monarchy joined increasingly the Republican party which had the great advantage of not participating in the unpopularity of those who govern.

The system was breaking down and the big parties began to splinter. In 1893 there is an attempt to have a “non-party” government, a “government of all the talents”. In 1895 the Foreign Minister died suddenly and Soveral is pressured by King D. Carlos to become Minister. With considerable reluctance he accepted. But neither he nor this Government were a great success. Soveral was detested by the Lisbon political establishment – for his social standing, his “dandynism” (one said of him on being asked if he was good: *“He has a bowler hat the colour of a pumpkin”*) and his obvious dislike of politicians. He lacked it is true, political ambition which is fatal.

He accompanied D. Carlos to Britain in 1895 for a state visit to try and mend the wounds of the Ultimatum. Soveral organizes for D. Carlos to be invested with the Order of the Garter which he received from Queen Victoria at Balmoral. One of the Queen's ladies in waiting described D. Carlos, by then very fat and portly as: "fat and pink, just like a prize pig". Soveral is also chosen to be an arbitrator in a dispute between Britain and Brazil regarding the Islands of Trinidad (not the Caribbean ones) well out in the Atlantic. Soveral comes down in favour of Brazil. The British Government accepted the decision and indeed invested Soveral with the Grand Cross of St. Michael and St. George. Eça de Queiroz congratulates him and says only British decorations are real saying that others belong to jewellery shops as mere ornaments.

The Chargé d'Affaires Alfredo de Castro, who was keeping the post "warm" for Soveral's return wrote in August 1896 "I don't recall London being so deserted": London at the time had 4.5 million inhabitants. During this period Portugal also suffers grievously in its public finances caused by the collapse in the Brazilian currency after their republican revolution and its consequences in the remittances of Portuguese immigration.

The Government falls in 1897 and Soveral returns to London. On the day he arrives he receives the following note: "The Princess of Wales hopes, if you have nothing better to do that you will look into her Box at the Opera this evening. Welcome back again, Sir Luis".

1897 is the year of Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee and the season is particularly brilliant. The Duchess of Devonshire gives a custom ball and the Prince of Wales comes as a 16th-

century Grand Prior of the Order of Malta and asks his foreign diplomat friends to come as Priors of the Order in their own countries. Here is Soveral as Prior of the Order of Malta in Portugal.

The financial crisis in Portugal deepened and the great powers begin to sniff that perhaps the time has come to divide among themselves the Portuguese empire. There are many letters and accounts of all the negotiations whereby Britain and Germany, who insisted on joining any scheme, would loan funds to Portugal with in practice parts of the empire specially in Mozambique as a guarantee. They foresaw that Portugal would be unable to pay and then the principle assets such as the port of Lourenço Marques would be administered by the powers and sovereignty would follow.

It did not help that several politicians in Lisbon defended in public that the colonies should be sold. One must also remember that tensions were increasing in southern Africa with the two landlocked Boer republics. Germany which traditionally had been sympathetic with the Boers plays this card and against their abandonment of the two republics obtains from the British Government a secret deal in 1898 to divide up the Portuguese empire if this country failed in its financial commitments. Germany would keep Mozambique north of the Zambezi, southern Angola and Timor whereas Britain would have Mozambique south of the Zambezi and the north of Angola.

Soveral who got to know of the negotiations advised his government and did all he could to empty this threat. Germany wished to force Portugal to accept the loan and at one moment sent a fleet to Lisbon to pressure the Portuguese Government. Soveral immediately contacted the British Government and

when the German naval ships arrived in the Tagus they found that, by coincidence, the Royal Navy was there on visit from Gibraltar occupying all the best anchorages! As a colleague of Soveral, António Feijó writes to a friend "*Isn't this fantastic, that Luiz Soveral manages to manoeuvre Royal Navy fleets?*".

