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Castro Mendes did his best to protect his invention as by a special seal placed on his bottles. In his will, witnessed by the Countess of Midlerex, the member of parliament Edward Wortley Montague and John Pridiruing, Castro Sarmento left the manufacture (today we would say the patent) of his "Agoa" to this widow and his son Henrique de Castro Sarmento, both resident in London.

As stated there were many forgeries. The first ones by Castro Sarmento's own nephew, Captain André Lopes de Castro who had been apprenticed with his uncle but was sent back to Portugal in disgrace given his lack of application to his studies in medicine! He claimed his uncle had told him the formula and managed to register his own ownership which was recognised by the Prince Regent then in Brazil in 1815.



There were several others such as António José de Sousa Pinto who owned a pharmacy in Lisbon in 1809 and one José Cardoso Rodrigues Crespo, also a pharmacist who lived in 1788 in the Rossio and Ana Maria de Brito. The respective police records have several mentions of these forgeries as it was a protected formula. Curiously a work on the regional distribution of this "Agoa de Inglaterra" made in 1810 gives a good idea of how geographically malaria was spread over Portugal.

The use of this medicine went on well into the XIX century.

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Bibliography: Grande Enciclopedia Portuguesa e Brasileira.

Apologia da Agoa de Inglaterra da Real Fábrica (1812) by Augusto d'Esaguy, Lisbon 1931.

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PORTUGAL DURING THE PENINSULAR WAR AS SEEN BY THE BRITISH ARMY (1808-1812)

by Gabriela Gândara Terenas

The period of the Peninsular War was one of the most interesting and fruitful for Anglo-Portuguese relations. Although it is obvious that the war in the Peninsula was an extremely important event in the history of the countries involved, it was also a period of particular interest for cultural relations between Portugal and Great Britain.

The aim of this paper is to analyse, in a very abridged way, the personal accounts of the British soldiers and officers who came to Portugal to fight against the French, and who wrote, not only about the military events they took part in, but also about the country they visited and the people they met. I am not referring to official reports (which have already been studied by historians), but to very personal views of the events. With this paper I intend to demonstrate the importance of these personal accounts of the war, not only as valuable contributions towards recreating a period of major historical interest, but also as travellers' books that show a particular view of the country and of the people, and which made public a certain image of Portugal, as seen by British officers and men.

In 1806 Napoleon declared the Continental Blockade, according to which no European country was allowed to keep a trading or other type of relationship with Britain. Napoleon's aim was, obviously, to destroy British commercial supremacy, using the European hegemony that France had already achieved. The Continental Blockade forced Portugal to decide whether to obey Napoleon and to face the anger of the British (and eventually to lose its possessions in Africa), or to disobey Napoleon and expect a French invasion of the country. In fact, it was a very delicate situation for Portugal, because if it broke its agreement with Britain,

that is if it broke with the centuries-old Anglo-Portuguese Alliance, the British would certainly occupy the Portuguese overseas possessions and they would also endanger the Portuguese economy. At the time Portugal depended greatly on trade with Britain, especially for the export of Port wine (it should be remembered that not only Port wine was one of the major sources of Portuguese income at the time, but also that its production and trade were in the hands of the British community in Portugal). On the other hand, if Portugal kept to its agreement with Britain, the country would certainly suffer an invasion of the Napoleonic armies, and the Portuguese Government knew that the nation was in no fit state to face the French. As either of these two options would bring clear disadvantages to Portugal, the Prince Regent D. João tried to delay the final decision for as long as he could. After waiting for one year for a definite position, Napoleon delivered an "Ultimatum" to Portugal and decided to invade the country in 1807.

