

A SKETCH
OF
THE HISTORY OF PORTUGAL

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CONSTANTINO JOSÉ DOS SANTOS

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A SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF PORTUGAL

BY

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A translation from the Portuguese

BY

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Senator of the Portuguese Parliament.

THIS ENGLISH VERSION
OF
THE HISTORY OF PORTUGAL
IS
DEDICATED
TO
NAWAB NIZAMAT JUNG
OF
HYDERABAD DECCAN

FOREWORD

PROFESSOR W. C. Douglas, of the Presidency College, Madras, very kindly looked over the present translation and gave it the necessary finishing touches, both in matter of composition as in punctuation. The translator very much appreciates the valuable assistance thus rendered him and avails of this opportunity to record his gratitude to that distinguished Professor.

Some seemingly flagrant mistakes have however been intentionally allowed to remain. The title of the great national Epic of Portugal, for instance, appears for the first time in the form it has in the original, so that the reader who has always been accustomed to see it written «The Lusiad» will no doubt find it strange that in the pre

sent work the poem is referred to as the « Lusíadas » (pronounced with an accent on the i).

The only object in view in preserving this original form is to convey faithfully to the mind of the reader the exact title which the author himself chose to give to his work.

It is not intended here to justify the poet's choice, much less to criticise the great many eminent writers who have translated the Lusíadas into English.

A work like the present one however will not allow of poetic licenses, and though « The Lusiad » may sound better to the accustomed ear the reader will surely pardon the use of the new form, were it only, for the reason already given.

In order, however, to enable him better to form his own judgment in this matter his attention is drawn to the following facts as well.

Exactly as « Iliadas » is the accusative plural of « Iliades » meaning descendants of « Ilus », the son of Tros, and founder of

« Ilium » or *Troy*, so the word « *Lusiadas* » was formed from « *Lusus* » the supposed founder of *Lusitania* and means « the descendants of *Lusus* », that is the *Lusitanians*, the *Lusians* or the *Portuguese*.

Virgil used the word *Aeneadas* also in the above sense.

Camões (pronounced *Camoëus*) did not coin the word *Lusiadas*. This term was employed to designate the *Portuguese* even before his time but had been so used only in works in *Latin* by *Portuguese* writers such as *Jorge Coelho*, *André de Resende* and *Manuel da Costa*. *Camões* adopted the expression as a name to his poem but made no further use of that designation.

As a title to a poem it bears such a striking similarity to titles like the « *Iliad* » and the « *Aeneid* », that it may easily mislead one into the belief that a terminal imitation was really intended or that all those forms were in fact identical, and the suffixes of equal value.

What is important to note is that the title

« Os Lusíadas » is not only in the plural number but also in the masculine gender, whereas the « Iliad » and the « Æneid », in Portuguese, belong to the feminine gender and are written thus, « A Iliada », « A Eneíada ». Had it been the intention of the poet to imitate these, we should have, very likely, had the form « A Lusíada » instead of « Os Lusíadas ». The suffixes in the two words, though very similar in form, represent widely different ideas. The first is equal to « all about » or « concerning », while the second represents, as we have seen, « the descendants of ».

« A Lusíada » or « The Lusíad » may thus convey the notion that the poem records the heroic deeds of « Lusus », who according to Pliny was the son of Bacchus and Founder of Lusitania, whereas the Portuguese Epic really sings the praises not of any single hero but of all the Lusian heroes.

Mr. Mickle in his first note to « The Lusíad » says :— « in the original « Os Lusíadas », « The Lusíads ».

«The Lusiads», *thus, in the plural, might correspond to the Portuguese form «As Lusiadas» in the feminine and may come to mean practically the same thing as «The Lusiad» in the singular, taking the suffix to be the same in both.*

Of these two forms the latter may be preferable but neither of them would convey the exact meaning of «Os Lusiadas» as used in the original.

There is no doubt that «The Lusiad» corresponded to the form then consecrated to titles of epic poems, but in the present case it did not serve the purpose of the poet and he therefore deliberately rejected it.

Another instance deserving special mention is the spelling of Sintra with an S. When Wordsworth in prose and Byron in verse expressed their views on the Convention of Cintra, most of the Portuguese themselves used to write the name of that town with a C and not with an S. «Cintra» was therefore at that time the almost universally

accepted form. It had not, however, been always so, as it is not so at the present time. In Latin it was Sintria or Sintra, the latter being the form adopted by Portuguese writers. Camões wrote Sintra but, subsequently, owing to an unjustified confusion with Cynthia, the word began to be written with a C. Modern writers have gone back to the original form and Sintra is now the official spelling of the name of the town.

On page 20, lines 4 and 5, instead of « a stone-chamber buried in the soil » kindly read « a chamber made of stones partly buried in the soil ».

On page 36, lines 4 and 5, instead of « which took the name of Cister » kindly read « which, in Portuguese, took the name of Cister ». In Portugal the Order has always been known as the Order of Cister and its members as the monks of Cister. Cister, in Portuguese, as Cistel in Spanish, is the equivalent of Citeaux, a place in

France where the Order was founded. It's from Cistercium, the latinized name of Cîteaux, that we have the word Cistercian.

On page 62, line 9, instead of the Portuguese form terços read tercios, its Castilian equivalent.

On page 104, line 20, after Sebastian read his great-uncle,.

On page 107 after the sub-title «The Disastrous Consequences of the Spanish Occupation» read «Most of the Overseas Conquests pass into the hands of the Dutch and the English».

On page 56 line 6 instead of «uncle» kindly read «cousin».

Last but not least, the translator renews his acknowledgments to Dr. Charles P. G. Scott, of the Century Dictionary, who did him the honor of reading this translation

before it went to the Press. The meeting with the Doctor was a pure chance but it is to a certain extent due to this happy coincidence and, specially, to the very encouraging words of Dr. Scott, that the translator, overcoming his doubts, ventures to publish this work.

24-12-1927.

CONSTANTINO SANTOS

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Lisbon.

THE HISTORY OF PORTUGAL



I. BATTLE-ABBEY, BATALHA, NEAR ALJUBARROTA
(See page 197 for notes on Illustrations)

EARLY PERIOD

INCLUDING

THE FOUNDATION OF THE KINGDOM AND
THE CONSOLIDATION OF THE HOME-LAND

THE dawn of a national life in Portugal dates from the eleventh century after Christ, but it is necessary for completeness to begin this sketch with a brief reference to the earliest inhabitants of the country and to the monuments and other vestiges of historical interest which they and their successors have left behind them.

In Lisbon, in the Ethnological Museum, in the Academy of Sciences, in the Anthropological Hall of the Geological Service, as well as in the various archeological collections throughout the country, there are to be found vestiges of pre-historic man, be-

ginning with Chellean and *Acheulean coups-de-poing*.

It is in the neighbourhood of Lisbon that the richest paleolithic deposits have been found (that is, deposits belonging to the rough-hewn stone-age), the finds at the following places being worthy of special mention: «Casal do Monte» near Pova de Santo Adrião, nine kilometres N. E. of Lisbon; «Serra do Monsanto»; «Mealhada»; the grotto of «Furninha», explored in a masterly manner by Neri Delgado; and the Kitchen-midden of «Mugem» (representing the transition stage from the rough-hewn to the polished stone-age) which afforded two hundred skeletons dating from the end of the quaternary age and belonging to a simian race, and probably to the australoid group. The climate of the region in the greater part of the quaternary, must have been very warm, as the deposits are generally found in the open air.

The most curious examples of early ha-

THE HISTORY OF PORTUGAL



2. A DOLMEN NEAR SINTRA

bitations are to be seen in the remains of villages, met with in high localities and known by the names of « castros » (or crastos) « citânias », « cidades », « cidade-lhes », « crestins », etc. In almost all of them, there have been found relics of an age more recent than the neolithic; this does not, however, prove that the « cidades » did not exist even before those relics.

The « castros » may be divided into two classes, viz, the Pre-Roman and the Luso-Roman, while the first of these may be sub-divided into three further classes:

(a) the neolithic, the typical example of which is the Castro of Liceia, 24 kilometres west of Coimbra;

(b) the mixed, in which neolithic vestiges are mixed up with those of the age of metals, and which have for a type the Castro of Pragança in Cadaval;

(c) the Proto-historic, like the one at Sabroso in Minho, 9 kilometres east of Braga, where the neolithic vestiges are

rare but those of the copper and iron ages abound.

The dolmens belong to the neolithic age. They are sepulchres consisting of a stone-chamber buried in the soil with a large covering stone slab, and a low passage or gallery, also covered over with slabs, leading to the chamber. They are commonly called *antas*, *orcas*, or *arcas*, and seem, to belong to the transition stage from the neolithic to the metal age. Specimens of the metal-age are to be seen in the Portuguese museums in the shape of axes, swords, spears, hatchets, etc.

EARLY INHABITANTS

ALL that is conjectured of the historical inhabitants of pre-Roman Spain is extremely unreliable. The Iberians are generally supposed to be the oldest race, and though their origin is still unknown, yet they may reasonably be said to be in some way connected with the Berbers. What

THE HISTORY OF PORTUGAL



3. A DOLMEN NEAR EVORA

has been said about the Ligurians is also unworthy of credit. The Phoenicians, and later on the Greeks, established emporiums on the coast without penetrating inland; they did not therefore, affect in any way the population taken as a whole; at a date that has not been determined, certain Celtic tribes came over from Gaul and settled down between the Tagus and the Guadiana; and in the VIth and Vth centuries B. C. the Carthaginians also established emporiums.

THE LUSITANIANS

THE name of Lusitanians was given to a portion of the inhabitants of the high-lands to the west of Iberia. Herculano (A. D. 1810-77) the greatest Portuguese historian, wisely circumspect in this matter of primitive races, denies the existence of solid grounds for the supposition of an unbroken continuity between the Lusitanians and the Portuguese; however, as this racial ques-

tion supplies nowadays a topic for rhetorical display, it has become the fashion to hold a view contrary to the historian's prudent opinion.

Be that as it may, we know that the Lusitanians undertook various campaigns for economic purposes, and all of a sudden we see them playing a part really remarkable in the resistance they offered to the Roman legions in the second century B. C. Under the command of a warrior whose name is not known but who was surnamed Viriato (one that uses bracelets, *viriae*) they inflicted severe reverses upon the Romans, who in the end however succeeded in having the chieftain murdered by bribing three or four of his intimate companions.

There is no ground to justify the popular tradition that he was born on a hill called Herminio, nor is there any connection between him or his deeds and the intrenchment at Vizeu, known as the *Cava de Viriato*.

His death did not put an end to the re-

sistance of the Lusitanians to the Roman yoke, so much so, that the Roman, Sertorius, later on joined hands with the rebels and became famous in the civil wars of the Republic; belonging to Marius' party, he used these inhabitants of the West of the peninsula to fight the faction of Sulla 80 to 72 B. C.

He gave them military organisation but we must accept with reserve the great civilising influence that has been attributed to him.

THE ROMANS

JULIUS Caesar, some years afterwards (61 to 45 B. C.) thanks to his genius for military tactics, succeeded in obtaining decisive victories over the Spaniards, and in B. C. 26, Augustus, the first Emperor of Rome, desirous of peace in the Empire, undertook a campaign, putting himself at its head, in order to complete the conquest of Iberia. He succeeded in making the Iberians take

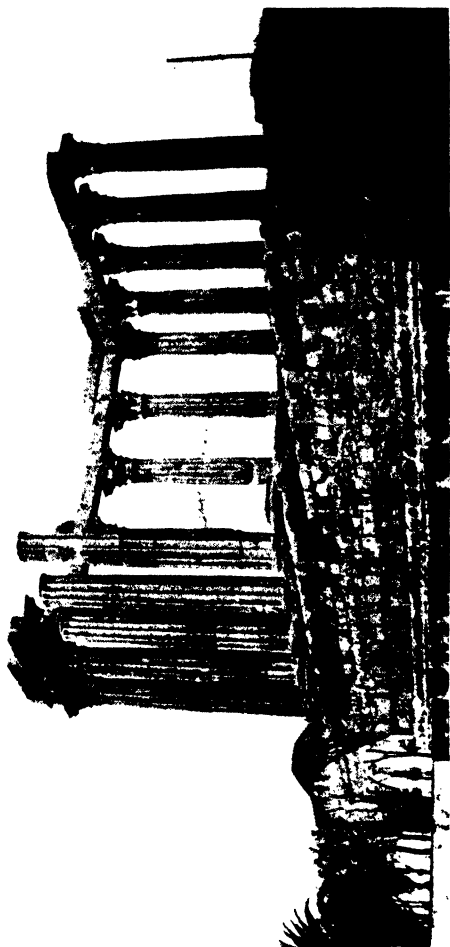
interest in the Latin civilization, gave them political and administrative organisation, distinguished certain cities with titles of honour, etc. This peaceful Imperial administration brought about the economic development of the Peninsula. In the different mines that are being worked at the present time, vestiges are met with, indicative of the fact of the Romans having worked them before. These mines are at S. Domingos, Aljustrel, Brancanes, etc.

In *S. Bartolomeu de Castro Marim* there was found an earthenware factory, Luso-Roman, with all its different divisions.

There are vestiges of roads built by the Romans, as well as, of thermal baths, villas, aqueducts, temples, such as the Temple of Diana at Evora, etc.

Of Roman walls there are traces at Braga, Condeixa-a-Velha, Evora, S. Tiago de Cacem; of arches, which were formerly city-gates, at Evora, Beja, Bobadela; in Balsa, near Tavira, there are the ruins of a circus of the second century; to the south

THE HISTORY OF PORTUGAL



4. TEMPLE OF DIANA, EVORA

of the Sado, on the side opposite to Setubal, there existed as late as the eighteenth century a fishing place called Troia, with the remains of Roman buildings and other small antiquities; in *Santa Vitória de Ameixal*, in Alentejo, there are interesting remains of a *villa*; curious inscriptions were discovered in the neighbourhood of Vizella and of Braga which was the centre of a complete series of Roman roads; on the bridge across the Tamega, at Chaves, what is worthy of note is a dedication to Vespasian, Titus, Domitian and to their legate Valerius Festus.

THE ALANI, THE VANDALS, THE SUEVI AND THE VISIGOTHS

TOWARDS the beginning of the 5th century A. D. we have the incursion of the Alani, the Vandals and the Suevi. In 414 came the Visigoths, who succeeded in implanting in Spain an extensive and lasting empire. It was Leovigild (569 to 586) that syste-

matically organised the monarchy; in the reign of his son Recared, the visigoths gave up their Arian doctrines and embraced the Catholic religion which was professed by the Spanish-Romans.

ARAB INVASION

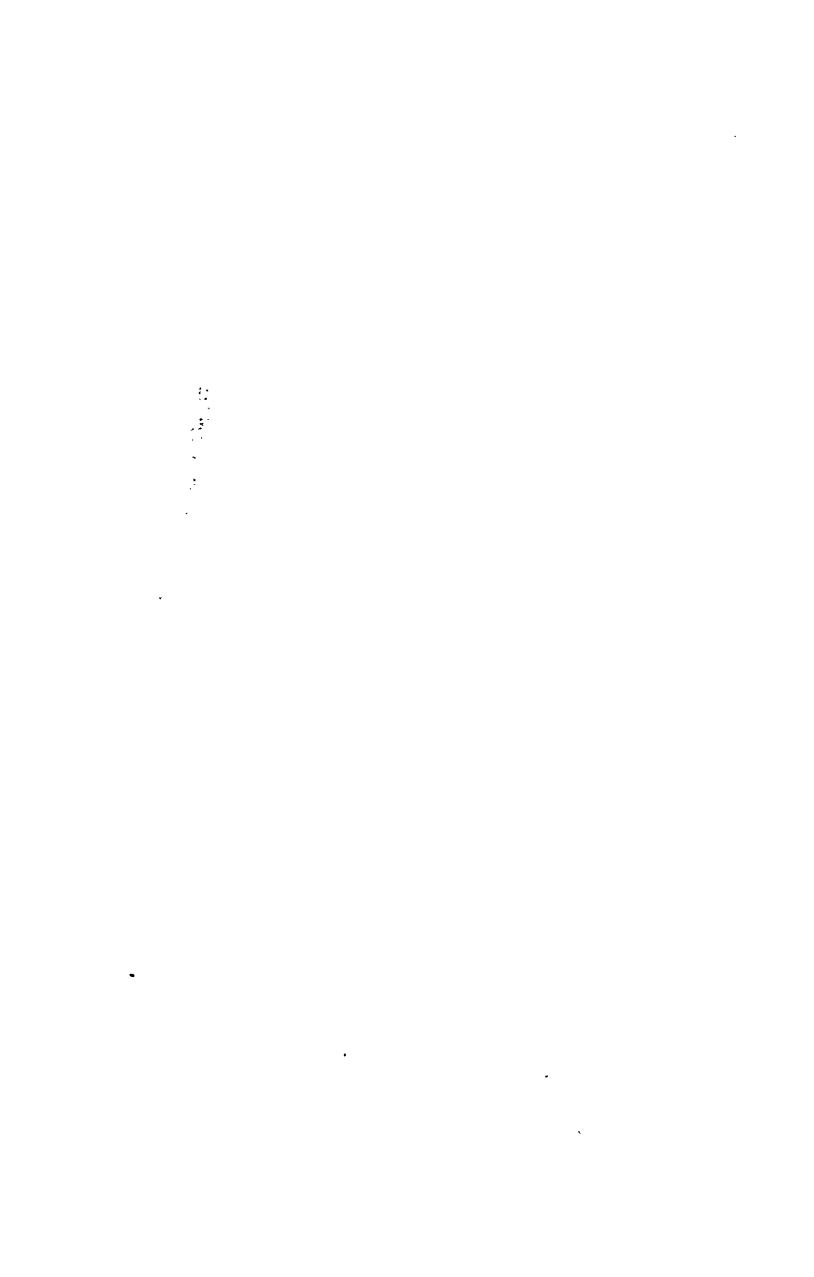
IN 711 A. D. there occurred the event known as the *Arab invasion*, or the occupation of the greater part of the Peninsula by African Mahomedans, among whom there must have been very few Arabs indeed. They succeeded in obtaining the help of the Jews and perhaps of a part of the Spaniards under the yoke of the Visigoths. The latter they defeated in a battle near the mouth of the river Barbate close to the place now known as Medina Sidonia. The Visigoths were commanded by King Roderic who was probably killed in the battle. A poetic legend, however, says he escaped and took refuge in Nazaré.