But what had motivated Britain to enter into this secret agreement with Germany was not so much as wanting spoils from Portugal's colonial empire but rather paying a price for Germany abandoning the Boers. Soveral sees his opportunity and seizes the initiative. With the imminent start of the Second Boer War, Soveral negotiates that Mozambique will close its ports to any commerce including the traffic of arms to the two republics against the reaffirmations of the old alliance. The language used in what was to be known as the Treaty of Windsor of 1899 repeated the language of the treaty signed for the marriage of Catherine of Braganza to Charles II and that "England will defend and protect all the conquests or colonies belonging to the Crown of Portugal against all its enemies present or future". This was the treaty that Salazar invoked, in vain, in 1961 when Goa was invaded by India.

The Anglo-German agreement was therefore made redundant. The Kaiser was furious and everybody applauded Soveral. Soveral is made in reward a Marquis in 1900.

Queen Victoria dies in 1901 and Edward VII, Soveral's great friend, becomes king. It would be high summer for the Portuguese envoy. But the world was changing. The United Kingdom could no longer rely on its foreign policy of "splendid isolation". Germany was expanding its naval power and new alliances and equilibriums had to be sought.

The new king wished to change the style of the monarchy. He ordered that Buckingham Palace should be redecorated and altered: "*Clear out this morgue*" he is reputed to have said.

D. Carlos goes over to London for the Funeral of Queen Victoria who he describes curiously as "Tia". Soveral is always with King Edward. Sir Sydney Lee says "*Soveral filled a place that no foreigner has held in England within living memory*".

The Portuguese Prince Royal D. Luis Filipe comes over for the coronation but the ceremony is postponed owing to an appendicitis operation of the King and the Prince returns but not before being invested with the Order of the Garter. Soveral keeps the King company during his convalescence at the Queen's invitation for "les amuser".

When the coronation does take place the Marquis of Soveral is himself appointed a full ambassador, representing Portugal, but only for the occasion. This irritated the other heads of mission as he processed in front of them. He receives many congratulations including a letter from the long exiled Empress Eugénie who writes if Spain had had Soveral as a foreign minister (she was Spanish by origin) they would not have lost Cuba or the Philippines.

During the long coronation ceremony the imperious Duchess of Devonshire tried to go to the lavatories and on being stopped by court officials she blustered, lost her balance and rolled down the steps in all her ermine robes ("like a rabbit"). "Willing hands directed by the indefatigable Soveral at last restored the illustrious lady to her legs". Her coronet was replaced on her ducal head by the Prime Minister's wife Margot Asquith.

In 1903 King Edward wished to visit Paris to consolidate

a friendship which would become the "Entente Cordial". It is extraordinarily to reflect that the King before talking to his Ministers discussed the matter with Soveral. Many constitutional monarchs at the time considered that foreign policy was at least part of their prerogative. King Edward wanted to dilute the real purpose of the visit and suggested he visit also other countries and Portugal as being his first state visit as King. He would also visit Italy. Soveral immediately informed King D. Carlos (not his Foreign Minister you will note). D. Carlos organized a full programme which he submitted which was approved except a military parade as the by now portly King Edward felt unsafe on an unknown horse. The secrecy was brief which much irritated King Edward as he had not informed Queen Alexandra nor indeed his own Government.

Again it is extraordinary to reflect that one month later the royal yacht "The Victoria and Albert" escorted by Royal Naval cruisers was entering the Tagus. How would this be possible today?

Soveral did all he could to make the visit a success organizing morning tea and whiskey for the visitors. Ponsonby who accompanied the King sourly commented on his accommodation as being "magnificently ugly and not comfortable as we understand comfort." Window places were sold in the Chiado for over 100\$ and The Diário de Notícias on the day before had 115 advertisements to this effect. The beautiful barges rowed by over 80 rowers, still used by the present Queen in 1957, gave what the visitors called a "Canaletto-like procession". The magnificent carriages used were 18th century and two visitors feared the bottom of their carriage would fall off making them run at the bottom of the carriage accompanying the horse's pace. There was a gala-bullfight which would be politically impossible today. They went to the Opera (The

Barber of Seville) and visited the Irish Dominican Nuns at Bom Sucesso. King Edward was made Colonel of the Third Cavalry Regiment. Again Ponsonby: "a uniform that was certainly not becoming to a stout man as the coat was very short, and showed an immense expanse of breaches". D. Carlos became Colonel of the Oxfordshire Light Infantry.