Honouring the alliance between Portugal and Britain, the Government of His Majesty King George III sent to Portugal about 10,000 officers and men under the command of Sir Arthur Wellesley, later Lord Wellington, to help the Portuguese force the French to abandon the country. It is clear that the aim of the British Government was to protect its own political and economic interests, but for most of the soldiers who left their home country, some of them for the very first time, they were not fighting for Britain: they came to save the Portuguese from the tyranny of the French. Let us listen, as an example, to the words of one of these soldiers, Robert Eadie, as they were published in the *Recollections of his Life*:

"Britain, always indulgent to the oppressed, was not backward to lend a hand in striking a blow against such a dangerous intruder; at such a crisis no time was to be lost in preparing a land force for immediate embarkation".¹

The British intervention in the Peninsular war was also seen by the British army as an opportunity of demonstrating its terrestrial military superiority over a well-known enemy, as its naval power had already been proved at Trafalgar in 1805. As the soldier Henry Ross-

Lewin says in the narrative of his life in the army:

"We were now engaged in a noble cause [...] and we enjoyed a fair opportunity of showing to the world, that, notwithstanding our insular situation, the sons of our sea-girt lands could fight as well as on terra firma as on the briny wave".²

Most of the British soldiers and officers brought along with them a note-book in which they wrote down everything they saw, every experience they had, every event they took part in, either in battle or in the experiences in the country, that the campaigns in Portugal provided them with. Sometimes these note-books were carried in their headgear on the battle fields so that they were always able to make daily notes of the events as they occurred. Most of these notes were taken with a specific aim: either to publish a travel book, a very popular genre in Britain at the time, or a narrative of the campaigns in the Peninsula, a subject the British public was very interested in, or both. Others wrote regular letters to their relatives and friends in Britain or kept diaries in which they described their daily experiences. Some of these letters and diaries were genuine, but others were just a device to confer authenticity to the events they narrated, already with the prior objective of publishing them.

It is hard to imagine how numerous these simple notes, journals, diaries, letters, memoirs, recollections, reminiscences, narratives and sketches of the Peninsular War were. One of the most celebrated historians of the Peninsular War, Charles Oman,

¹Robert Eadie, *Recollections of the life of Robert Eadie, private of the 79th Regiment, Cameron Highlanders. Containing a concise account of his campaigns in Ireland, Denmark, Waichern, and the Peninsula. Written by himself for he had been a soldier in his youth, and fought infamous battles.* Second edition. Falkirk, printed by Thomas Gibson, 1830, p 52

²[Henry Ross Lewin], *The life of a soldier: a narrative of twenty-seven years' service in various parts of the world. By a field officer.* In three volumes. vols. I and II. London, Richard Bentley, 1834, p.208.

mentioned in his book, *Wellington's Army*,³ more than one hundred titles. His book was published in 1912 and after that many other non-official narratives of the Peninsular War were published. In my work I have chosen a considerable number of these personal narratives and have analysed them according to two main perspectives: first, the description of the campaigns in Portugal; and second, the impressions about the country the authors visited and the people they met.

As far as the military campaigns are concerned it is important to emphasise the subjective and personal views of people who were actually on the spot, who were eyewitnesses or took part in the events they report. It is a kind of information that we cannot usually find in the traditional History books and that is the reason why I consider that the personal views of these soldiers and officers should be regarded as important contributions towards recreating the history of the French Invasions in Portugal as well as the history of Anglo-Portuguese relations in the same period.

The authors were mainly concerned with the attitude towards the British army of the Portuguese people, the battles they took part in, such as Roliça, Vimeiro and Bussaco, the Convention of Sintra, the reorganisation of the Portuguese Army under the supervision of British officers, and the atrocities committed both by the French and the British as well as the Portuguese "rabble", as they called them.

According to the authors, the first British troops in Portugal were enthusiastically welcomed by the people, who were anxious for military intervention and help from the British. The euphoric and ingenuous Portuguese hospitality, a well-known cultural stereotype of Portugal, was clearly shown in the authors' accounts:

³ V. Charles William Chadwick Oman, *Wellington's army 1809-1814*. By C. W. C. Oman, M. A. Oxon., Hon. LLD Edin., chichele professor of modern history in the University of Oxford With illustrations. London, Edward Arnold, 1912.