The battle of Barbate has been wrongly

THE HISTORY OF PORTUGAL



5. A CASTLE AT SINTRA THAT BELONGED TO THE MOORS



described as having taken place on the banks of the river Guadalete or Cryssus, owing to the confusion caused by the similarity of the name of this river to Guadabaca, the Arabic name of the river Barbate.

Some of the Christians took refuge in Asturias, from which, with assistance from other centres of resistance, they were afterwards to maintain a continuous and protracted struggle with the Saracens, finally succeeding in establishing the Christian monarchies in the Peninsula, which were gradually to amalgamate under the supremacy of Castile.

In spite of the Mahomedan dominion having always been disturbed by civil dissensions (of which the independent Christians never failed to take advantage), yet it imparted to the Peninsula a very brilliant civilisation.

The name of Mosarabs has been given to those Spaniards that retained the Christian faith but accepted the Mahomedan yoke. Traces of the dominion of the *Arabs*, popu-

larly designated as *Moors*, are to be found in Portugal in the customs of the people, in their dress, in the language, in the traditions and in various monuments.

The Christians that took refuge in Asturias elected the noble Pelagius, their King (718? to 737) and began the reconquest. Ferdinand the Great, who died in 1065 A. D. had divided his territories among all his sons, but his son Alfonso (the Valiant, and sixth of the name) became the sole heir owing to the death of his brothers, and increased still further these territories by victories gained over the muslims. In 1085 A. D. he took Toledo and transferred the capital of his dominions from Leon to that city.

It was the period of a general offensive on the part of Christianity against the territories occupied by the Mahomedans; and it is to these expeditions, known by the name of the Crusades, that to a certain extent is due, the non-incorporation of Portugal in the political whole presided over by Castile.

FOUNDATION OF THE KINGDOM OF PORTUGAL

IN the last quarter of the eleventh century, Raymond, son of William of Burgundy, and his cousin Henry, taking part in the Crusades, came over to Spain to fight the Moors. These two French noblemen married the two daughters of Alfonso VI, Urraca and Theresa. Raymond was entrusted with the government of the whole of the western territory right up to the Tagus (1094) while Henry was (subject to orders from Raymond) entrusted with the government of the territory known as *Portugalense* that stretched from close to the river Vouga to near the river Minho and whose name was derived from its principal town, *Portucale*, on the Douro. Soon afterwards Henry, independently of Raymond's authority, governed the whole of the region to the south of the Minho. He died in 1114, both Alfonso VI and Raymond having died before him. He left a son, of very tender age, named Afonso Henriques.

D. Afonso Henriques**THE FOUNDER OF THE MONARCHY**

THE love-affairs of Dona Theresa, Henry's widow, with the Galician count, Fernão Peres de Trava provoked an attitude of revolt on the part of the Portuguese nobility and Afonso Henriques joined them. The battle of Guimarães (1128) resulted in the victory of the son and the imprisonment of the mother. The great importance of this battle lies in the fact that it resulted in the rupture of all bonds between the two parts of Galicia, giving victory to Portugal over Leon.

The life of Afonso Henriques, a warrior-chieftain, is a series of fights with Leon and the Saracens, those with the latter being of the greater importance.

At the points where his territories touched those of the Moors, he had the Templars of the castle of Soure, who used to defend, plough and colonise high Extremadura, and further up there was the castle

THE HISTORY OF PORTUGAL



6. SANTA CRUZ CHURCH, COIMBRA
(XIIth Century)

of Leiria, which the king had commenced to build in 1135 A. D. Having been attacked in 1137 he marched to the South and won a victory at Ourique, a battle-field which it has not been possible to locate exactly. In 1147 he took by assault, at night, the fortress of Santarem; in the same year he entered into an agreement with a fleet composed of German, Flemish, English and French Crusaders that had entered the Douro, by which the latter undertook to help the king in the conquest of Lisbon. A siege was laid in the regular form and the city surrendered in October 1147.

In 1158 the king took possession of Alcaicer, but lost it again in 1161. In Alentejo, Giraldo Giraldes, surnamed *Sempavor* or fearless, distinguished himself by capturing various castles, among them that of Evora in 1165.

At the conference of Samora, in 1143, Alfonso VII recognised Afonso Henriques, as sovereign. The fact of his having first

paid homage to the Pope, greatly contributed to this result. Nevertheless the title of King was only recognised by the Church in 1179 when Alexander III was Pope.

THE FIRST DYNASTY

THE first Portuguese dynasty extends to the end of the fourteenth century and its special achievements are: conquests of territory from the Saracens, systematic internal colonisation and administrative organisation.

It comprises a remarkable series of kings:

Afonso Henriques	A. D. 1140 to 1185
Sancho I.....	» » 1175 » 1211
Afonso II	» » 1211 » 1223
Sancho II	» » 1223 » 1248
Afonso III	» » 1248 » 1278
Dom Denis.....	» » 1278 » 1325
Afonso IV	» » 1325 » 1357
Pedro I	» » 1357 » 1367
Fernando I.....	» » 1367 » 1383

THE HISTORY OF PORTUGAL



7. TOMB OF THE FOUNDER OF THE KINGDOM
IN SANTA CRUZ CHURCH, COIMBRA

**THE NATION AND THE ELEMENTS THAT
CONSTITUTED IT**

BEFORE proceeding further it will be well to give a sketch of the nation and of the elements that constituted it. According to the historian Oliveira Martins (1845-94) the Portuguese are a nation but not a nationality, that is, they owe their existence to the strong will of great chiefs, to the determined policy of a select few, but they have neither unity of race nor natural frontiers. Neither this view nor that of Herculano, already referred to, seems to have suffered much from the criticisms of their modern opponents.

What seems probable is that it was the influence of non-Spaniards which contributed most towards the political non-incorporation with Castile of this strip of land on the Western coast, where the commerce of the North of Europe met that of the Mediterranean. It would therefore appear that the situation of its sea-ports was the most

weighty geographical factor in the independence of Portugal. We have seen that the fleets of the Crusaders gave their assistance, as well as the religious Orders, especially that of Cluny. The influence of the French was very considerable, principally in the beginning, with Henry (the father of the Founder of the Monarchy) and afterwards with D. Afonso III and D. Denis. Nor would it be absurd to suppose that the knights that came over from the North greatly assisted in giving to the nation its elite and that the disappearance of these select few (by wars, revolutions, persecutions, etc.) aggravated the decadence of the community.

THE KING

IN the turmoil of productive work the most important part is taken by the king, assisted by his counsellors. In the Spanish Medieval Monarchies, the authority of the sovereign exceeds that of all other European

THE HISTORY OF PORTUGAL



8. CONVENT OF LORVÃO NEAR COIMBRA
(VIth Century)

contemporary monarchs. That authority, nevertheless appears limited by the clergy and the nobility, by the assemblies known as the *côrtés*, by the people (after they began to have their representatives in the *côrtés*), by the statutes of *Concelhos* and by the customs inherited from the monarchy of Leon.

THE CLERGY AND THE RELIGIOUS AND MILITARY ORDERS

THE clergy were a class exceedingly privileged; the bishops enjoyed, apart from their ecclesiastical privileges, those of feudal lords.

Religious, Civil and Military Orders, also played a very important part.

Among the most ancient monasteries, special mention is due to that of Lorvão, twelve kilometres East of Coimbra, dating back to the sixth century; also that of Vaciça.

THE CISTERCIANS AND THE MONASTERY OF ALCobaça

IN the eleventh century, about the time of the dawn of national life in Portugal was begun that reformation of the rule of St. Benedict, which took the name of Cister; in Portugal the first Cistercian Monastery was that of St. John of Tarouca, built in 1120, twelve kilometres from Lamego in Beira Alta. Many others followed but the most famous of all is that at Alcobaça founded by Afonso Henriques in fulfilment of a vow made at the time when he set out to take Santarém.

THE RULE OF ST. AUGUSTINE

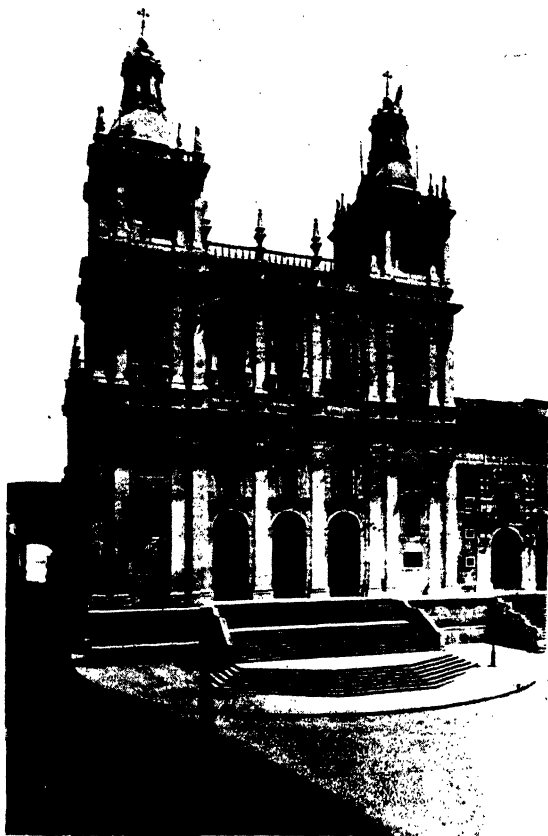
THE priests of the rule of St. Augustine possessed among others the convent of Santa Cruz at Coimbra and of St. Vincent de Fora, at Lisbon.

THE HISTORY OF PORTUGAL



9. ALCobaça (XIIth Century)

THE HISTORY OF PORTUGAL



10. ST. VINCENT DE FÓRA

THE TEMPLARS AND THE ORDER OF CHRIST

THE chief mission of the Military Orders was to make war against the Moors. The Templars were, ever since the days of Dona Terêsa, the lords of the town of Soure and of the lands between Coimbra and Leiria, which they used to plough and cultivate; towards the middle of the twelfth century they built the convent and the castle of Tomar. The castle of Almourol, in the middle of the Tagus, that of Pombal and various others are also theirs.

When the Order of the Templars was suppressed, its members reconstituted themselves in Portugal under the name of the Order of Christ.

THE HOSPITALERS

THE Hospitalers date back to the time of Afonso Henriques (there are homes at Leça, at Belver and at Crato).

ORDER OF AVIS

THE friars of Calatrava, entered Portugal about the middle of the twelfth century and settled down in Evora; in 1211 they were given a place called *Avis*, to the South of the Tagus, from which they took the name of the Order of Avis. In the end of the fourteenth century, the Grand Master of this Order was a bastard Infant, who became John I of Portugal, founder of the second dynasty.

ORDER OF SANTIAGO

THE Order of Santiago of the Sword, owned Palmela, Almada, Arruda, Alcácer, Aljustrel, Sesimbra, Mértola, Aiamonte and Tavira.

THE NOBILITY AND OTHER CLASS DISTINCTIONS

IN the middle of the thirteenth century, the following were the different grades of nobility, taken from top to bottom: — *rico-*

THE HISTORY OF PORTUGAL



11. EVORA CATHEDRAL (XIIIth Century)

homem, infância, cavaleiro and *escudeiro*. Each *rico-homem* had military, judicial and administrative powers, within his own district, which went by the name of *Terra* and his chief place of residence was called *Solar*.

This independent jurisdiction greatly limited the powers of the king and was prejudicial to the people. By degrees, however, the kings succeeded in getting the better of the nobles. Besides the administering of their lands, hunting was the chief occupation of the nobility: they also frequently, waged war against each other and fought pitched battles.

The people that were free had also their class distinctions, being divided into « village-knights » and « peons ». Below these still, ranked the slaves.

CONCELHOS

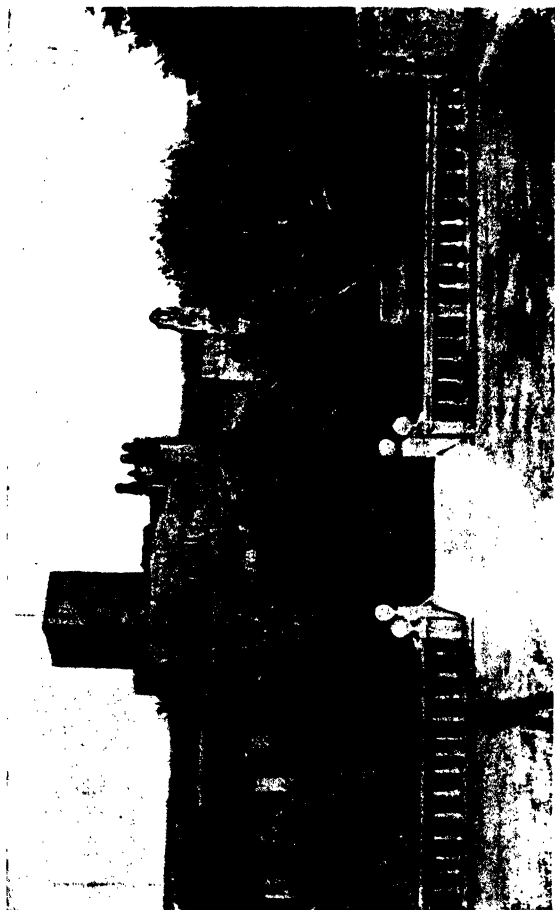
THE inhabitants of certain localities had the privilege of constituting themselves into

Concelhos, that is, bodies enjoying, to a certain extent, administrative autonomy and the power to elect their own magistrates. The document by which these rights were conferred, creating a *Concelho* and establishing the legal rights of its inhabitants, was called *foral* or *carta de foral*.

THE CÔRTES

FROM time to time there were meetings of the consultive assemblies, called the *Côrtes*, with representatives of the clergy, the nobility and also of the *Concelhos*, at least, since 1254. The representatives of each of the classes, taken together, were called a *braço* or an arm. To the three *braços*, namely, the clergy, the nobility and the people, was, later on, also, given the name of *estados* or *estates*. The weight of the *Côrtes* in the affairs of state varied considerably and in accordance with the vacillations of the power of the king.

THE HISTORY OF PORTUGAL



12. CASTLE OF TOMAR

Sancho I

WE gave above a list of the Kings of the first dynasty of Portugal: let us now briefly refer to their reigns.

The son of D. Afonso Henriques, *Sancho I*, became famous on account of his good administration: he organised the people into groups and constituted them into *Concelhos*: repopled the places that had been devastated by wars; restored ruined castles; attracted foreign settlers; encouraged the development of military Orders, etc.

In 1289, assisted by a fleet of Crusaders, he took Silves, in Algarve but was not able to retain it for long.

Afonso II

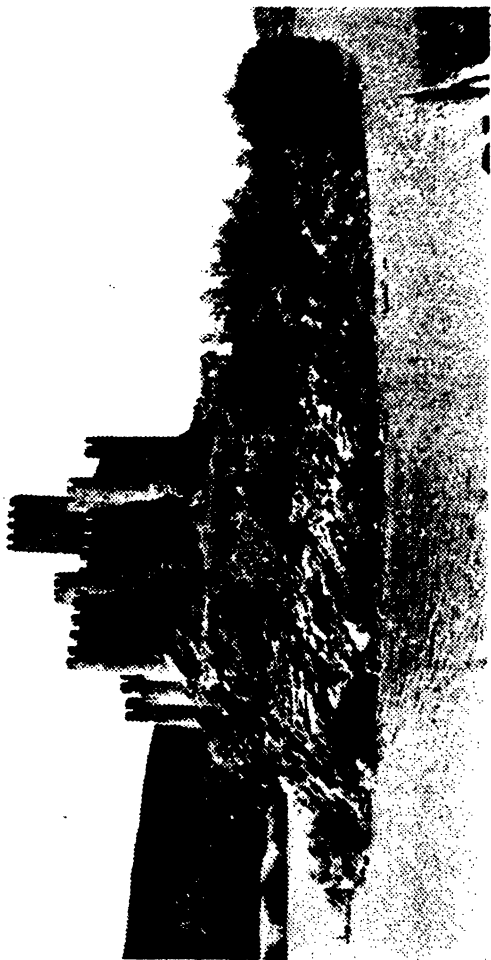
SANCHO'S son, Afonso II took little interest in war-like enterprises and dedicated himself to internal politics; in his reign, under the direction of the high clergy, Alcacer was conquered.