Most will know that King Edward's visit to Paris began with difficulty but ended in triumph. Soveral was there and President Loubet in the middle of a ball at the British Embassy invested him with the "Grand-Officier de la Légion d'Honneur". It is always said and I quote that Soveral "detested Germany and worked on the Prince's prejudices where that country was concerned".

D. Carlos and Queen Amélia make a state visit to Britain in 1904. London has a "Carlos Place" but this dates from his marriage in 1886. Queen Alexandra comes to Lisbon also in 1904.

The Marquis of Soveral was as has been said a great lover of pretty women. Among his papers there are numerous love letters and notes of assignation, some rather fun. Thus the Princess of Pless (who was reputed not to like him) writes "... but I like improper French novels to read in bed".

As an author says: "... *even the husbands of his mistresses and both the Prince of Wales and Alice Keppel delighted in the sight of his tall (sic) figure approaching, a white flower in his buttonhole, a monocle firmly fixed in one glittering eye, his large moustache neatly brushed, his regular teeth revealed in a warm and happy smile ready to greet an old friend with enthusiasm or to charm a new acquaintance*".

Also Constance, Duchess of Westminster writes: "*Soveral will you be very nice and give me your advice? The King and Queen are coming to Eaton for three days shooting. Now shall I ask Mrs. G. Keppel or not? I want the King to be happy but I don't want to annoy the Queen, so please tell me what would be best. Will you please come and stay at Eaton too? I know you don't shoot, but you will be such a help to me with the Queen*".

I will not bore you with many quotations. Let me just add: "*Are you too busy to lunch with me tomorrow... I am quite alone, but the butler and the parrot are excellent chaperones*". At times he is addressed as "Cher Dom Luiz" or "Soveralinho" and a letter ends "*Goodbye dear Romeo. Is this the wrong way to end to a Portuguese Minister?*" It appears he had a torrid affair with Churchill's aunt Leonie.

He is reputed to have had two illegitimate children one Daphne Graham daughter of a baronet who became an actress and a Sir Eric Phipps who later become ambassador to Paris. Although his father Sir Constantine Phipps was tall and blond, his son as he himself described himself was small, neat, dark and like a "Hungarian fly". His parents had been posted to Lisbon during the 1870s.

In 1907 he presided over the Portuguese Delegation to the II International Conference at The Hague where he shone, going back to London and organizing that the instructions to the British delegation be altered.

But political and social life in Portugal was rapidly disintegrating. The parties were split and the king increasingly blamed for all the country's woes. The violence of language in the newspapers was terrible. The King with some despair

appoints João Franco to head the Government and in effect suspends Parliament. The protests are enormous and the King is violently attacked in the press. There was no censorship. João Franco was not up to it and as an old and experienced political fox told him "But where does Your Excellency have the dictators?"

All this agitation culminates in the murder of the King and the Crown Prince in Black Horse Square on February 1st 1908.

The Marquis of Soveral was in Lisbon and tried to convince the British Government to intervene. He returned immediately to London and was received by the King "What country is this where they kill the King and Prince and the first measure taken is do dismiss the Government?" "The Revolution has triumphed, has it not?"

But the British Government refused to intervene. After all everything was quiet. The King would also say to Soveral "They kill two Knights of the Garter on the same day, and nothing happens?". The King went to a formal Requiem Mass at St. James, Spanish Place. Protestant fundamentalists protested. It was the first time since the Reformation that a King of England had officially been to a Catholic ceremony.

D. Carlos was succeeded by his second son then only 18, D. Manuel II who reigned for two years and nine months. During this period there were six governments. The Monarchy was on its last legs.

In 1909 the young King makes a state visit to England which begins at Windsor and in which Soveral was naturally much involved.

But the main interesting aspect of Soveral's activities during this short period was trying to find a bride for King D. Manuel. It was thought correctly that a young English wife would do much to boost the Monarchy's popularity and the issue much preoccupied the Republican party. The candidates were Princess Victoria Patricia of Connaught who only died in 1974 and was known as Lady Patricia Ramsay and the granddaughter of King Edward VII, Princess Alexander of Fife. Indeed a postcard was published calling her Queen of Portugal.