"According as the flat boats reached the rock the Portuguese placed our men across their shoulders, and carried them, their arms, ammunition, and three days' provisions in perfect safety to the shore. No people could have behaved so well; they were full of enthusiasm; they regarded us their future deliverers from the insolence and oppression of the French, and they certainly adopted a handsome method of giving us a welcome to their land. [...]"⁴

In fact, the Portuguese people were still completely unaware of the real meaning of the British presence in Portugal. They saw the British as their saviours, and they wanted to express their gratitude with gifts and public demonstrations of joy. This feeling of gratitude and enthusiasm reached its highest moment after the victory of the allies at Roliça and Vimeiro. The British were seen as true deliverers of the oppressed Portuguese and the attitude of the people contributed towards reinforcing the feeling of superiority that the British already had towards the Peninsular countries.

After the victory of the allied armies at Roliça and Vimeiro the notorious Convention of Sintra was signed. Many authors considered that this subject had already been discussed too much to deserve to be mentioned, except for the fact that it undermined the confidence of the Portuguese in the British Army and particularly in the British generals. This was seen by the authors as the first sign of a change of attitude on the part of the Portuguese people, and their disappointment can be read in the following quotations from the letters of Robert Porter and James Ormsby:

"Much was expected from us. Two great victories had already extended the laurels of Britain over the head of Lusitania. No impending blight appeared to threaten a prevention of their spreading yet farther, even to overshadow with a thousand protecting arms, the whole people of this outraged country. These hopes are now blasted, and all is doubt and wonder".⁵

⁴ [Henry Ross — Lewin], *Op. cit.*, p.207.

⁵ [Robert Ker Porter], *Letters from Portugal and Spain, written during the march of the British troops under Sir John Moore. With a map of the route, and appropriate engravings. By an officer*. London, Longman/Hurst/Orme, 1809, pp 2-3.

"To confess the truth, a distrust and jealousy of us pervade the public mind. This may appear inconsistent with the exultation and gratitude I so lately described, and certainly their joy was unbounded at the extermination of the French. But it by no means follows that, because they hate them, they should love us".⁶

The reorganisation of the Portuguese Army became urgent after the departure of the French, because the danger of a second invasion was more than a threat, it was a certainty. Once again, Portugal needed British help and Major-General William Carr Beresford was sent to oversee the difficult task of organising and instructing the Portuguese army. Most of the authors refer to the miserable state of Portuguese forces - some of them with a great sense of humour - especially concerning the parades that took place in Lisbon to celebrate the restoration of the Kingdom:

"The town is now completely evacuated by the French and the native troops begin to make their appearance, and go on garrison duty. [...] such soldiers, I am persuaded, have seldom been exhibited since the days of Falstaff. Their appointments are, beyond description ridiculously bad. There is such variety in the shape and colour, that it seems as if no uniform had been yet decided on, but that they had all been ordered to produce fancy patterns for approbation and that no two of them had by accident fixed upon the same [...]"⁷

In the beginning, the British officers did not believe in the military capability of the Portuguese forces and considered them not

⁶ James Wilmot Ormsby, *An account of the operations of the British army, and of the state and sentiments of the people of Portugal and Spain, during the campaigns of the years 1808 & 1809. in a series of letters. By the rev. James Wilmot Ormsby, A. M chaplain on the staff &c. In two volumes. Vol. I. London, printed for James Carpenter, 1809, p.171.*

⁷ Idem, *Idem*, pp. 156-157

enthusiastic enough about the cause of the Peninsula to be able to fight bravely. Nevertheless, in time this attitude changed and the British recognised that under the skilful and persevering instruction of the British officers, the Portuguese corps were becoming disciplined and prepared for serious action.