Sancho II

D. Afonso's son, Sancho II was on the other hand a warrior-knight who although very much interested in the affairs of the people, dedicated himself especially to the conquest of the fortresses to the South East of Portugal, taking Elvas, Aljustrel, Mértola, Aiamonte, Tavira and Cacela.

This was a time when the royal policy met with obstacles, which were, as we saw, the result of the privileges enjoyed by the nobility and the high clergy. This latter class exercised not only their influence as nobility, but their power was greatly strengthened by their superior culture, as well as by the fact of having the support of the Catholic Church, which was very powerful, in those days, both spiritually and temporally. That which the kings strove their hardest to defend from the encroachments of the clergy all their lives, they surrendered to them at the hour of death : so that their royal successors always

THE HISTORY OF PORTUGAL



13. CASTLE OF ALMOUROL.

inherited in an aggravated form this problem of resistance to the church. Of all the monarchs, Sancho II was the greatest victim of these disputes with the great bishops. These had now for their allies, not only the Pope and those of the great nobles that were hostile to the king, but also his own brother D. Afonso, who was in France and where, by his marriage to the Countess Matilda, he became the lord of the county of Boulogne (1238) and thus acquired the surname of «the Boulognese». As the result of a conspiracy between these opponents of the king, the Pope deposed Sancho II in July 1245.

D. Afonso III

Two months later, D. Afonso signed, in Paris, a document containing the conditions under which he was to reign, including, of course, those which more especially interested the bishops. At the end of this year or towards the beginning of the following

year, the Count arrived at Lisbon by sea. Very little is now known of the struggles that ensued between the two brothers; the only thing certain being that Sancho was defeated and retired to Toledo where he died in 1248.

Two episodes, probably legendary and belonging to this period, became memorable: one is the kidnapping of the queen, D. Mecia, by a group of armed men when she was with her husband at Coimbra; and the other refers to the loyalty of the *alcaide* of Coimbra, Martim de Freitas, who even after the retirement of Sancho refused obedience to the Boulognese. Besieged by Afonso and informed of the death of Sancho, he requested a passport to go to Toledo in order to verify the truth of the news: once there, he caused the late King's tomb to be opened and deposited in Sancho's hands the keys of the Castle and taking them back again returned to Portugal to hand them over to Afonso. This is not, however, the only legend that perpe-

tuates the loyalty of Sancho's subjects to him. There are various others; and this makes us suppose that he must have been the victim of slander and that the chroniclers must have twisted the truth in favour of the conqueror.

A very notable personage, both in politics as in culture, one who has been treated in novels both as a saint and as a sort of a Faust, took part in the conspiracy to depose Sancho: this personage was the Dominican, Friar Gil of Santarém.

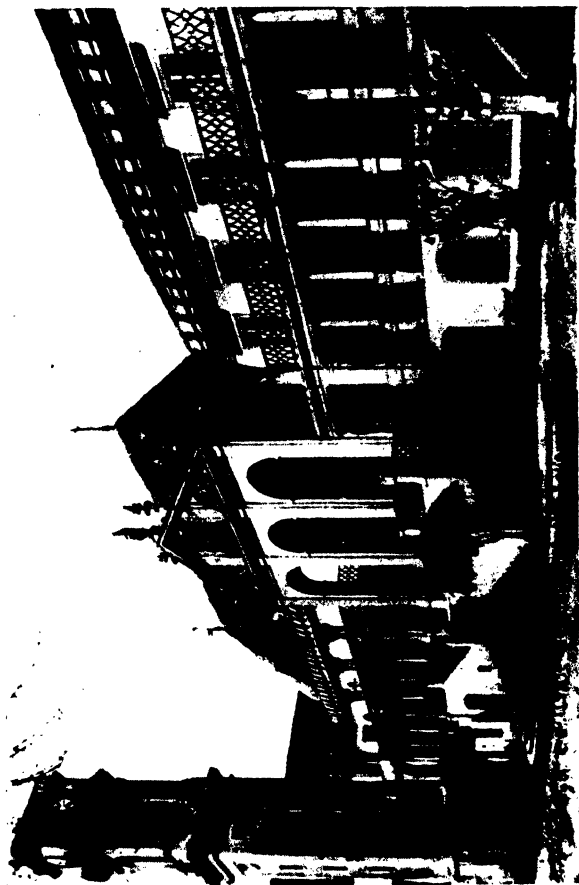
In the reign of Afonso III, the *Kingdom* of Algarve was conquered, and the formation of the nation was thus accomplished, from the territorial point of view. The king proved himself to be a distinguished administrator. His reign was very prosperous and was prominently signalised by an intellectual progress. He and his companions brought over with them the French civilisation and introduced into the country a literature in the Provençal style. This interest in education was also greatly due

to the enormous influence and prestige of Alfonso, king of Castile, surnamed «the Wise», father-in-law of Afonso III. The king took the greatest care in the education of his son D. Denis entrusting it to very famous teachers.

D. Denis

THANKS to the above circumstances, as well as, to his natural qualities, D. Denis proved himself a model king (1279-1325). He developed agriculture; encouraged the distribution and circulation of property, favouring specially, the formation of small proprietors; caused marshy lands to be filled up in order to distribute them among settlers; planted pine-woods at Leiria and elsewhere; gave mining concessions and ordered some of the mines to be worked on his own account; encouraged the development of fairs; reorganised the Navy, employing for this purpose the Genoese admiral Pesagno; resolved in a pleasant

THE HISTORY OF PORTUGAL



14. UNIVERSITY BUILDING, COIMBRA

and tactful manner the question of the Templars (who had been persecuted by the king of France, Philip, the Fair, by the suppression of their Order and the confiscation of their lands) creating for this purpose the Order of Christ; finally, he founded the Portuguese University, at first in Lisbon (1290-1308) afterwards transferred to Coimbra. He ordered the translation of famous works and was himself one of the most distinguished poets of his cultured and refined court. In spite of all this, the years of his reign were not very peaceful. To begin with, there are the struggles with his brother D. Afonso who was a pretender to the throne: then came the intervention in the civil wars of Castile (1295-1297): and, later on, the rebellion of his own son D. Afonso (afterwards Afonso IV) caused by his jealousy of his illegitimate brother Afonso Sanches.

Saint Isabel
THE HOLY QUEEN

Dom Denis' wife commonly known as the Holy Queen or Saint Isabel, became very famous also. She was an example of the most austere and poetic virtues of Christian piety; dedicated her life to works of charity and excelled as peacemaker in all the wrangles of the royal family. Soon after her marriage she had to intervene in the quarrels between D. Denis and his brother D. Afonso. Later on, as her son, also called D. Afonso, rebelled against his father on account of the predilection shown by the latter for his illegitimate children, especially for D. Afonso Sanches, the queen was subjected to many injuries, being even sent from the city, accused of being the accomplice of her son.

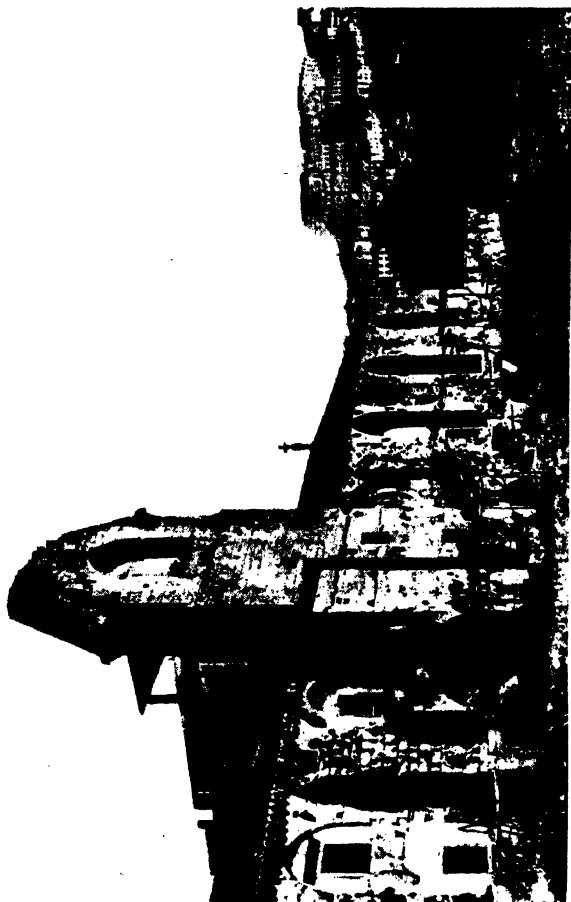
More than once did she pacify the animosities of the rival parties and prevent combats between their troops, as for instance when, on the field of Alvalade (the present Campo Grande of Lisbon) she appeared

THE HISTORY OF PORTUGAL



15. OLD CATHEDRAL AT COIMBRA
(XIIth Century)

THE HISTORY OF PORTUGAL



16. SANTA CLARA CONVENT, COIMBRA

mounted on a mule between the armies of D. Denis and D. Afonso, when they were about to begin a battle.

On the death of her husband she went to the Convent of Odivelas where he was buried and later on, retired to the Convent of Santa Clara in Coimbra. Various are the legends in connection with the Holy Queen, especially one in which she is supposed to have converted into roses some coins that she carried in her lap (a legend similar to that of Isabel of Hungary).

Afonso IV

IN the reign of Afonso IV (1325-1357) there are three events of importance; fights with the king of Castile for ill-treating his wife, the daughter of the king of Portugal; the help given to the son-in-law against a great offensive movement of the Mussulmans, brilliantly assisting him to win the battle of Salado (1340); and the most famous death of Inês de Castro.

INÊS DE CASTRO

THIS last episode, although destitute of historical interest, strictly speaking, ought, nevertheless, to be told owing to its great renown, as well as to the human interest of the tragedy, and the place it occupies in the art, in the literature and in the traditions of Portugal.

The Infant, D. Pedro, eldest son of D. Afonso IV, married D. Constança, a noble Castilian lady. Among the maids-of-honour who accompanied her, was the fair Inês de Castro, with whom the Infant fell desperately in love. D. Constança perceiving this, invited Inês de Castro to be god-mother to one of her sons, in the hope that this spiritual relationship between the maiden and the Infant might raise an obstacle to the pursuance of their love-affair.

After the death of D. Constança D. Pedro refused a second marriage.

Meanwhile some Castilian noblemen intending to depose their king, entered into a

THE HISTORY OF PORTUGAL



17. INÊS DE CASTRO'S TOMB IN ALCOBACA

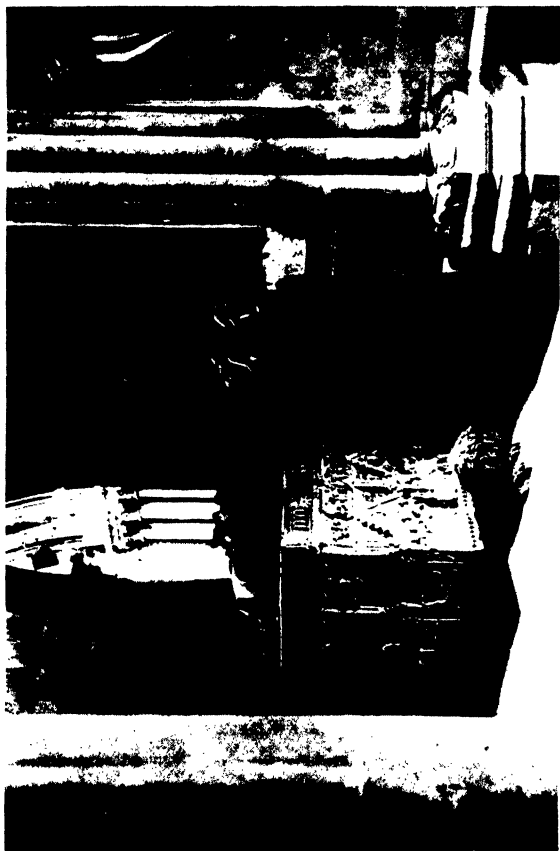
conspiracy to have him replaced by the Portuguese prince, and used D. Inês de Castro and her brothers as their accomplices. As this audacious plan might have brought about very grave political complications to the realm, Inês was tried and found guilty by a sort of Council of State. The king was at this time in Montemor-o-Velho; but resolved to go to Coimbra accompanied by his men that were to execute the sentence. Inês saw at once the intentions of Afonso IV but implored him in such a manner that she succeeded in appeasing him. When he was about to leave, however, his counsellors brought pressure to bear on him and he said to them, « do as you please », and then Pedro Coelho and Afonso Gonçalves threw themselves on Inês, struggled with her and beheaded her. The Infant, furious at this atrocity rebelled against his father and two years afterwards assumed the throne. One of his first care was to proclaim Inês his queen and to avenge her death.

D. Pedro

It was in 1360, both in Cantanheda and at Coimbra, that D. Pedro solemnly declared before notaries and many courtiers that he had married his lady-love, having made a secret of the fact, only to avoid pain to his father. Not satisfied with this, he got the king of Castile to hand over to him the assassins that had taken refuge in his kingdom and ordered them to be killed in his own presence, by cutting out their hearts, opening the chest of one of them, and the back of the other.

D. Pedro, judging from the descriptions of him by the great chronicler, Fernão Lopes, was half crazy, plebeian in manners, rather inclined to be jocose but extremely violent when angry; had a mania for doing «justice», or rather for dealing out punishment, but possessed valuable qualities of an administrator. According to the same writer «the people used to say that there never had been ten years in Portu-

THE HISTORY OF PORTUGAL



18. D. PEDRO'S TOMB IN ALCOBAÇA

gal like those of the reign of D. Pedro ». By his marriage with D. Constança he had a son, D. Fernando, born in 1345, who succeeded him; by Inês de Castro, he had the Infants D. João and D. Denis; and by another lady, Teresa Lourenço, he had another son, also D. João, born in 1357, who became the master of the order of Avis and after the death of D. Fernando, King and Founder of the second dynasty.

D. Fernando

VERY different to his father, D. Fernando was very charming, handsome and it would appear, also, intelligent but undecided and romantic: he made famous laws for the improvement of agriculture and the development of the Portuguese Maritime Commerce, which we are inclined to believe must have been inspired by the commercial classes.

The evils of his reign were the unfortunate wars with Castile and his marriage

with Leonor Telles, an ambitious woman who held complete sway over him. Maria Telles, sister of Leonor Telles, had been a lady-companion of D. Beatriz, the king's sister, and eventually married the Infant D. João, son of D. Pedro and Inês de Castro. Leonor Telles was married to a nobleman, João Lourenço da Cunha who resided at his «*solar*» in Beira. On one of her visits to her sister in Lisbon, the king saw her and fell in love with her. He succeeded in having her marriage with João Lourenço dissolved, with the result that the latter had to flee and hide himself in Castile. Hearing that the people of Lisbon had decided to protest against the intended marriage, the King outwitted them by carrying off the bride to Lecia de Balio, near Oporto, where the marriage was celebrated. Later on the tailor Fernão Vasques and the other leaders of the intended protest paid the penalty of death for their daring.

Another unfortunate project of D. Fernando was the ambition to be king of the

Castilians also. When Alfonso XI died in 1350, his illegitimate son, Henry of Trastámara disputed the crown with the legitimate king D. Pedro whom he eventually killed in 1369. D. Fernando made an alliance with the Kings of Aragon and Granada against Henry, and entered Galicia where many Gallician barons joined him, and among them a certain Count Andeiro, who afterwards became the lover of Leonor Telles. The Castilian king counter-attacked with great energy and D. Fernando made peace in 1371.

Another candidate for the throne of Castile, was the son of Edward III of England, John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, who had married a daughter of the late king D. Pedro of Castile, assassinated by Trastámara. John had France on his side and in 1372 he formed an alliance with Portugal. The king of Castile, on learning this, invaded the country and marched right up to Lisbon. D. Fernando was at the time in Santarém waiting for the English to

arrive but as they did not come he made peace with the enemy in 1373.

After the death of Trastamara, his son John I ascended the throne and D. Fernando returned to his old and fixed idea. Count Andeiro, who was now the intermediary between him and John of Gaunt, arrived from England with new proposals. The king of Castile, as soon as he discovered what was going on, entered into a state of war and D. Fernando replied to this move by ordering his fleet, under the command of Afonso Telo, the queen's brother, to attack the fleet of the enemy. Afonso Telo was defeated close to Saltés, near the mouth of the river Guadalquivir, in June 1381. The English then arrived and began immediately to pillage, doing more harm to the allies than to the enemy. Disillusioned, D. Fernando preferred peace (Badajoz 1381). Soon after, the king of Castile married D. Beatriz, daughter of the King of Portugal and of Leonor Telles, so that when D. Fernando died, in 1383, the king of

Castile was the heir to the throne of Portugal.