But the religious difference was always invoked. The real reason was the insecurity of the throne. After all Alfonso XIII of Spain had married Eugenie a niece of the King and granddaughter of Queen Victoria. Soveral did his best but to no avail.

King Edward VII dies in May 1910 and D. Manuel goes over for the funeral. During this visit there was a lunch where he met the parents of Princess Louise of Battenberg who later become the Queen of Sweden. Again the inadequate refusal reappears.

King Edward VII's death in 1910 was a great blow to the Marquis of Soveral. Not only the departure of a close friend but also the fact that with the death of King D. Carlos in 1908 and now that of King Edward his access and capacity to influence events in his country's interest was much diminished. Soveral was fast becoming a man of the past.

On the 5th October 1910 a republican revolution breaks out in Lisbon. King Manuel and his mother and grandmother flee to Mafra and on the following day depart from Ericeira on the royal yacht Amélia to Gibraltar. The flight had been so sudden

that they had to buy clothes locally. Soveral in London does all he can to help the exiles. The British Government refuses to send a warship to Gibraltar but the new King George V sends the royal yacht and the family comes to England. Soveral resigns his position and never returned to Portugal.

He was close to King Manuel during the exile in Twickenham often as a go-between the Government and the King. As with all exiled monarchs he could not (or should not) interfere in the politics of a country with whom the host country had relations. This at times proved very difficult as monarchists inside Portugal tried on many occasions to provoke a revolution and were incensed at the lack of support from the exiled monarch. Soveral had also an active function in trying to get the King's personal assets back to him.

Although the Marquis of Soveral was not a close friend of George V, the King was always kind and considerate to his father's old friends and we find Soveral often included in royal guest lists. He continued to spend Christmas in Sandringham and his wide social life also continued unabated. In 1911 he was 60. Soveral also had political influence as we can see by the fact that the Republican regime in Portugal was only recognized by the British Government in September 1911, that is, almost one year after the actual proclamation of the Republic in Lisbon.

As stated his social life continued and we read in the Diaries of Violet Bonham Carter: "*I sat next to Soveral and had a wonderful talk with him about European diplomacy*".

In 1913 D. Manuel married Augusta Victória Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen (of the Catholic branch of the Hohenzollern) and

the Marquis of Soveral attended the wedding. The British royal family was represented by the then young Prince Edward, future Edward VIII and Duke of Windsor. Soveral had little to do with this marriage which was mainly the doing of D. Manuel's mother, Queen Amélia. The First World War was again very difficult for the little court in exile. D. Manuel was very pro-British but his wife had all her family including brothers fighting on the other side. The monarchists in Portugal tended to be pro-German and when Portugal finally entered the war in 1916 the Republican Government wished that the occasion would not only protect the Portuguese colonies after the war, but would also consolidate de regime. So all attempts by King Manuel to make a "sacred alliance" for the duration of the war were contested by both sides. Soveral was much criticised in the Lisbon monarchist press for shaking hands in public with the Republican Minister to the Court of St. James.

Soveral continued popular in Society. Again I quote "...brilliant gentian-blue and brimming over with the international gossip of the last 50 years."

The post-war period continued the difficulties described between the monarchists and their exiled King. This was accentuated by the growing realisation that he could not have children so the legitimists and Miguelite branch of the Braganza's would come into their own.

There were various attempts to conciliate the two Braganza branches, but the Marquis of Soveral had little to do with this as he was dying of cancer in Paris due to his love of cigars. When he died D. Manuel and D. Amélia were at the bedside of this faithful servant of the Portuguese Crown and indeed of his country.

A great diplomat, he was buried at the cemetery of Père

Lachaise in the tomb of the Morgado de Mateus and his wife known as Madame de Sousa who was the illegitimate daughter of Louis XV. When the Morgado's body was transferred to the solar in Vila Real well known to wine drinkers, in the 1960s, he remained alone with the illegitimate daughter of a French King in their perpetual rest. I think the Marquis of Soveral would have well approved this arrangement.

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