For the authors the first important proof of the capability of the Portuguese troops occurred during the battle of Bussaco in September 1810. However, it is important to note that despite the recognition of the improvements made by the Portuguese troops, as well as the friendly relations established between the two allied armies, the authors never forget to underline the superiority of the British forces:

"It is difficult to say which troops, the British or Portuguese, are the most indifferent to danger. In both it is quite remarkable. But John [Bull] goes to work more steadily and sullenly, while the Portuguese must be well led, and have his joke. [...] the Portuguese has not the bodily strength of the former, is naturally lazy, and is not used to our pickaxes and shovels. Therefore on the working parties the British do their work better in half the time. But both seem equally careless of danger. They agree perfectly well together, and amongst the men there is scarce an instance of disagreement or disturbance."⁸

I have already said that as far as the military campaigns are concerned the authors referred often to the atrocities committed both by the French and the British as well as the Portuguese peasants. This happened not only during the pursuit of the French army, under the command of Soult, after being forced to abandon Oporto, but

⁸ William Warre, *Letters from the Peninsula 1808-1812. By Lieut. -Gen. Sir William Warre, C.B., KTS.. Edited by his nephew the rev. Edmond Warre D.D., C.B., MVO ., with frontispiece and map. London, John Murray, 1909, p.239*

also during the third invasion, mainly due to Wellington's tactics known as "*terra queimada*". The Portuguese people followed Wellington's orders to the letter and destroyed their own crops, abandoned their own houses, brought along with them everything they could and marched towards Lisbon to protect themselves behind the defensive Torres Vedras Lines.

As the French could not cross the lines and Wellington did not want to attack them, the two armies both stood their grounds, one in front of the other, without making any move for about four months. But, whereas the allied armies were well supplied with everything they needed, the French were starving, falling sick and dying.

In March 1811 Massena finally decided to retreat along countryside that was completely deserted by its inhabitants. The French army became increasingly desperate with hunger and tremendously enraged, which led them to commit the most terrible atrocities. And I quote from the diary of an officer of the Guards, Cowell-Stepney, the following description:

"If the result of the advance of the French into Portugal was calamitous, the scenes witnessed on their retreat were deplorable. Destruction, incendiarism, violation, and murder — in short, desolation, marked their course. Their steps were traced by the conflagration of towns, villages and *quintas*. [...] If the enemy could not exist in the country, they had determined that nothing should be left for others. [...] I have seen such sights as have made me shudder with horror, and which I really could not have believed unless an eye-witness of them".⁹

However, the authors confess that the French were not the only ones to commit atrocities. The British soldiers could not resist the temptation to plunder and vandalise. One of these

⁹ [John Cowell-Stepney], *Leaves from the diary of an officer of the guards*. London, Chapman and Hall, 1854, p.53.

acts took place in the Monastery of Batalha where the tomb of King D.João I was opened and plundered as Jonathan Leach relates in the *Rough Sketches* of his life:

"[...] in going into the cathedral, I saw the coffin of the said King John open, and the body, which was of course embalmed, exposed to view, wrapped in rich robes of crimson velvet and gold. By way of a relic, I cut off a button and some gold fringe from his majesty's robes, whilst others more ambitious, could be satisfied with nothing less than a royal finger"¹⁰

The Portuguese peasants lost no opportunity of revenge and they were cruel towards the French soldiers, who, for one reason or another — usually weakness produced by illness or exhaustion — were left behind and could be easily attacked. Let us hear the words of a Scottish soldier as they were published in the *Vicissitudes* of his life:

"The miserable effects of a rapid retreat began already to be visible, we were continually passing over the bodies of men and horses who had been slain, wounded, or knocked up by fatigue, but not one of the human beings was alive, in consequence of the crowds of [...] Portuguese ruffians who were hanging constantly on the way, killing and stripping every man that lay helpless on the ground;"¹¹

¹⁰ Jonathan Leach, *Rough sketches of the life of an old soldier: during a service in the West Indies; at the siege of Copenhagen in 1807, in the Peninsula and the south of France in the campaigns from 1808 to 1814, with the Light Division, in the Netherlands in 1815; including the battles of Quatre Bras and Waterloo: with a slight sketch of the three years passed by the army) of occupation in France &c. &c. &c..* By Lieut.-Colonel J. Leach, C.B. late of the Rifle Brigade, and previously of the 70th regiment. London, Longman/Rees/Orme/Brown, and Green, 1831, p 170.

¹¹ Anonym, *Vicissitudes in the life of a Scottish soldier*. Written by himself London, published for Henry Colburn by Richard Bentley, 1835, pp. 133-134.