**REVOLUTION IN FAVOUR OF D. JOÃO,
GRAND-MASTER OF THE ORDER OF AVÍS**

THE King of Castile therefore set about taking possession of that which by right was his. Leonor Telles, anxious to continue Queen, appointed commanding officers to the important fortresses on the frontier, entrusting the whole of the line to the South of the Tagus to D. João, Grand-Master of the Order of Avis, who at the time was twenty-six years of age, and was the illegitimate brother of the late king. At this juncture the greater part of the nobility sided with the king of Castile who had right on his side: the commercial and maritime class, however, would not have either of them, and started a revolution in Oporto and Lisbon. Their chief leader in Lisbon was Alvaro Pais, a man of mature experience who was ably assisted by

a young man of twenty-six years of age, Nuno Álvares Pereira, who, in the traits of his character, combined the exalted faith of a mystic with the cautious and subtle intelligence of a strategist. Álvaro Pais was the step-father of the famous lawyer João das Regras, one of the most useful partisans of the revolution. The revolutionaries chose the Master of Avis as their candidate for the throne. He returned immediately from Alentejo, where he had gone by orders of the Queen to defend the frontier; and going into the palace, he killed Count Andeiro, and ordered a court-page to rush into the streets and to yell « help the Master of Avis whom they wish to assassinate ». Shortly afterwards Álvaro Pais, with whom everything had been previously arranged, arrived at the head of a great mob; the Master of Avis then appeared at one of the palace windows and received a tremendous ovation from the people. When the Queen saw this, she thought it more prudent to flee to Alenquer, whither

she was accompanied by the greater part of the nobility who, evidently, did not wish to have anything to do with Álvaro Pais and his mob. The opinions now became very divided, as, besides the king of Castile there appeared two further candidates for the throne, the two sons of Inês de Castro, D. João and D. Denis. The situation seemed thus extremely dangerous and the revolutionary chiefs thought the question might be resolved by marrying the Grand-Master of the Order of Avis to Leonor, but she refused the proposal.

NUNO ÁLVARES PEREIRA, THE CONSTABLE OF PORTUGAL

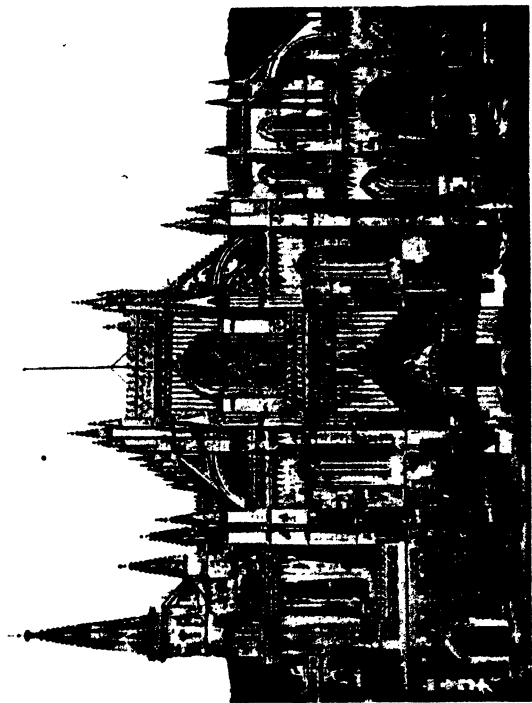
THE revolutionaries were greatly in the minority but had on their side good organisation, the money of the middle-classes, the people of the coast and the faith and genius of Nuno Álvaro Pereira, the «Constable of Portugal». They sent an embassy to England to request the permission of the

king to recruit there mercenary troops. In the meantime Nuno Álvares would not rest. In Alentejo, half a league from the frontier, at a place called Atoleiros he makes up for the numerical deficiency of his men by an innovation in military tactics in which he displays real genius. He dismounted his men and disposed them in the form of a square and two lines, one, behind, which attacked the enemy with hand-spears, whilst the other in front awaited their charge with their lances. He thus gained a victory on the 6th April 1384.

The king of Castile, however, had by this time entered Portugal through the northern frontier, had arrived at Santarém and compelled Leonor to renounce her claims to the throne and had marched up to and besieged Lisbon.

The people of Oporto armed ships in order to offer resistance, but meanwhile plague broke out and the besiegers were forced to retire (3rd September 1384).

THE HISTORY OF PORTUGAL



19. PRINCIPAL ENTRANCE OF BATTLE-ABBAY AT BATALHA
NEAR ALJUBARROTA (XIVth Century)

The *Côrtes* then met at Coimbra, in March 1385, and João das Regras produced strong arguments for considering the throne vacant and electing king, the Grand-Master of Avis as D. João I.

BATTLE OF ALJUBARROTA

IN this same year, the Castilians attacked again with a great army. Nuno Álvares assisted by the good advice of his English auxiliaries, entrenched his army in an excellent position at Aljubarrota on the 14th August 1385. The numerical disproportion was great. The Castilian army consisted of 20,000 horse (of which 2,000 were French), and 10,000 infantry; D. João I and Nuno Álvares had not more than 2,000 Lancers, 800 Archers and 400 Infantry. When the cavalry of the enemy arrived they found the Portuguese quietly and unostentatiously entrenched in a position that prevented any manoeuvre of advance or attack on the part of the Castilian ar-

my; but in spite of this, being proud and impatient, the Castilians, hurled themselves in an impetuous attack, with the same result, that they had already experienced at Atoleiros, that is, the total rout and dispersal of the arrogant cavalry.

This day marks the fall of the Cavalry in the Iberian peninsula and prepares the way for the Castilian infantry «*têrços*» that were eventually to dominate the whole of Europe.

COMMENTARY

WHAT germinated during the Portuguese revolution of 1383 to 1385 was not merely a new dynasty but a re-adjustment of the balance between the social classes based on their economic importance, a re-adjustment which brought about, as its result, a new phase of the national history.

In referring to the causes that contributed towards the independence of Portugal we laid stress on the geographical situation

of its coast, which was a natural inducement to the country to enter into the competition for maritime commerce. It is possible to discover from the very beginning of Portuguese history a certain antagonism between the business-classes of the coastline and the aristocratic proprietors of the hinterland.

In Lisbon where the commerce of the North of Europe met that of the South, the colonies of foreign settlers were always important. It was due to this tendency towards maritime commerce and the concentration of attention on the sea-ports that the problem of peopling the southern part of Portugal where agriculture depends on irrigation began to be neglected at an early stage, leaving thus without solution up to the present moment, this question which is of fundamental importance to the country.

The chief aim of European commerce at this time was the acquisition of oriental products. Until the 15th century these used to be obtained in small quantities through the

peoples of North Africa, and on a larger scale, through the medium of the Italian Maritime Republics, which in their turn, purchased these goods at the seaports of the Levant and the Black Sea, to which ports the merchandise from India used to come in caravans.

When in the fifteenth century difficulties arose with regard to this traffic, especially owing to the irruption of the Turks into the Eastern Seaports of the Mediterranean, high European finance found itself face to face with a very grave problem. This problem Portugal proposed to resolve by finding a sea-route to India.

From this moment onwards, the conflict of two different policies began in Portugal to engross public interest. One policy aimed at internal development and the other at colonial expansion. In other words the agricultural interest began to be definitely opposed to the maritime, the rural to the commercial, the policy of production to that of circulation or maritime transport.

Already in the days of D. Fernando the importance of the second of these policies was felt. It was probably the commercial class that inspired the laws enacted by that king, which gave protection to maritime commerce and encouraged naval construction, laws which are regular master-pieces of administrative science. It was the commercial class also, that supported the Master of Avis against the aristocratic landlords; it was they, who through João Afonso, afterwards incited him to the conquest of Ceuta (1415). So that, when towards the end of the 15th century, Vasco da Gama sailed for Índia we must see in this fact a definite defeat of the internal or home policy, which Camões personified in the « Velho do Restelo ».

We see therefore that the sequel of the battle of Aljubarrota was not only the independence of Portugal, but also the organisation of society on a new basis, involving the fall of the greater part of the old aristocracy which was now replaced by new blood.

It should not however be understood that the intellectual unity of the Iberian peninsula was destroyed by these events or by the fact of the Portuguese having individualised themselves in the Peninsula, by the adoption of a more cosmopolitan outlook. It would be misinterpreting both the politics and the culture of the Peninsula, if the fact were forgotten that until the middle of the seventeenth century, the Spanish-Portuguese and the Spanish-Castilians possessed elites that lived intellectually in one and the same civilization. The forgetting of this fact has been the cause of a great deal of unjust criticism and error.

In its proper place we shall see why ultimately that unity was broken. For it was only after 1640, when Portugal shook off the Castilian yoke and cast away all Spanish influences, that Castile began to monopolize the name of Spain, and, at the same time, cut herself off more and more from European civilization. The similarity that had existed in the society and in the nation-

nal institutions of the two countries also began, henceforward, to undergo a complete change. And Portugal, in spite of the cosmopolitan character of the people, which makes them more plastic than the Castilians, likewise drifted away from spiritual communion with the rest of Europe.

END
OF THE FIRST PERIOD

THE HISTORY OF PORTUGAL



20. TOMB OF D. JOÃO I
AND OF QUEEN PHILIPPA OF LANCASTER
IN BATTLE-ABBEY

SECOND PERIOD

OVERSEAS EXPANSION

D. JOÃO I AND QUEEN PHILIPPA

THE marriage of D. João I to a daughter of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, son of Edward III of England, had a very great and wholesome influence on the Court and the upper classes of Portugal. The king was not gifted with very high intelligence or with great firmness of decision on the field of battle, but he possessed a sound common sense that enabled him to regulate his policy according to the ideas of his advisers. These were Álvaro Pais, João das Regras, Nuno Álvares, the Queen, João Afonso who had charge of the finances, and, lastly, his own sons. The latter were

endowed by nature with great gifts and had had the benefit of an excellent education in the surroundings created by Queen Philippa, who was the guiding and the enlightening spirit of the whole Court, which now consisted, as we have already pointed out, of new blood. Rarely has there been, in the whole history of Portugal, so remarkable a realization of an ideal of humanity. The Court, as described by a historian of the time, was an academy; the Infants were embodiments of knighthood, learning and morality. The eldest, D. Duarte, was very conscientious and a regular book-worm. He devoted his studies to the science of Government and to Ethics: he was the author of two books, « *Leal Conselheiro* » and the « *Arte de cavalgar em toda sela* ». The second son, D. Pedro, whose voyages have been the subject of legends, helped to solve the problem of Índia: he studied Ethics and Geography and wrote a treatise entitled « *Virtuosa bemfeitoria* ». The third, D. Henrique (Henry, the Navi-

gator), « taciturn, tenacious and hard », it was who gave the greatest incentive to the new geographical discoveries. Of the other two sons, D. Fernando and D. João, the first displayed great Christian virtues in the martyrdom he had to undergo, whilst the other has left behind no record in confirmation of the exceptionally high opinion which was formed of him by his contemporaries. Camões in the *Lusiadas* refers to the Infants as « *Inclita geração, altos infantes* ».

Overseas expansion or the solution of the European problem of commerce with the East, is the chief feature of the period into which we are now about to enter.

Already in the reign of Afonso IV (1257-1325) had the Portuguese undertaken an expedition to the Canaries; in 1415, mainly in order to capture the caravan trade from the North of Africa to Morocco, but perhaps partly in order to drain off the scum of desperadoes that the revolution had brought to the surface of society,

the commercial classes induced the king to take Ceuta. Immediately after the conquest, however, the caravans stopped going to Ceuta and sought instead other markets in Barbary that were not in the hands of Christians. About this time the Infant D. Pedro ceased to take any interest in maritime and commercial enterprise, whilst D. Henrique and D. Fernando continued to dream of the great benefits to be derived from it. «Surrounded by men of divers nations», in the words of the Chronicler, the Infant D. Henrique set himself to gather all the geographical, commercial and astronomical information he could lay hold of, took into his employ a foreign cosmographer, the famous Jacome of Mallorca, and fixed the headquarters of his activities at Sagres in the extreme South West of Portugal.

The discoveries of the fifteenth century were achievements of men who combined habits of methodical investigation with gifts of clear vision and cool political foresight,

THE HISTORY OF PORTUGAL



21. SAGRES

qualities which were so necessary for success in such a vast undertaking, in which the careful study of all necessary details was the indispensable preliminary to the attainment of the goal.

The sea-voyage to Índia was a vast plan, capable of execution we cannot but admit, only by men of rare and exceptional capacity. It had nothing in common with a hap-hazard adventure, as it was afterwards described by pretentious writers in the nineteenth century.

The Infant D. Henrique and his helpers received information that on the way to the East, there lay the country of a Christian King, Prester John of the Indies, and they at once made it their object to obtain his aid to get to their destination.

From quite an early time sailors had tried to get to India by the West, as afterwards Columbus tried to do: but the Portuguese pioneers convinced themselves of the unpracticability of this idea and that is why the proposal of the Genoese for an

expedition to the West was rejected in Portugal.

Every year ships used to be sent to the West Coast of Africa with instructions to go as far South as possible. The greatest obstacle was Cape Bojador, which was defended by terrible legends; but in 1434 Gil Eanes succeeded in doubling it.

In the course of time, these voyages began to reveal the fact that the Coast of Africa was not only a way to India, but could of itself provide the means for commercial activity. In 1441 were brought to Portugal the first captives and soon afterwards the first cargo of gold dust; three years later a company was formed at Lagos for the traffic in slaves.

The method employed was to obtain a concession from the Government for the monopoly of the African trade, with a binding obligation on the part of the Company to continue the voyages of discovery to the South and casually also to the West.

This traffic brought to Portugal merchandise of various kinds including a great deal of gold and specially slaves, who in the Southern part of the kingdom began to take the place of European workmen and proved, besides, very prejudicial to the racial purity of the people of the country. This influence on the race, due to the slaves of olden times, can be noted at certain places, in the Southern part of Portugal, even at the present day.

Once a year a whole fleet of ships laden with merchandise, used to be sent, by royal command, from Portugal to Mina (the Gold Coast) and used to return with gold purchased there by the king's factor.

There was a depot at work in Lagos, where they received the slaves and goods from the Coast of Guinea. This depot known as the «*Casa da Guiné*» was transferred to Lisbon in 1481 or 82, and from that time it also began to be designated «*Casa de Guiné e Mina*» or simply «*Casa*

da Mina » because the gold and other commodities stored there were chiefly from Mina.

This depot took ultimately the name of «*Casa da India*». It was there that contracts were made and goods received; and until the creation of a special sub-depot called «*Casa dos escravos*», it was there that the slaves from the rivers of Guinea and Cantor were also received. From the very beginning there existed a separate office connected with the depot, which was a sort of accounts-department and treasury and which also stored the supplies required for the voyages of out-going ships. This Office was called, at first, the «*Armazem da Guiné*», afterwards also of *Mina* and finally of *India*.

From Lisbon the goods were shipped to Flanders and the Mediterranean. Already towards the end of the thirteenth century, the interests of Portugal in Flanders were so important that when in 1293 the Lisbon merchants resolved to found a Chamber of

Commerce, they at once fixed upon Flanders as the place to establish a branch-office to facilitate their trade with the countries of the North. In 1383 the Portuguese merchants had at Bruges a building of their own, where they met to transact business, and in 1445 they built there a factory.

These relations with Flanders had great influence on the development of art and especially painting, in Portugal.

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Let us now turn our attention to the internal problems of Portugal. We shall find D. João I, assisted by his sons D. Duarte and D. Pedro and also by João das Regras, devoting all his energies to strengthen the royal power according to the requirements of the time and in harmony with the political doctrines then in vogue, which were inspired by the Roman Law.

This strengthening of the king's power

could not, however, be effected without encroaching upon the rights of the nobility, and the difficulty in doing so was felt all the more because the Master of Avis, during the War with Castile had been obliged to make large grants of land to his own partisans.

D. Duarte

ON the death of the king, D. Duarte ascended the throne in August 1433. He at once proceeded to summon the *Côrtes* to meet at Evora, and presented a bill, which he called the « Mental Law » because as he sophistically declared, it purported to interpret the mental reservations made by his father D. João I at the time the latter made the royal grants. By this law, the lands in question could be inherited only through the male line. This measure helped to aggravate still more the antagonism between the nobility and the king.

D. Duarte proved an excellent king, but

as a man he was unhappy owing not only to his own neuropathic ailments, but also to trouble with his stubborn brother D. Henrique who insisted on a second expedition to Morocco contrary both to the king's, own judgment, and to that of D. Pedro, to whom this excessively commercial policy, detrimental to home production, seemed like « *exchanging a good stuff-gown for a bad silk one* ».

In spite of the king's disapproval the expedition was undertaken (1437) and when the Portuguese laid siege to Tangiers, they were themselves besieged by an army of Moors which cut off their communications with the ships, and only allowed them to re-embark on the promise that Ceuta would be restored to them. As a hostage, to guarantee the fulfilment of this promise they retained D. Fernando. Ceuta, however was not restored to the Moors: D. Duarte died of grief and D. Fernando suffered all the tortures of martyrdom in Africa, until death released him from his misery in 1443.

Afonso V

D. DUARTE had two sons, the eldest Afonso V who ascended the throne at the age of six years and D. Fernando the second Duke of Vizeu. According to the late king's will the dowager Queen should have been Regent but as this did not please the people and the middle-classes, the *Côrtes* wishing to place the government in the hands of D. Pedro, appointed him the « *Defender of the Realm* ». Against this decision, the nobility revolted headed by the Archbishop of Lisbon and by the Count of Barcelos, the illegitimate son of D. João I; but the middle classes and the people of Lisbon crushed the rebellion, exiled the Queen and the Archbishop and appointed D. Pedro, Regent.

When Afonso V took the reins of government into his own hands, he persecuted D. Pedro, who, together with his friend the Count of Avranches, was eventually killed by the king's supporters in a com-

bat at Alfarrobeira, 12 kilometres north-west of Lisbon, in the year 1449.

Afonso V was a magnificent horseman, a man of fanciful ambitions, a lover of the arts, a brave soldier without the capacity for command, and an extremely bad statesman. By his prodigality towards the nobility he undid all the patient work of the two previous reigns and of the regency. The Count of Barcelos and Duke of Bragança obtained from him enormous grants of land that tended to increase still further the power of that family, which was destined to ascend the throne two centuries later.