Let us now move to the second way of looking at the British accounts, that is, as impressions of the country they visited and the people they met.

I have chosen to analyse these texts from a completely different viewpoint, that is as travel books. If one is to be able to understand fully what is behind the image of Portugal that the writers present, it is necessary to realise what their objectives were. Do the texts intentionally present the encounter with the Other, or not? Are the authors above all soldiers or travellers? To answer these questions there are others that need asking: What was the real aim of their journeys? Was it to escape from a monotonous or a difficult existence? Was it a search for adventure or an apparently better life? Was it to meet other peoples and to discover different places? Or was it to write a travel book as a way of making additional income?

In fact, for many of the authors whose texts I have studied the war itself seems to have been the real reason for the trip to Portugal and in these cases the books are, above all, Peninsular War narratives. It was a glorious war for Britain and many British officers became known all over the world because of the battle fields of Portugal and Spain. As a matter of fact only a few periods of the History of any country have produced such a rapid and far-reaching change in its military importance, as the period of the Peninsular War has produced in the history of Great Britain. And this is one of the reasons which could explain the existence of so many narratives on the Peninsular War.

In this category, I refer to a group of authors whose main aim is to praise the value of the British soldiers and officers. This is done through the description of the courage of the British troops, their constancy under daily sufferings and privations, their kindness to the foreigners they were protecting and even their generosity to the foe they opposed; it is also done through the description of the brilliant military strategies adopted by the British commanders especially by Wellington, who became a hero to these men. Even though it was not the main aim of this group of authors to write, deliberately, a travel book, the fact is, that in a non-intentional way the authors give their

opinions and impressions about foreign habits or landscapes, and so their narratives can also be considered as travel books.

For others the war seems to have been a way of running away from a monotonous or difficult existence in search of adventure or an apparently better life. Some of them were disappointed with what they found because the pains and privations they suffered were even harder than the ones they already knew in their home country, even though this was sometimes understood as a sort of punishment and redemption for the errors they had made in life. Others, on the contrary, found the military life enjoyable and rewarding, offering excitements and pleasures that no other type of life could provide them with. And this was especially true if the military campaigns took place in a foreign country. In fact if a war implies travelling abroad, this war could be considered as a tour, that is, a way of seeing the world and of visiting new places and trying out new things. This was the case of the Peninsular War. It gave not only the first opportunity "to set a foot on a foreign strand"¹² to many of the British soldiers (because, as some of them say, their sword was the only passport they had), but it also brought the opportunity to travel across the country due to the type of campaigns they faced in the North and central regions of Portugal.

I believe that in many cases the British soldiers understood this war as a chance to travel and to get to know other places and other peoples. Enlistment in a corps that was about to leave for a foreign country was, in many cases, a stratagem that gave the authors the possibility of travelling abroad. Richard Henegan gives us exactly this impression, in his narrative, when he writes that the first appearance of the Portuguese coast "was joyously responded to by hearts that bounded at the magic words of foreign service".¹³

¹² [John Cowell-Stepney], *OP. cit.*, p.7.

¹³ *Richard D. Henegan, Seven years' campaigning in the Peninsula and the Netherlands: from 1808 to 1815. By Sir Richard D. Henegan, Knight of the Royal Guelphic Order, and formerly head of the field train department with the allied armies under the command of his grace the duke of Wellington. In two volumes. Vol. I. London, Henry Colburn, 1846, p.11.*

For these authors the war was not the real motive of their trip, but a pretext for travel. Most of these accounts of the Peninsular War are travel books that deliberately present the encounter of the traveller (and soldier) with the Other, that is, with foreign reality. In these cases I consider that the authors came to Portugal with the preconceived aim of later publishing a type of book that was extremely popular in Britain — a travel book — and that is the reason why they brought along with them the note-books I previously mentioned. Some of them are not interested in the war at all and they only mention it in passing, in such a way that the reader sometimes forgets that these impressions were taken during war time. In this context I have to draw attention to a specific type of authors and a specific type of accounts which sometimes coincide. I am referring to those men who were not strictly soldiers nor officers but were still part of the British Army. These are the cases of military doctors and chaplains, such as Adam Neale, Walter Henry, James Ormsby and William Bradford. Albeit with different functions within the army both doctors and chaplains had one thing in common: a certain easiness and a certain detachment towards the war itself. They were not directly involved in the military engagements and so they had more free time to visit places of interest, and a predisposition that allowed them to pay attention to the surrounding landscape or to other aspects of interest to the common traveller.