The king's early attentions were absorbed by schemes of conquest in Morocco, where he took Alcacer Ceguer (1458) and afterwards Tangiers and Arzila in 1471. He then began to entertain ambitions with regard to the throne of Castile, but the Castilians who preferred Ferdinand and Isabella to him, destroyed all his dreams at the battle of Toro, in 1476.

The fortresses in Africa served as schools of military training; they also helped to draw off for garrison purposes persons of the lowest class, while they also supplied the means of levying taxes on the Moors, in the form of grain, for instance.

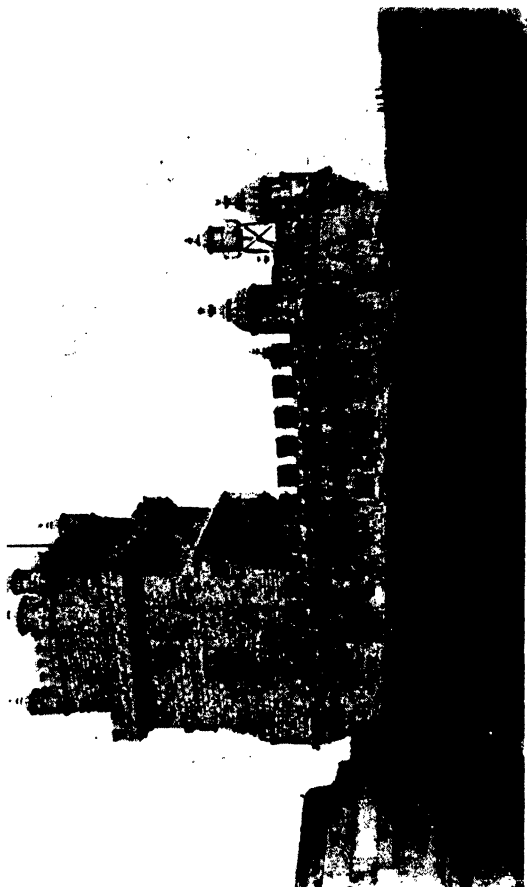
The builders who went to Morocco to work on the fortifications, on their return, introduced into Portuguese architecture, according to a contemporary critic, influences of Arabic art which can be seen in the Tower of Belem, at Lisbon and in other monuments in Sintra and in Alentejo.

D. João II

D. AFONSO V had a son D. João II who proved to be greatest of all the kings of Portugal.

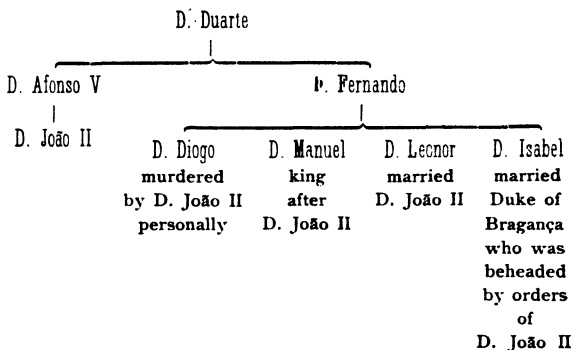
D. Fernando, brother of D. Afonso V, had two sons and two daughters: the eldest son, D. Diogo, third Duke of Vizeu was assassinated by the king D. João II, his cousin and brother-in-law: the second

THE HISTORY OF PORTUGAL



22. TOWER OF BELEM, LISBON

son D. Manuel succeeded the king after his death: of the daughters, D. Leonor married the king and D. Isabel married the Duke of Bragança. The genealogical tree given below explains the position clearly.



towards the solution of the Eastern problem. He was moreover a type of the Renaissance prince and had no moral scruples in matters of State.

The nobility considering its rights infringed, entered into a conspiracy against the king. D. João II ordered the Duke of Bragança to be beheaded and he himself, while one of his courtiers held the victim, stabbed the Duke of Vizeu; he imprisoned, persecuted and ordered the assassination of all that dared to oppose him.

This is how he succeeded in becoming absolute master of his realm and so free to organise the capture of the commerce of India.

His wife, D. Leonor, founded in Portugal the institutes of charity known as the « *Misericórdias* » and encouraged literature.

The formation of a dual monarchy with only one sovereign for Portugal and Castile was one of the dominating ideas of the second dynasty. With this object in view D. João II married his only son D. Afonso,

to Isabella, the eldest daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, in 1490; the death of the prince in the following year, however, dissipated this great dream.

In 1494 the treaty of Tordesillas was signed. By it the meridian 370 leagues West of Cape Verde was fixed as the boundary line between the future possessions of Castile and of Portugal. This seems to indicate that D. João II, when he negotiated this treaty, had a perfectly clear knowledge of what lay to the West, namely, Brazil.

Keeping always the main national problem in view, the following expeditions were successfully undertaken in this reign: that of Martim Lopes to the North of Europe; that of Pedro de Evora and Gonçalo Álvares to the interior of África; that of Pero de Covilhã and Afonso de Paiva to India by land; that of Diogo Cão along the African Coast as far south as the river Zaire (1484); and that of Bartolomeu Dias, who reached the extreme southerly point of África in 1486, but was obliged by his crew

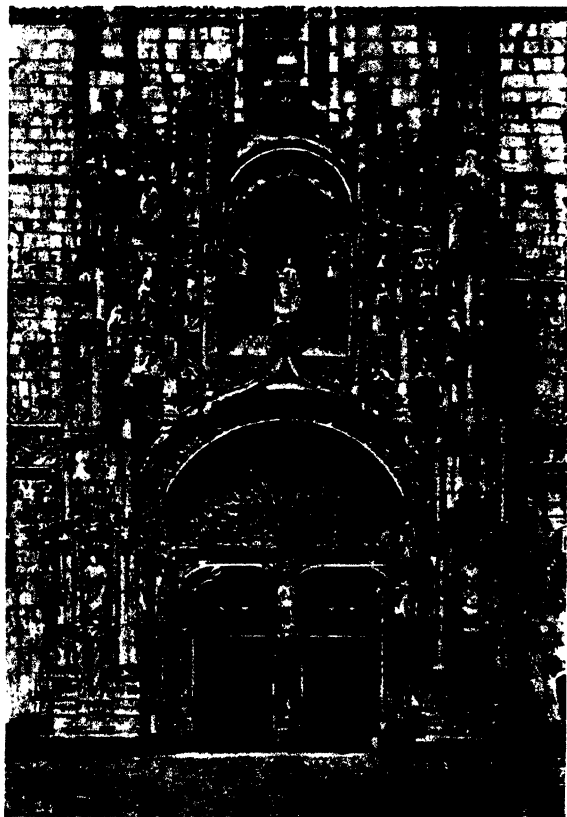
to return to Portugal. To this most southerly point of Africa he gave the name of the Cape of Storms which the king changed to the Cape of Good Hope. The Monarch began at once to prepare a fleet that should proceed right on to the goal, and even appointed Vasco da Gama its commander, but as the king died at Algarve on 25th October 1495, the great good fortune of witnessing the realization of the grandest mission of Portugal was reserved to his successor, D. Manuel I.

D. Manuel I

VASCO DA GAMA SAILS FOR INDIA

VASCO da Gama left Lisbon in July 1497: he arrived at Calicut in May 1498 and returned to Lisbon in August 1499. The discovery of the maritime route to India made Portugal the greatest intermediary in the commerce of the world; and Lisbon, an emporium to which flocked the ships and

THE HISTORY OF PORTUGAL



23. JERÓNIMOS, LISBON

the merchants of all the nationalities of Europe.

D. Manuel took to himself the title of «*Lord of Conquest, Navigation and Commerce of Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia and India*», and in witness of his gratitude to the Almighty, he ordered to be built the *Convent of Jeronimos* in Lisbon.

He then sent Pedro Alvares Cabral with a fleet of thirteen ships to establish factories and to secure the trade of the Malabar Coast. On his way Cabral touched South America which had already been visited by the Portuguese, perchance at a much earlier time. Cabral established a factory at Calicut but meeting with great opposition from the Mahomedans he bombarded the city and went up the coast to Cananore and thence to Cochin. The rulers of these places gave Cabral a hearty welcome because they hated the dominion that the Chief of Calicut exercised over them. After establishing factories at these places, Cabral returned to Portugal with his ships

laden with spices and other Asiatic commodities.

The limits of this work do not permit us to describe this immense adventure that has no parallel in the history of discovery: all we can do is to refer the reader to Mendes Pinto's « *Peregrinação* ».

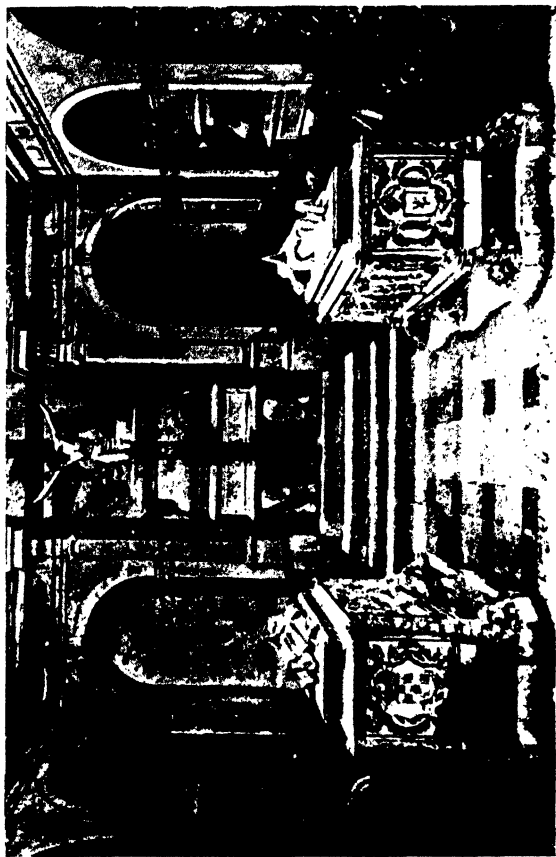
INDUSTRIAL ACTIVITIES CHOKED

THE traffic with the East being a royal monopoly, the king became the Merchant of Merchants, and the State Officials also turned traders working either for the king or on their own account.

One can easily imagine how this state of things was bound to lead to abuses in countries so far away and altogether beyond the reach of the king. In a very short time both the State and private individuals had sunk low out of sight in the worst kind of perversions possible in the economic and moral sphere.

The merchandise of the East began to

THE HISTORY OF PORTUGAL



24. TOMBS OF VASCO DA GAMA AND CAMÕES, IN JERÓNIMOS

be obtained in exchange for gold and the industrial products of the European nations, such as Italy, France, Germany and others. And the national capacity of Portugal for production was thus being paralysed. The country became specialized in the work of transporting wealth that belonged to others, and lived on loans at high rates of interest obtained from the Jews of Flanders.

In fact the commerce with the East choked all the possibilities of development of the industrial activities of Portugal.

THE POLICY OF THE FIRST VICEROY

D. FRANCISCO de Almeida was sent out as Viceroy in 1505. The policy he adopted was undoubtedly very sensible: it was to maintain only the dominion of the seas, while holding nothing on land beyond a few factories and certain strategical points; and to make the native maritime traffic pay

tribute for the right of navigation in the shape of charters or passports.

ALBUQUERQUE

ALBUQUERQUE, the Genius of Conquest, followed soon afterwards and led Portugal on the way to Empire, an empire which the country had not the resources to maintain. He conquered Ormuz in 1507; Goa in 1510; Malacca in 1511 and attempted to take Aden in 1513.

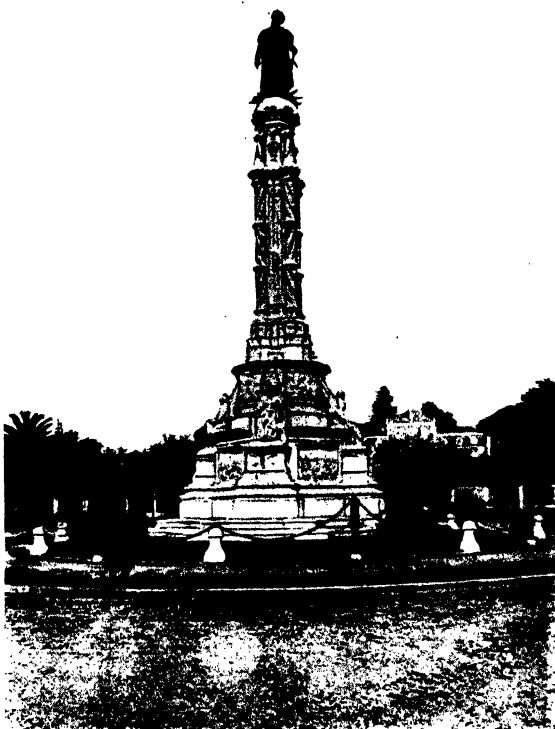
The Portuguese thus spread their dominion over almost the whole of Asia, right down to the Moluccas, in a prodigious and anarchical manifestation of energy.

D. João III

D. JOÃO III succeeded D. Manuel, became known as the « Colonizer », and reigned for 36 years from 1521 to 1557.

During his reign two events of importance took place which have been the

THE HISTORY OF PORTUGAL



25. ALBUQUERQUE'S STATUE, LISBON

subject of great discussion: the one was the advent of the Jesuits and the other, the introduction of the Inquisition.

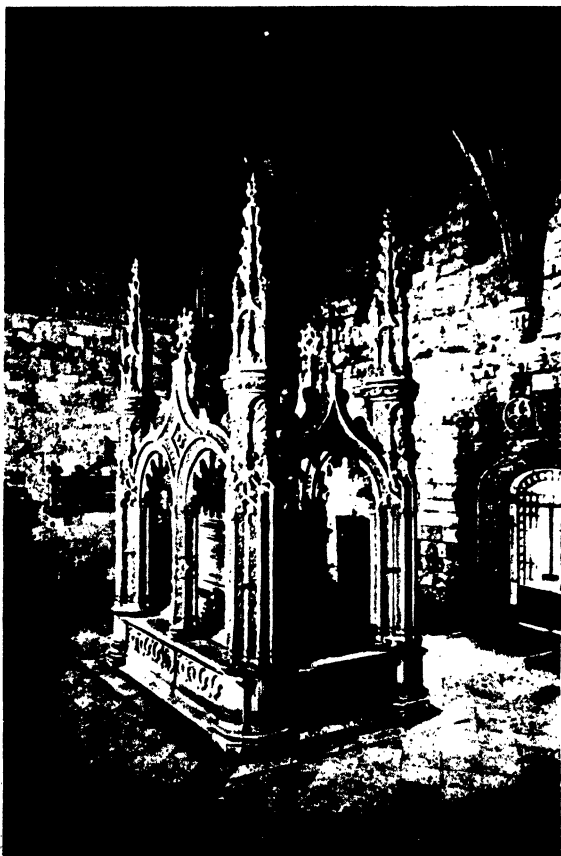
THE JEWS

CLOSELY connected with the latter question was that of the Jews. With regard to this question it is easier to find fault with the king than to suggest an ideal manner of solving the problem which he had to face. In this case, the king as the king of the people was carried away by the tide of popular feeling. The most absolute of monarchs has to yield to the passions that deeply move a nation. The Lusitanian hated the Jew, more from social and economical than from purely religious motives. This sentiment was common at this time to almost all nations and had already led to the expulsion of the Jews from England and from France. The part they played in business was anything but agreeable to the community in which they lived: they were

compelled by circumstances to turn money lenders; in this capacity they controlled, among other branches of commerce, the food-supply, and they were accused, with or without reason, of holding up supplies in order to raise their prices, and in this way, of being the direct cause of famine. From time to time the rancour of the rabble burst forth into blood-thirsty strife, in which the Sovereign was compelled to intervene in order to restore peace, but in so doing was obliged to go against his own people in favour of strangers belonging to a different race and religion and determined in their resistance to racial or religious assimilation. (They may have good reason for their resistance but this seems to be a very probable cause of all their troubles).

It is only in this way that one can understand D. João III struggling with the Vatican for twenty years, in order to extort from the Pope the right to introduce into the country the Holy Office of the Inquisition. (1536).

THE HISTORY OF PORTUGAL



26. HERCULANO'S TOMB IN JERÓNIMOS

THE INQUISITION

The Inquisition was an institution sanctioned by law, intended to secure by legal means the objects hitherto effected by the anarchical ferocity of the rabble. It was meant to serve the purpose of a safety-valve. It is equally true, on the other hand, that the habits of the time were much too cruel and the populace much too rancorous for there not to have been from the very start, the most cruel abuse of this tribunal, and the perpetration of the vilest horrors at the instigation of the mob and by it applauded with unparalleled enthusiasm.

Herculano (1830-77) the greatest of Portuguese historians has a volume on the «Origin and the Establishment of the Inquisition in Portugal», which is a perfect piece of work considered as an historical narrative, but is full of controversial argumentation which we think rather unjust to D. João III. D. João II, for instance, did not

show himself less cruel than D. João III, nor the people of his time more merciful than those of D. João III's time, when they transported the Jews to Africa and their children to San Tomé.

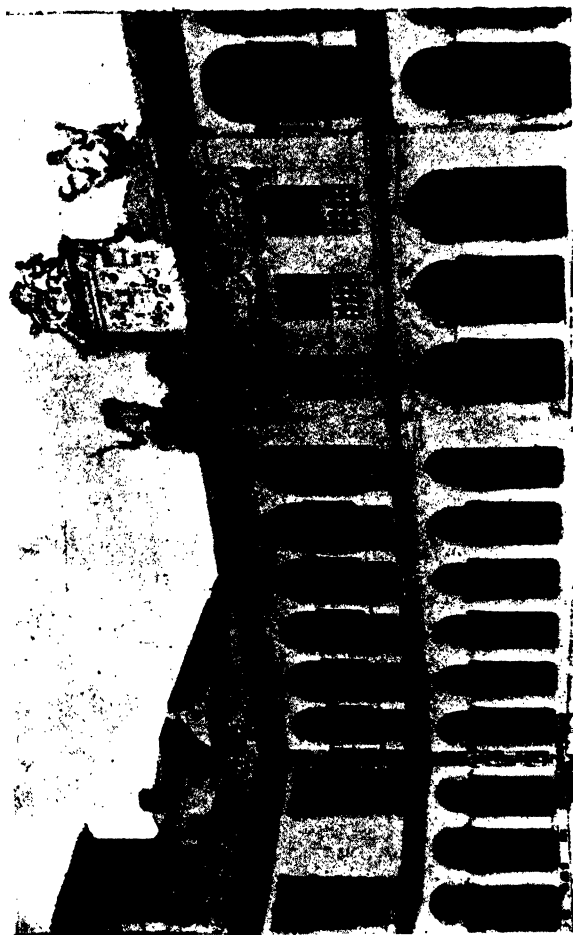
In the East, the ferocity that the Portuguese displayed both in the Inquisition and apart from it, was one of the chief causes of the economic breakdown which was so soon to follow.

The Inquisition, moreover, in its excessive zeal to combat heresy, atrophied the development of the intellect to such an extent that even to this day its evil effects are being felt.

THE JESUITS

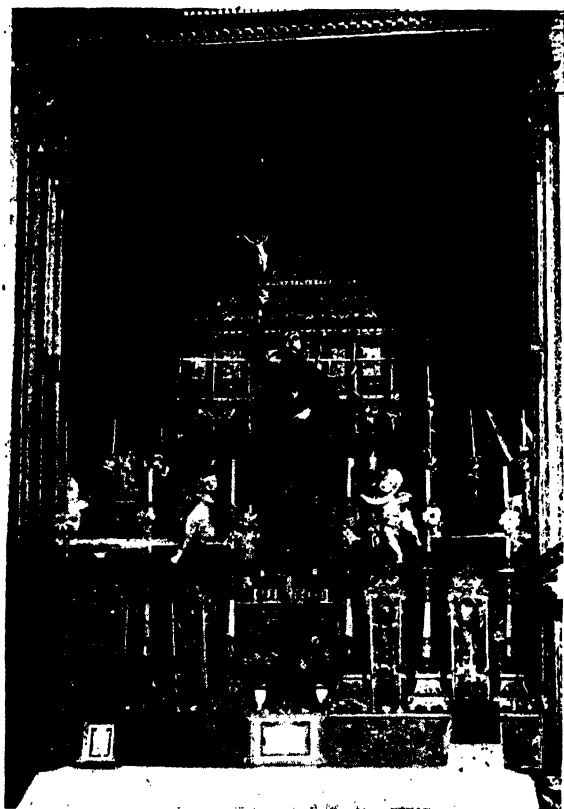
The people were enthusiastic supporters of the Inquisition and hated the Jesuits for opposing it. What in the Jesuit, is repellent to the mind of to-day, is his dry, cadaverous, and inhuman ideal and not his particular methods or the Jesuitical precepts

THE HISTORY OF PORTUGAL



27. UNIVERSITY BUILDING AT ÉVORA

THE HISTORY OF PORTUGAL



28. ST. FRANCIS XAVIER'S TOMB AT GOA

that have been the subject of so much discussion. It was in 1540 that they appeared in Portugal where they soon began to make converts among the highest classes of society with their fervid but violent and spectacular preaching. In a very short time they had acquired complete control of public instruction, they had created a University of their own at Evora, and had begun to exercise authority in private families and to superintend as far as lay in their power every intellectual activity. As missionaries in the Colonies they formed a stupendous army. Four names stand out pre-eminent in the history of the country, St. Francis Xavier, of Navarre, the Apostle of India, (1506-52); Anchieta and Nobregá, the Apostles of Brazil; and the genius, Vieira, a powerful orator, an extremely active politician, and, in more than one sense, the greatest prose-writer in the Portuguese language, (1608-1697).

ORGANIZATION OF COLONIAL GOVERNMENT

One feature of D. João III's reign, however, deserves unstinted praise, for it relates to the organization of colonial government. The first system to be adopted was Feudalism, which was what most appealed to the mind of the time. In 1530-35, Brazil was divided into twelve « *capitanias* » and the persons put at the head of them were invested with sovereign powers except that of coining money. One tenth of the production belonged to the crown. « A policy of wise liberty which freed agriculture, commerce and industry from vexatious restrictions, and threw open the colony to foreign activities on payment of only very small differential duties. The articles taxed were very few, the imposts very moderate and individuals were free to move from one *capitania* to another or from any of them to foreign parts ».

It was purely a matter of chance, therefore, that this system did not produce good

results, so that the attempt at feudal organization had gradually to give place to a centralizing and monopolizing system of administration.

Tomé de Sousa, the first Governor-General of Brazil installed himself as viceroy at Bahia in 1549.

Later on, by degrees there began to form along the Coast great centres of colonization with a thoroughly European aspect, unlike the aspect of dissolute anarchy that characterized the Castilian mining settlements.

The chief industry of Brazil was cane-plantation and the making of sugar.

« Here then » (to quote Oliveira Martins) « we have the cardinal points of the overseas policy of the reign of D. João III who has the right to the eternal glory of being the founder of the Portuguese system of colonization—the highest achievement in the interests of civilization, of a nation already made illustrious by voyages across the oceans

and still famous for the exploring of unknown continents ».

PORTUGUESE LITERATURE

WE shall here interrupt the sequence of the historical narrative in order merely to touch upon the progress of Portuguese Literature down to this period, noting the names of the most important writers with their respective dates. The only great writer anterior to the golden period of national Literature, is the Chronicler, Fernão Lopes, who lived from about 1380 to 1460.

In 1520, Sá de Miranda, (1495-1558) travelled to Italy and on his return, introduced into Portugal the taste for the Classics. He, Antonio Ferreira (1528-69) author of the tragedy entitled « *Castro* » and of the « *Poemas Lusitanos* » and the genius, Camões, the national Epic poet, (1525-1580) are examples of the Classic style in Poetry, while João de Barros is the

THE HISTORY OF PORTUGAL



29. CAMÕES' STATUE, LISBON

chief exponent of the same style in Prose (1496?-1570); Gil Vicente, who died about 1540, was a writer of Comedies, still fettered to the traditions of the Middle Ages. Among the writers of travel, we must make special mention of Fernão Mendes Pinto; in history, besides João de Barros (1496-1570) whom we have already mentioned, we also have Freire Luis de Sousa (1555-1632), and though inferior from the point of view of style, Damião de Gois (1502-1574); the remaining writers of History have less literary merit, although at times they are of still greater value as sources of information: they are, Azurara, Pina, Resende, Castanheda, Couto, Gaspar Correia and others. Of the moralists, who are, all of them, mystics, we shall mention Amador Arrais (1530-1600), Tomé de Jesus (1529-1582) and Paiva de Andrada (1528-75). Among the poets, besides those already mentioned, we must refer to Bernardim Ribeiro (1550-??), Cristóvão Falcão (about 1495) and Diogo Bernardes;

and among men of science, the mathematician Pedro Nunes (1492?-1577?) and the naturalist Garcia da Orta who died about 1510.

When soon afterwards Portugal fell under the dominion of Spain, the writers of the country in all their writings struck always the sensitive chord of patriotism singing praises of national heroes, while the historians went so far as to commit little pious frauds to support the arguments in favour of the independence of Portugal.

As examples of these frauds we shall cite the miracle of Ourique and the *Côrtes* of Lamego.

D. Sebastian, the Longed-for

To return to our narrative : the Infant João, son of D. João III, died in 1554, three years before his father. D. Sebastian, « *O Desejado* », (the one Longed-for), a posthumous son of the king, succeeded to the throne, under the Regency of his grand-

mother, D. Catarina who in 1562 retired to Spain leaving the Regency in the hands of the Cardinal Henrique. The *Côrtes* declared the young king of age in 1568. This silly and vainglorious youth had his head turned by the fanatics of his time who both in prose and in verse, egged him on to become the paladin of the Catholic Faith against the Protestant and the Muslim. Thus he prepared a great fleet to assist Charles IX of France when this king together with the Alexandrian Cardinal was arranging for the Massacre of St. Bartholomew; and it was for this reason also, that he resolved on the conquest of Morocco in disregard of the wise counsels of his most experienced generals. He got together an extremely showy army, which encamped in Lisbon with tents made of the finest silk, the men dressed in the most gorgeous uniforms, « singing, drinking and committing immoralities ». Once in Africa, he heaped error upon error, to the absolute despair of his generals who even

thought of imprisoning the lunatic. On the day of the Battle of Al-Kassr al-Kebir, 4th August 1579, he issued instructions that nobody should move from his place without the king's word of command; but he entirely forgot to give any further orders. The enemy advanced in the form of a crescent and surrounding the small army destroyed it completely. When the news of the disaster reached Portugal it was received as a death-blow to the whole nation.

D. Sebastian himself, disappeared on the battle-field, but as there was no absolute certainty of his having perished, it was generally hoped that he had survived and would reappear, and this belief prepared the way for the appearance of a number of impostors or false D. Sebastians.

ENCUBIERTISM

THIS belief that he would return, however, took such a hold on the imagination of the credulous populace that it soon became the

chimerical creed called *Sebastianism* which is celebrated in the Ballads of Bandarra. Inspired by the Hebrew Messianic teachings, by the prophetic texts of the Bible combined with a fresh recollection of the *Encubiertos* of Valencia and of the prophecies attributed to San Isidro in a paper printed in Spain about 1520, this Bandarra who was a boot-maker in Trancoso patched up some verses prophesying the king's return, which were widely diffused throughout the country not only by the New-Christians but even by the Jesuits who had incurred the odium of the great disaster owing to the education which they had given their pupil.

Oliveira Martins a somewhat fanciful historian of the nineteenth century supposed that this belief in the return of the king, was a racial manifestation which he attributed to the celtic element which predominates in Portugal. The idea became popular, and it has ever since been the fashion to believe in *Sebastianism* (it would

perhaps be more appropriate to call it «*Encubiértism*») and the creed has become popularised owing to the ideological anæmia of modern Portuguese Literature.

«*Encubiértism*» proves nothing except that the Portuguese, or a portion of them, in crises of depression, do the same as other nations, namely, cling to a belief in the return of a hero-king who will lead them to victory. For example, the Welsh had their king Arthur; the Medieval Germans, their Frederick Barbarossa; the Danes, their Holger Danske; the Serbians their Marcus Cralievic; the Mexican Indians, Quetzalcohuatl; while even the French of the XIXth century had their Comte de Chambord «*l'enfant du Miracle*»; and the Russians of the present-day have their Alexander I.

Cardinal D. Henrique

AFTER D. Sebastian, the Cardinal D. Henrique ascended the throne, completely de-

crepit at sixty six years of age and feeding at the breasts of a wet-nurse.

SPANISH OCCUPATION

No less than seven claimants to the throne appeared at the same time, among them Philip II of Castile, who had the decisive advantage of force, the force not only of iron but also of gold which was lavishly and artfully spent by his special envoy Cristoval de Moura.

The only opposition offered to him at first was the inflated rhetoric of Febo Monis and afterwards the audacity of the adventurer D. António, the Prior of Crato, who caused himself to be proclaimed king at Santarem but was supported in Lisbon only by a mob that was completely beside itself.

While the Castilian fleet sailed up towards the Portuguese capital, the Duke of Alba invaded the country through Alentejo and marching to Alcantara, close to Lisbon, swept away, with the greatest ease,

the troops of D. António, who fled to France, and Philip II of Spain was thus proclaimed king Portugal in August 1580.

In France, D. António sought the assistance of Catharine de Medici and obtained from her a fleet which was defeated by D. Alvaro de Bazan in July 1582, off the Azores. He also appealed to England but with no better fortune.

Philip II who entered the capital in 1581 took the coronation oath, reciting the conditions under which he would reign, before the *Côrtes Gerais*, which had met for the purpose at Tomar, on the 15th of April of the same year. His intention was not to absorb Portugal in Spain but to establish a dual monarchy, with independent governments, and with both countries exactly on the same footing. He fulfilled his promises most faithfully, and it was only his grandson, Philip IV, or rather, his Prime-Minister, Count Olivarez, who broke them later and so hastened the Revolution of 1640, which expelled the Spaniards from the

THE HISTORY OF PORTUGAL



30. CHRIST CONVENT, TOMAR

country and put the Duke of Bragança on the throne of Portugal, as D. João IV.

It is curious to note that in the initiation of this revolution, the ballads of Bandarra were again made use of. With a very slight alteration, that is, by changing *Foão* into *João*, two different factions, *Bragancists* and *Sebastianists*, who were sometimes hostile to each other, were enabled to make use of the same verses. This distinction between the two factions has not, as a rule, been noted by modern writers. To the former faction, D. João IV was the «*Encubierto*» while D. Sebastian was so to the latter.

THE DISASTROUS CONSEQUENCES OF THE SPANISH OCCUPATION

THE consequence of the union of Portugal with Castile, the persecutor of Protestants, was that both England and Holland turned against Portugal. An enormous effort was made by Portugal in connection with the

preparation of the Invincible Armada, which the English annihilated with the aid of bad weather and Castilian incompetence, 1558. In the following year, Drake descended on Faro and pillaged the place. By this time both the Dutch and the English were far south in the Atlantic ocean, fighting the Portuguese ships which were now badly constructed, dispersed all over the world, overcrowded with men and overladen with cargo.

The Dutch, free from sectarian bigotry, won the confidence of the people of the East; they sold goods that were their own; they did not content themselves with carrying the products of Asia to their own ports, as did the Portuguese, who waited for purchasers to come to them, but sought the foreign markets themselves, and thus carrying freight both ways they were enabled to reap a richer profit.

The Portuguese, although they had made this sea-trade their speciality sacrificing thereto their home production, nevertheless

did not reveal any capacity for the organization of commerce on a great scale. The persecution of the Jews also helped to accentuate this absence of organizing ability.

The Dutch went to Asia as the direct consequence of Philip II's closing to them the port of Lisbon in 1594. Cornelius Hutman, a Dutchman who had served the Portuguese as a pilot on the Indian seas and who had been imprisoned by the Inquisition, was the seaman who steered the first Dutch fleet to double the Cape of Good Hope in 1595.

Dutch trade was a private concern and not a government monopoly like the Portuguese. In 1597 the Dutch established themselves in Java; in 1601 they took Malacca from the Portuguese, and six years later captured their establishments in the Moluccas and in Sumatra; ten years afterwards they founded Batavia which soon became a rival to Goa, and later on still captured from the Portuguese various ports in India and in Ceylon.

The English pillaged Pernambuco in 1594; destroyed the fort of Arguim in Africa, in 1595; devastated the Azores in 1597 and then passed on to Asia. Here, just as was the case with the Dutch, the disregard of the Portuguese monopoly was not an act of the British Government but of private traders, who were not prompted by any idea of conquest or of Empire, but were guided by purely commercial interests alone. When, on one occasion, the Portuguese tried to prevent the English ships from taking cargo at Surat in 1615, they suffered a defeat which lowered their prestige in the eyes of the Indians. The English also showed astuteness in treating the Indians with kindness in contrast to the violence used by the Portuguese. Being simply traders the English did not wish to be involved in skirmishes nor did they maintain troops for the defence of their agencies. The only occasion on which they acted on the offensive in a military sense, against the Portuguese was

in 1622 when they assisted the Persians in the taking of Ormuz. Rui Freire de Andrade, one of the Portuguese heroes of the East, greatly distinguished himself at this battle.

The Dutch also attacked the Portuguese in Brazil. After their success in Asia had been assured, they founded in 1624, the Dutch Company of the West Indies, for the purpose of expelling the Portuguese from South America. A fleet attacked Bahia and returned with much booty. The city was recaptured by the Portuguese but the Dutch continued year by year their freebooting expeditions, which yielded good dividends to the share-holders. In 1637 the Company sent out to Brazil as their administrator, Count Maurice of Nassau, a man of very wide views. He established himself in Recife, proceeded to extend the Dutch territories, and substituted regular imposts for the greedy swindling of his countrymen. This, however, takes us to the eve of the great revolution in Portugal.

The liberal policy of Philip II was abandoned by his successors. The Duke of Lerma and Count Olivarez, the all-powerful Ministers of Philip III and Philip IV preferred the policy of absorption although it involved the total disregard of the oath taken before the *Côrtes* at Tomar. The imposts were enormous and were not spent in Portugal. In violation of all promises, the Court at Lisbon was filled with foreigners, which displeased the Portuguese nobility: and finally when the Spaniards tried to send the Portuguese nobility out of the country, in order to serve the political whims of Castile, they began to conspire and looked to the Duke of Bragança as king and to France as an ally.