There are also certain accounts of the Peninsular War that are clearly more concerned with the foreign country than with the war itself. I refer to the narratives of soldiers who spent most of their time in Portugal during the periods of interregnums such as the period after the Convention of Sintra and before the second invasion or the period between the second and the third invasions. As the authors say in these periods of time the military operations in Portugal consisted merely of marches through the country and, from the ease and security with which they were performed, they resembled a tour rather than a campaign. The billets also gave them a unique opportunity of becoming intimate with Portuguese families as well as with their habits and ways of living.

As far as the impressions of the country, the manners and the habits of the Portuguese people are concerned, it is important to point out that they came about, in most cases, from a very close and pleasant relationship established between the British soldiers and the Portuguese families during the billets. On the subject, let us listen to the words of Moyle Sherer, as they were published in his *Recollections of the Peninsula*:

"Such was my treatment in the first billet I ever entered in Portugal, and such, with 'very few' exceptions was the character of the reception given by Portuguese of all classes, according to their means, at the commencement of the peninsula struggle to the British army: rich and poor, the clergy and laity, the *fidalgo* and the peasant, all expressed an eagerness to serve, and a readiness to honour us. In these early marches the villa, the monastery, and the cottage were thrown open at the approach of our troops; the best apartments, the nicest cells, the humble, but only, beds were all resigned to the march-worn officers and men, with undisguised cheerfulness".¹⁴

Regarding this particular aspect — the close relationship established between the British soldiers and Portuguese families due to the billets — it is interesting to mention, as an example, the impression the former give of the people from the Alentejo, who according to the authors, had been described by earlier travellers in a very unfair way.

They confess that they very much admire the manners and the customs of the people from the Alentejo, whom they consider to be very happy and fond of music; calm and peaceable people and extremely generous to their visitors. The authors firmly condemn the prejudiced opinion of those who have despised them as senseless or frivolous.

¹⁴ [Joseph Moyle Sherer], *Recollections of the Peninsula*. By the author of *Sketches of India*. Second edition. London, Longman/Hurst/Rees/Orme/Brown and Green, 1824, pp.35-36.

It is also in the Alentejo that the authors found the best houses of Portugal, even among the lowest classes: they were all very clean, comfortable, well built and adapted in every way to keep out the summer heat and winter cold, something that did not happen in most Portuguese houses.

In fact in the Alentejo the authors found the houses, the places and the people in their natural state because this region had escaped the ravages of the enemy. As the French had never been in this part of the kingdom, the British found the inhabitants in as primitive and tranquil state as if profound peace had reigned for centuries in the Peninsula. Having escaped the horrors of war, the manners and customs of the nation were to be seen in the Alentejo in greater purity than in the North of the country.

It is also in the Alentejo that the British soldiers and officers established very curious contacts with the nuns of Santa Clara Convent. In fact, the relationships between the British officers and the Portuguese nuns are worth mentioning because the visits the former paid to these cloistered women were part of their regular itinerary in Portugal. According to the authors the nuns of the Santa Clara Convent belonged to the best Portuguese families and were "fair specimens of Portuguese beauty".¹⁵ The officers used to visit the nunneries regularly and, in their opinion, all the sisters seemed flattered by their attentions. A military band was often brought down to the outer court of their "sacred prisons", as they called them, for the amusement of the younger nuns. Some of the officers would sit talking to them for hours and, consequently, there were a number of love stories with unhappy endings. This also happened within the families where soldiers were billeted because the catholic parents of the Portuguese girls usually forbade marriage with the young British heretics.

¹⁵ Jonathan Leach, (Op. cit., p.102.