RICHELIEU

FRANCE had now emerged from the troubles of the religious wars of the sixteenth century and had become a powerful State, thanks to Richelieu, whose principal object,

in matters of foreign policy, was to diminish the power of Spain. It was for this reason that he favoured the revolution of Catalonia in 1639, and also fomented the the general unrest in Portugal. For this latter purpose he had already in 1638 sent to Portugal one of his most faithful envoys, the Chevalier de Saint-Pré.

CONSPIRACY TO OVERTHROW THE SPANISH YOKE

A VERY important part in the Portuguese conspiracy was taken by João Pinto Ribeiro. Hunting expeditions were arranged in Vila Viçosa, in order that the Duke might come to know his partisans personally.

When Olivarez began to suspect what was going on he adopted what seemed to him a wise measure, and ordered the whole of the Portuguese army to go to serve in Catalonia, and the Duke of Bragança to go immediately to Madrid.

INDEPENDENCE REGAINED

THERE was no time to be lost. On 1st December 1640, the conspirators made their way to Terreiro do Paço, and overpowering the guards, killed three of the persons who were most responsible for the tyranny of the immediate past, and arrested Margaret of Savoy, Duchess of Mantua, who was governing Portugal.

When this news reached the people they rose *en masse*, and John, Duke of Bragança was crowned king in the Cathedral of Lisbon on 15th December 1640.

D. João IV

ALTHOUGH Castile was harassed at the time with many enemies, yet the situation of Portugal was very delicate and necessarily demanded, on the part of D. João IV, the greatest prudence; which has been misinterpreted by modern historians of easy consciences.

THE HISTORY OF PORTUGAL



31. LISBON CATHEDRAL OF GREAT ANTIQUITY

Charles I of England was fully occupied with his troubles at home and could not assist Portugal. France had by the Treaty of 1st June 1641 promised not to make peace with Spain unless she recognised the independence of Portugal.

On 7th August of the same year a French fleet entered the Tagus and on 10th September, the Dutch fleet followed suit.

D. João IV, however, had very powerful enemies within the country, who had secret understandings with Spain, and who were on the verge of overthrowing him. A very serious rising of the nobles assisted by the New Christians, had been fixed for 5th August 1641 but the plot was discovered and the ringleaders executed on the 29th of the same month, including the Marquis of Vila Flor and the Duke of Caminha, after whom the conspiracy was named.

The Archbishop of Braga and the Inquisitor-General were both imprisoned for life.

These extreme measures did not prove sufficient to disarm the friends of Spain

among the high officials and the discontented nobility, so that it became necessary two years later, to sentence to death the Secretary of State himself, Francisco Lucena.

In spite of all these difficulties D. João IV was able to raise an army which under the command of Matias de Albuquerque gained a victory over the Castilians at Montijo on 26th May 1642.

Mozambique, India and Macau, at once threw off the yoke of Spain.

In Brazil the Colonials made war against the Dutch and thus nullified the treaty existing between Holland and Portugal. Difficulties now began to thicken. Sweden and Holland would not help: England had her attention wholly taken up by the Civil War and as for France, Mazarin who had now succeeded Richelieu began to show signs of playing false.

All the foreign nations looked upon D. João IV as a temporary Ruler, that is, as king only until such time as Spain, relieved from her other troubles, should be able to

THE HISTORY OF PORTUGAL



32. MONUMENT COMMEMORATING THE RESTORATION
OF PORTUGUESE INDEPENDENCE, 1640

withdraw some of her troops from where they were engaged and turn them against the Portuguese king and crush him.

Afonso VI

D. JOÃO IV died in November 1656 and was succeeded by D. Afonso VI, a sickly youth of no great intelligence. The Queen-mother, however, who became Regent was a woman of great energy.

An unsuccessful attempt made by Portuguese troops against Badajoz revealed the necessity of better instructors for the Portuguese Army and for this purpose, the services of Frederick, Count of Schomberg with eighty officers and four-hundred non-commissioned officers were engaged. (This is the same Schomberg who afterwards accompanied William of Orange to England and commanded in Ireland).

Once again it was seen, that the Portuguese peasant had the stuff in him for the making of a good soldier and that all that

was required was proper training under good officers.

In 1659 they gained victories all along the lines of Elvas.

PEACE OF THE PYRENEES

FRANCE now began a policy of ignoble trickery in her dealings with both Spain and Portugal. She had promised Portugal not to enter into terms of peace with Spain unless the latter recognised the independence of Portugal, but in the famous conferences on the Island of Pheasants (on the Bidassoa) which ended in the Peace of the Pyrenees in 1659, France abandoned Portugal entirely.

THE MARRIAGE OF CHARLES II OF ENGLAND TO CATHERINE OF BRAGANÇA

AT THE same time, in order to harass Spain, France offered to obtain for Portugal the Alliance with England, which was

concluded in the following terms: Charles II was to marry Catherine of Bragança, sister of Afonso VI, and to receive as dowry Tangiers, Bombay, Galle (Ceylon) and eight hundred thousand pounds in cash; Portugal was also to pay thirty thousand pounds, annually, for English auxiliaries, veteran soldiers of the Civil War, of whom England was anxious to be free.

AFONSO VI ASSUMES THE REINS OF GOVERNMENT

SOME time before the arrival of the English and the decisive victory over the enemy, a revolution took place in the Court of Lisbon. The Counts of Castelo Melhor and of Atouguia instigated the king to declare himself of age and to assume the reins of government, which he did on 21st June 1662.

The two Counts who were assisted by D. Antonio de Sousa Macedo, a man of great parts, came splendidly out of this

enterprise. A strong army was raised, composed of the English veterans, of French and German volunteers and mercenaries and of the newly-organised Portuguese regiments. Schomberg was Commander-in-chief in fact, though not in name. In this way the Portuguese defeated the Spaniards when these invaded their territory. On 8th June 1663, the Count of Vila Flor, assisted by Schomberg defeated John of Austria, an illegitimate son of Philip IV, at Ameixial, and immediately afterwards recaptured Evora; on 7th July 1664, Pedro Jacques de Magalhães routed the Duke of Ossuma at Ciudad Rodrigo and on 17th June 1665, the Marquis of Marialva, assisted by Schomberg, completely vanquished the Marquis of Caracena at Montes Claros.

When, after these victories, Spain became convinced of the hopelessness of further fighting, France did not hesitate to give a French Princess in marriage to the king of Portugal. And so Marie Françoise Louise

Isabel, mademoiselle d'Aumale, daughter of Charles Amadeus, the Duke of Nemours and of Isabel of Vendôme, and granddaughter of Henry IV, was married to Afonso VI in 1666.

No sooner did this Princess, arrive in Portugal, than she fell passionately in love with her brother-in-law, D. Pedro. Deserting her husband, she fled to a convent and filed a positively scandalous suit against him. Soon afterwards D. Pedro, headed a conspiracy, imprisoned the king in one of the Chambers of the Palace, and on 23rd November 1667, assumed the Regency.

Castelo Melhor retired to foreign lands where he led an adventurous life. The part he played in these events remains still enveloped in mystery.

By the Treaty of Lisbon, signed on 13th February 1668, Spain recognised the independence of Portugal but retained Ceuta.

The Queen obtained from the Pope the annulment of her marriage with the King and married the Regent.

D. Pedro II

D. PEDRO reduced the army, discharged the foreign soldiers and tried to govern well.

A conspiracy to restore Afonso VI to the throne was discovered in 1674 and the ringleaders executed. Afonso VI, who had been sent to the Azores, was brought back and locked up in the Palace of Sintra, in a room that can be seen at the present day, and where he died in 1683.

Brazil was at this time the foundation of the national economy. Towards the end of the sixteenth century when the best minds of the nation carefully weighed on the one hand the advantages to the public welfare which had been derived from the great enterprise of foreign conquest, and on the other the disadvantages that had accrued, they began to recognise the wisdom of D. Pedro de Alfarrobeira and the truth of the prophecy of the «*Sage of Restelo*»; that is, they began to see the urgent necessity of making the economy of the home



33. SINTRA PALACE

country stand on a firm basis, by recommending the peopling of the South of Portugal which had been interrupted by the conquests, and by the development of home-industries.

Among the supporters of this opinion, were the following thinkers and statesmen, Luis Mendes de Vasconcelos, Severim de Faria, Duarte Ribeiro de Macedo, Ericeira, Alexandre de Gusmão, D. Luis da Cunha, and later on the Marquis of Pombal and the economists of the «Academy». In spite of all these, however, the policy was never accepted. It was found impossible to put it into execution for the simple reason that Portugal having drawn the first prize in the lottery for Brazil, by the discovery of Brazilian mines, it was thought that all economic reforms at home were thereby rendered unnecessary.

Never since the realization of the plans of overseas conquest has it been possible to remedy the evil effects that resulted from that policy. The full execution of

that plan gave vigour and cohesion, expansion and aptness to the two nations of the Iberian peninsula, but it produced, at the same time, from that moment onwards, a state of complete « *isolation* » : isolation of the nation from other nations ; isolation of classes from the nation as a whole ; isolation of these same classes from each other and finally the isolation of the individual from his own class.

BRAZIL AND THE ECONOMIC SITUATION OF PORTUGAL

BUT let us return to Brazil. The colonies on the Coast had made great progress, their chief centres being at Pernambuco and Bahia. Commerce increased and plantations grew to such an extent that the sugar-factories at the end of the sixteenth century, were computed to be one hundred and twenty in number with a total production of forty thousand tons.

The search for mines began almost

immediately. For this purpose the settlers organised expeditions called « *bandeiras* » and thus penetrated into the forests in a most marvellous spirit of adventure displaying extraordinary courage and enthusiasm. The news of the El Dorado discovered by the Paulists (inhabitants of San Paulo) attracted towards the South, with the desire to share in the harvest of gold, the « *emboabas* » or foreigners, as they were called, who were now looked upon, by the Paulists, as enemies. The year 1708 was marked by great cruelty. The Portuguese were slaughtered at a place which became known as the « Rio das Mortes » and the rebels were afterwards crushed and punished for their cruelty by a Governor sent out for the purpose from Rio to Minas.

It was in 1694 that a regular establishment for the melting of gold first started work in Taubaté. No metal was allowed to go into a work-shop for the purpose of being cast into bars, or for assaying or for mint-

ing, without first paying the « *quinto* » or 5 % to the crown. These establishments had thus a threefold character, being at one and the same time a mint, a work-shop and a revenue-office. From these establishments a regular network of posts and guards was spread around for the purpose of preventing contraband, and the law punished the smugglers of gold, very severely.

It is difficult to state with precision the quantity of gold produced by the Brazilian mines, but it has been calculated that up to the year 1820, it amounted to 63417 « *arrobas* », each arroba being roughly equal to 32 pounds (weight). The « fifth », which in the present case was only a duty of 5 %, amounted, according, to Eschwege, to five million cruzados annually and to more than double this amount according to others.

Diamonds, which were a Royal monopoly, and which were sold on behalf of the State Treasury, in Amsterdam, fetched a million and a half of cruzados annually.

The first lot of gold that came from Brazil, of any importance, arrived in 1699, when D. Pedro II received a ton and a half of it. The reader can thus picture to himself the state of the finances in the two reigns that followed, namely, that of D. João V, from 1706 to 1750 and that of D. José from 1750 to 1777.

METHUEN TREATY

BEFORE leaving the subject of the economic situation at this time in Portugal, we must make a reference to the Methuen Treaty of 1703, named after the gentleman who negotiated it on behalf of England. This «Right Honorable» brother of a cloth-maker was assisted in his negotiations by the Portuguese grape-growers who were, as a class, much more influential than the manufacturers, and who were, moreover, devoid of all sentiment of national solidarity with the latter. Thus the terms concluded were that Portuguese wines should enter

England on payment of less duty than either French or German wines, and that, in compensation, all articles manufactured in England should receive preferential treatment in Portugal.

The immediate consequence of this Treaty was the recognition, by D. Pedro, of the English candidate for the throne of Spain, as against the candidate and the interests of France, and the permission granted to England to use Portugal as the base of operations during the War of the Spanish Succession, which had already begun.

The more remote consequences of the Treaty were that Englishmen of the eighteenth century drank port instead of claret or hock, and that the Portuguese industries which had been so zealously encouraged by the third Count of Eri-ceira, during his wise administration from 1675 to 1690, were completely exterminated.

An English factory was established in

THE HISTORY OF PORTUGAL



34. FIELDING'S TOMB IN THE BRITISH CEMETERY, LISBON

Lisbon, and quite a large number of English wine-merchants and ship-owners settled in Oporto.

From this time onwards, the English held a privileged social position in the country, very much superior to that of any other foreign nation, and this fact supplies us with the key to the whole of the subsequent foreign policy of Portugal.

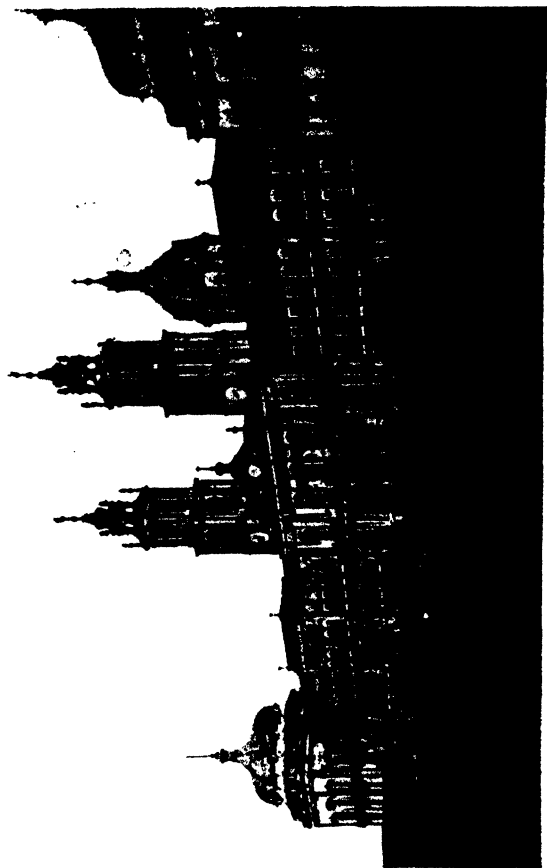
(The great novelist, Henry Fielding, author of «Tom Jones», who died at Lisbon in 1754 is buried in the British Cemetery.)

WAR OF SPANISH SUCCESSION. OCCUPATION OF MADRID

In the War of the Spanish Succession, an English army landed at Lisbon in March 1704 and together with the Portuguese forces under the command of the Marquis of Minas, occupied Madrid in July 1706. This triumph was, however, ephemeral and D. Pedro died on the 9th December of the same year.

D. João V

THE reign of D. João V which has been humourously described as « A Grand Opera in honour of the Almighty » was, thanks to the gold and diamonds of Brazil, a perfect pageant of beatific pomp and luxury. Enveloping the court pageantry in an atmosphere of religious solemnity, the king tried to imitate the magnificence of Louis XIV. Enormous sums of money were spent in the Vatican in order to obtain certain benefits which the king considered very substantial. They were, for instance, the elevation of the Archbishop of Lisbon to the dignity of a Patriarch; the right of the Patriarch to wear vestments similar to those of the Pope; his right to adopt the liturgy followed by Cardinals; and lastly, the honour for the king himself, to use the title of « *Fidelissimo* ». He paid magnificent sums of gold to the very best singers to sing in the Churches and purchased the most exquisite church-plate. He built the



35. MAFRA



colossal Convent of Mafra and a great many other buildings. The Italian Chapel of St. John the Baptist, which is now in the Church of St. Roque at Lisbon, with all the most valuable works of art that belong to it, was brought from Rome. The most precious plate made by Germain, the famous Parisian goldsmith, was also one of his acquisitions.

In 1725 by a Bull of Pope Benedict XIII, the king obtained for persons accused before the Inquisition, the right of appointing advocates for their defence. The same Bull also provided that the sentences of the Holy Office should be transmitted to the Sovereign for confirmation by the King's Council. The activity of the Inquisition flagged considerably during this king's reign, which was characterised by a spirit of liberalism, far superior to that of the period that followed, under Pombal.

The other events of importance in this reign were, the foundation of the Academy of History in 1720, the educational activi-

ties of the Priests of the Oratory, the dissertations on Education, by Verney in 1747, and the « political testament » of D. Luís da Cunha in which he pointed out to the heir-apparent the reforms that he thought necessary and indicated Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo, the future Marquis of Pombal, as the person who should carry out those reforms.

D. João V established three Secretariats of State in place of the existing one, and he also founded the Naval Arsenal.

BATTLE OF MATAPAN

THE only event that disturbed the peacefulness of his reign was the naval adventure undertaken to assist the Pope and Venice against the Turks. In the encounter the French and Italian fleets fled from the Ottomans, while the Portuguese, disobeying the orders to retire given by the French Admiral, gave battle alone and defeated the Turks at the Cape of Mata-

pan in 1717. The Portuguese fleet was commanded on this occasion by the Count of Rio Grande.

ENCOURAGEMENT OF ART AND SCIENCE

« THE Priestcraft kills us, the Priestcraft devours us », was the constant cry of Alexander Gusmão, the very able Secretary of State. Nevertheless, under the influence, as was natural, of the eminent men of his time, D. João V, we must admit, also encouraged Art and Science. For we must not forget that from about 1730 right up to the end of the century, Portugal possessed a galaxy of intellectual stars of great brilliancy, composed of men educated abroad and imbued with foreign ideas, who formed the mind of the Marquis of Pombal but whose intellectual elevation the latter never attained. Gusmão, D. Luís da Cunha, Verney, Ribeiro Sanches, Jacob de Castro and others organised a system of ideas which the Marquis of Pombal was afterwards to put into execution.