The Portuguese religious tradition was also the object of attention by members of the British Army, particularly because the rituals were completely different from the ones they knew. But it is in the provinces —mainly among the poor — and not in Lisbon that they found real religious fervour.

In fact it is important to note that the authors reveal a clear preference for the simple country life and people in opposition to the life of the city and its inhabitants. They said that as they withdrew from the capital city, a new character began to show itself industry and cheerfulness appeared to prevail, instead of the indolence and discontent, which were so deplorably conspicuous in Lisbon.

This taste for the simple country life and people, in direct contact with Nature, can be explained by a clear romantic sensibility that marks the beginning of the 19th century in English literature. This romantic sensibility can be seen, first and foremost, in the forms of their personal narratives, which underline the cult of subjectivity, personal and intimate feelings or emotions: diaries, letters and memoirs are forms that in themselves, emphasise a subjective view of reality.

Secondly, the romantic sensibility of the authors can also be seen in descriptions of the Portuguese landscape, where the taste for the picturesque and the sublime, the beautiful and the horrible clearly denote a romantic attitude. One of the most favourite Portuguese landscapes is the one that can be found between Nisa and Vila Velha do Ródão, described by Moyle Sherer, in his *Recollections*, in the following way:

"The road from Niza [sic] to Villa [sic] Velha is truly romantic; [...] the river [Tagus], at that point, forcing its narrow, deep and angry course between lofty and precipitous banks, which rise into brown and barren mountains, forms a grand and imposing picture. [...]"

All the way between Villa Velha and Niza [sic], the road winds through a deep and narrow valley, enclosed on all sides by rudely-shaped and rocky hills: through it flows a small streamlet, descending from the

heights in the rugged channel of a wintry torrent, and faintly marking out its course with a silvery thread of the purest water".¹⁶

Possibly due to the influence of 18th century "landscape painting", often used by those who did the Grand Tour, many of the authors, demonstrated their artistic sensibility, by painting the most romantic, picturesque and sublime landscapes and included them in their narratives. They also made very interesting sketches of the typical costumes of the different social classes and regions of Portugal as well as beautiful drawings of Portuguese monuments such as medieval castles, convents and monasteries that reminded them of a way of life that had disappeared in Britain after the Anglican Reform.

Although the authors were clearly marked by the influence of a new sensibility, Romanticism, they were still attached to the desire to instruct, and to describe things in a detailed way, very characteristic of the Enlightenment period and to 18th century travel books.

The authors give us romantic descriptions of the Portuguese landscape, but at the same time they give us precise and rigorous information about all the places they visit and all the new things they see: plants, animals, rivers, mountains, monuments and curious historical episodes are described in a very detailed and didactic style.

In this context it should be emphasised that they often correct the impressions and opinions of previous British travellers. This proves not only that they were familiar with them, but also that they intended to give the reader a new and more accurate view of Portugal.

¹⁶ [Joseph Moyle Sherer], *Op. cit.*, pp.45-46

By way of conclusion, I would like to say that these texts give us a full image of Portugal during the period of the Peninsular War because they are at once both accounts of the war and travel books.

The impressions they give are marked by a desire to be honest and also by the intimate relationship they shared with the Portuguese. Nevertheless, this attitude and this life experience never extinguished the feeling of superiority that the British always had towards the Portuguese. Out of this implicit or explicit comparison with a Great Britain that was viewed as a model of civilisation comes constant self-praise and defence of the value of the British troops. As a consequence, it was expected that the Portuguese would show their gratitude to those who had come to help them.

The image of Portugal which prevails in these books is in accordance with two main tendencies which in themselves are completely opposite: romanticism and illuminism. However, they do no more than to denote the complexity of values and ideals at a time of change in both philosophical and literary terms.

Finally, it can be said that these narratives are a valuable contribution towards recreating a specific period of the History of Portugal as well as a particular moment of Anglo-Portuguese relations. The texts are a result of what has been lived and experienced by the British Officers and men during the Peninsular War and so they are a new and a unique contribution, an image of Portugal as seen by the British Army.

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