D. João V's life was a curious mixture of devoutness and sensuality. He was paralysed from 1742 to 1750 when he died.

D. José and the Marquis of Pombal

THE reign of D. José, 1750 to 1777, was rendered famous by the administration of the Marquis of Pombal. This statesman was extremely energetic and tyrannical. In trying to put into execution the ideas of the ablest advocates of reform of his time, he managed to distort those ideas, mixing them up incongruously with ideas and actions of the most retrograde nature. It was for this reason that the Encyclopaedists insulted and ridiculed him.

THE GREAT EARTHQUAKE OF LISBON

THE great Earthquake of Lisbon on 1st November 1755, marks the rise into power of the Marquis of Pombal.

The city was razed to the ground. This

THE HISTORY OF PORTUGAL



36. CARMO CONVENT RUINS

THE HISTORY OF PORTUGAL



37. POMBAL STUDYING THE RECONSTRUCTION
OF LISBON

is the reason why one sees so little to-day of Medieval Lisbon or the emporium of the Renaissance. The riches of the Palace of Ribeira sank to the bottom of the Tagus.

In the midst of ruins on every side, the Marquis of Alorna issued the following order: «Bury the dead, protect the living and close the ports». Foreign nations readily offered help, and the terrible catastrophe found its way into the literature of the whole of Europe.

The city was rebuilt by Pombal on a geometrical plan, which was perfectly rectangular and symmetrical. This style, which is still to be seen, strikes the eye at once in the «*baixa*» or the business part of the town.

THE EXPULSION OF THE JESUITS

POMBAL'S ruling passion was his hatred for the Jesuits. He attacked them not on the grounds on which we attack them to-day, but on the exact opposite of these. In

September 1757 he delivered his first blow against them by dismissing the king's Confessor who was a Jesuit and forbidding any of the Order to enter the Palace. He then made a formal complaint against them to Pope Benedict XIV who appointed Cardinal Saldanha, a friend of Pombal, to the office of «Visitor and Reformer» of the Society of Jesus.

On 15th May 1758 orders were issued forbidding the Jesuits from engaging in business.

An attempt on the life of the king made on the night of 3rd September 1758, served as a pretext for more vigorous action against the Jesuits, whom Pombal accused of being accomplices in the plot to murder the king.

After a summary trial, the Duke of Aveiro, the Marquis and Marchioness of Tavora, the Count of Atouguia and other personages were beheaded at Belem with the utmost refinement of cruelty.

On 19th January 1759, all the property

of the Society of Jesus was confiscated and on 3rd September of the same year, the priests of the Order were expelled from Portugal. Four years later Pombal gratified his rancour by ordering Malagrida, a poor Jesuit, to be burned by the Inquisition: a crazy old man, who had written and declaimed some nonsensical stuff in mystic prose.

In the attack on the Jesuits, what a contrast there is between a Verney and a Pombal!

POMBAL'S BRUTALITY

THE example of Pombal led to the formation in the minds of many Portuguese of a deplorable association of the idea of political genius with that of brutality: brutality which he exhibited in many other instances than those already mentioned, such as the institution of the Special Tribunal of Oporto, the Fire of Trafaria, the enormous number of imprisonments etc.

**THE TITLE OF MAJESTY CONFERRED UPON
THE HOLY OFFICE OF THE INQUISITION**

POMBAL increased the powers of the Inquisition and conferred upon the Holy Office the title of Majesty. Abolishing the distinction between the New and the Old Christians, he converted the Inquisition from a weapon of attack against the Jews, into an instrument for the persecution of those whose opinions displeased the rulers (1769).

ADMINISTRATIVE MEASURES

AMONG the numerous administrative measures of Pombal there were some which were good, efficacious, and progressive, such as the creation of the Royal Bank in 1751 and the abolition in 1773 of slavery in the new generation that was to be born of slave-parents. There are other measures, however, of questionable interest, such as the creation of the Company of Alto Douro.

INDUSTRIES

POMBAL tried to create new industries but his schemes for doing so were of a somewhat artificial kind. Nevertheless, some of his industrial schemes prospered and have continued up to the present day, as for instance the glass-factory of Marinha Grande.

COUNT OF LIPPE

ON the occasion of a conflict with Spain, Pombal sought the aid of England and obtained not only troops but also a general, the Count of Lippe, who did what Schomberg had done a century earlier, that is, transformed a mob of recruits into a regular army. At the end of the Campaign the Count was invited to stay on, which he did and not only reorganised the army but put all the fortifications in working order and brought them up to date.

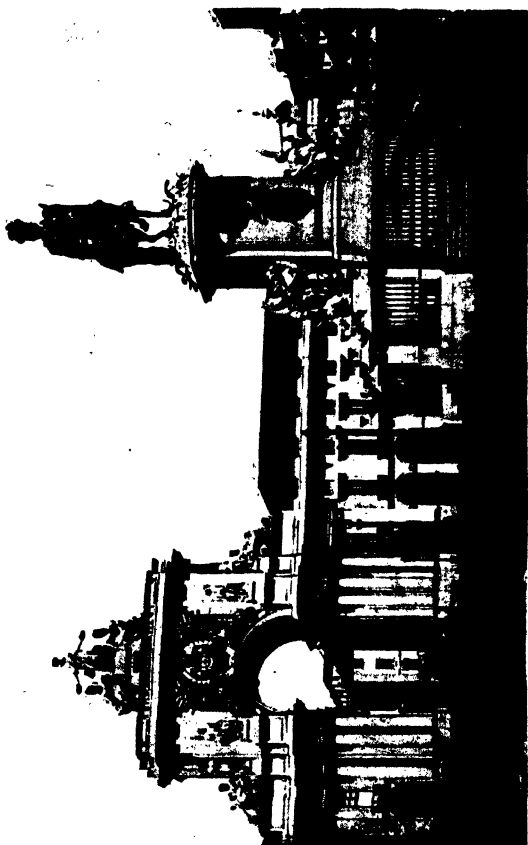
EDUCATIONAL REFORM

THE expulsion of the Jesuits rendered it necessary for Pombal to turn his mind to educational reform. In this work he was assisted by very notable men, such as Ribeiro Sanches, who laid down the general lines of the work, and D. Francisco de Lemos, João Pereira Ramos and Cenaculo, who worked out the details of the plan. For the University, Pombal engaged foreign professors, one of whom, Vandelli, has left behind him works of great merit.

POMBAL PERSECUTED

THE Marquis naturally had a great many enemies, as the result of the great many people whom he persecuted, imprisoned and deported. When the king died and the gaol-doors were thrown open to a multitude of unfortunate souls, it became the turn of the Minister to be persecuted and

THE HISTORY OF PORTUGAL



38. D. JOSÉ'S STATUE IN TERREIRO DO PAÇO, LISBON

so he was sent away to reside at a distance of twenty leagues from Court.

D. Maria I

D. MARIA I, eldest daughter of D. José, wife of her own uncle D. Pedro, was, like her husband, very weak of intellect. Nevertheless her reign cannot be said, as has often been asserted, to have been a stupid reaction from the brilliancy of the previous reign. Some men of superior culture who had incurred the displeasure of Pombal returned to the country; the Duke of Lafões and Correia da Serra founded the Royal Academy of Science in 1779, the activity of which in the first period of its existence deserves the highest praise; the Naval Minister, Martinho de Melo e Castro continued to work admirably at his post; Pina Manique, the « *Intendente* » or head of the Police, who has been appreciated by posterity only for his lack of sympathy with the jacobins, revealed a constructive

and progressive spirit in the organization of the police service and in the lighting of the City of Lisbon, as well as in the founding of the «*Casa Pia*», one of the best known Orphanages in Lisbon.

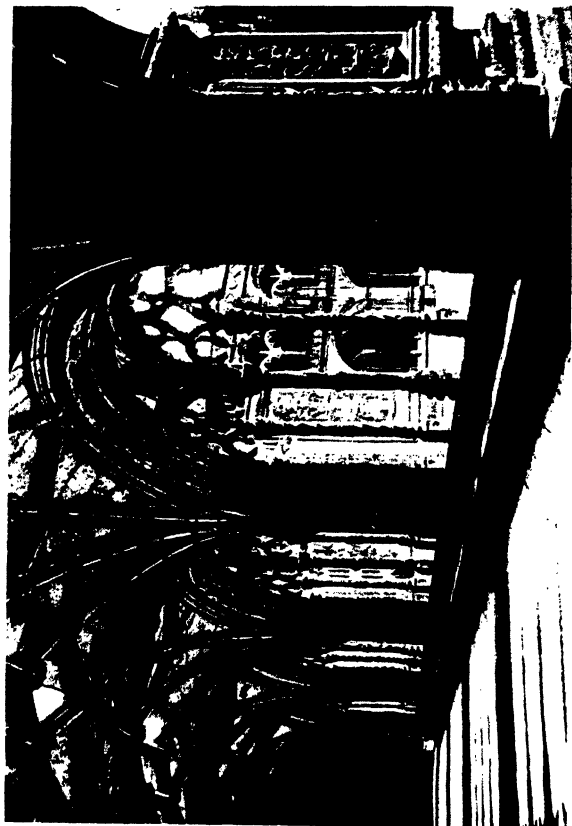
The library of the Board of Censors was thrown open to the public. It has since developed into the National Library, a plan which had already been suggested to Pomal by Cenaculo.

The Members of the Academy studied systematically the reform of the public administration and it is very likely that some solid work of re-organisation might have come from the Academy, had it not been for the French Revolution and the subsequent Wars that completely upset the normal life of the country.

The Queen went mad, and the Prince D. João, afterwards D. João VI, assumed the Regency in 1792.

Revolutionary ideas began to be spread abroad especially by foreign merchants, and the rulers became alarmed. These,

THE HISTORY OF PORTUGAL



39. CLOISTER OF JERÓNIMOS. CONVENT OCCUPIED BY *Casa Pia*

acting contrary to the advice of England, joined Spain against France and sent a contingent to the Pyrenees, 1793 to 1795.

Spain later on made an alliance with France and declared war against England in 1796, the terms of the alliance comprising the division of Portugal.

This country became then a toy in the hands of both England and France, a toy which they played about with, to serve their own interests.

The indecision displayed by Portugal at this political crisis, an attitude which has been ridiculed by historians, can be explained by the existence at the time of two parties that were equally strong, one pro-French and the other pro-English.

FRENCH INVASION

At last Napoleon helped by the alliance with Spain, sent an army under the command of Junot together with three Spanish armies, to invade Portugal in November,

1807. Prince John took the only way that common sense indicated, and which had been foreseen by the Portuguese ever since the seventeenth century; England also advised the same course, and so, the Prince set out for Brazil.

The invader had innumerable friends in the country, both powerful and well-organized; in Santarem, for instance he was welcomed by a deputation of Free-masons. It is necessary to ponder this fact, so as not to be unjust to the political leaders of this period and to understand the horror that the Portuguese nationalists entertained towards the Liberals.

Junot deprived the country of all its military elements which he sent to France, placed it under military occupation and pretended to reign in Portugal.

His subordinates, however, committed atrocities which greatly angered the people; so that when the Spaniards revolted against the French and the Spanish troops retired from Portugal, revolutionary com-

mittees were at once formed in Oporto, Braga and Faro to drive out the invaders.

THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON AND GENERAL BERESFORD

THE Portuguese from Oporto appealed for help to England, and on the 8th of August 1808, Sir Arthur Wellesley, afterwards Duke of Wellington, landed at the mouth of the Mondego, and with an army of English and Portuguese defeated Delaborde at Roliça on the 17th, and Junot himself at Vimieiro, on the 21st of the same month.

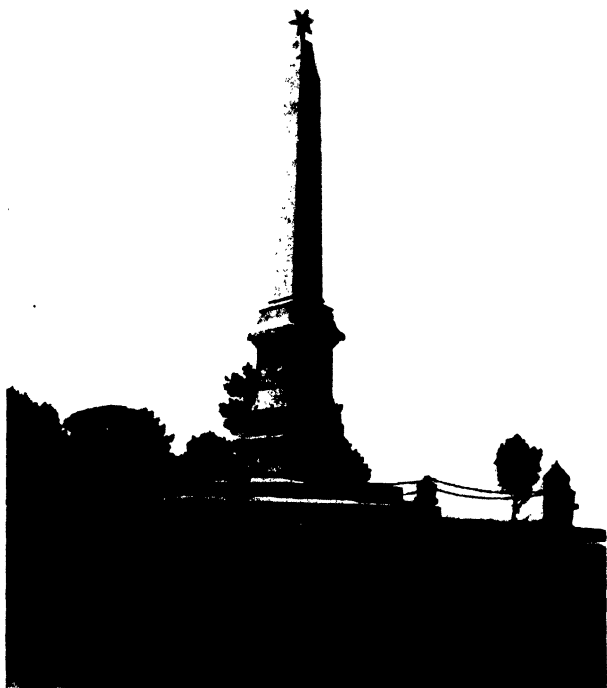
The Convention of Sintra which permitted the French to take away with them all the precious objects which they had seized in Portugal was signed on 30th August 1808. As Wellesley was not afterwards able to return to Portugal, General Beresford was appointed to organize the Portuguese troops. In the meantime Soult invaded the North and entered Oporto. The disagreement between the French

Generals gave Wellesley time to arrive in the Tagus with a strong English army. In May 1809 he drove Soult into Galicia and immediately afterwards invaded Spain and defeated the troops of Joseph Bonaparte and General Victor at Talavera.

In 1810 when the most formidable of all the French invasions took place under the command of Massena, Beresford had already organized a regular army of Portuguese. Wellesley, now Viscount Wellington, had with the greatest secrecy fortified the lines of Torres Vedras and taken up his own position on the heights of Buçaco where Massena attacked him in vain. (Battle of Buçaco, 27th September 1810).

Massena then turned towards Lisbon, but the English and the Portuguese retired with the greatest haste to the lines already prepared, so that the French General found it impossible to break through and therefore decided to retire to Spain, in March 1811. Then followed a long pursuit, inter-

THE HISTORY OF PORTUGAL



40. VICTORY COLUMN, BUÇACO

rupted by battles, right beyond the Pyrenees.

At the moment when Napoleon was defeated at Waterloo, the combined English, Spanish and Portuguese army was fighting the French round about Toulouse.

England then selfishly abandoned Portugal at the Congress of Vienna, (1815) where Sousa Holstein, Duke of Palmela was the Portuguese representative.

D. João VI

ON the 20th March 1816 the Queen died and the Regent was proclaimed king, but as he continued in Brazil, Beresford ruled in Portugal.

The disaffection among the military brought about the conspiracy of 1818 which cost Gomes Freire his life.

When in 1820 the English General went to Brazil, Oporto rose in rebellion. The British officers were ordered to retire and Beresford was not allowed to land on his return from Rio.

THE INDEPENDENCE OF BRAZIL

A NEW Regency was appointed and an Assembly summoned to prepare and pass a Bill of Constitution. This was the Constitution of 1822 which was radical, chimerical and absolutely unadapted to the conditions of time and place prevailing. At the repeated instances of England, the king returned to Portugal, leaving the Government of Brasil in the hands of his eldest son D. Pedro.

On arriving at Lisbon he took the oath of adherence to the Constitution; but the Queen, D. Carlota Joaquina and the younger son D. Miguel put themselves at the head of the « *Absolutist* » party.

The Radicals, very liberal to themselves but not so to Brazil, instigated the Prince D. Pedro to proclaim the independence of Brazil, but with himself as Emperor, in September 1822.

THE HISTORY OF PORTUGAL



THIRD PERIOD

ATTEMPT AT INTERNAL RECONSTRUCTION

THE declaration of the Independence of Brazil in 1822, was an event that was to have the gravest of consequences for the mother-country, inasmuch as it shook to its very foundations the whole economic structure of Portugal. The general commotion produced in the country by the passing of the Constitutional Act, immediately before, was nothing to the commotion that now ensued. The Constitution of 1822 at its worst, was simply a disguise assumed by the community under which Society continued the same as before. Now, however, things were different, and Brazil either had again to become a colony or else the

very structure of the Portuguese nation had to undergo a complete change. Conservative Portugal rose, therefore, in unison, against D. Pedro and his allies, the Liberals.

Soon afterwards, however, when a French army, in order to suppress a revolution in Spain, invaded that country in 1823, the Count of Amarante took advantage of the occasion to raise a rebellion in Portugal, which he initiated in Trás-os-Montes.

The recent Constitution was abolished and the Duke of Palmela was entrusted with the task of drafting a New Organic Law which was to be more moderate than the former and based on the English system.

This, however, did not satisfy D. Miguel and the Absolutists, who, being anxious to gain a great deal more, raised a rebellion which became known as the «*Abrilada*», but which was immediately suppressed owing to the energetic intervention of the Diplomatic Corps. In consequence, D. Miguel was deported to Vienna and the Queen was sent to Ramalhão, near Sintra.

D. Pedro IV

AFTER the death of D. João VI in March 1826, D. Pedro, Emperor of Brazil, abdicated his right to the throne of Portugal in favour of his daughter, D. Maria, who was only seven years old at the time. He also granted a Constitutional Charter to the country, which established for Portugal a moderate form of Parliamentary Government on the same lines as in England. And, lastly, with a view to bring about a union between the political parties, D. Pedro proposed the marriage of his daughter D. Maria II, Queen of Portugal with her uncle D. Miguel, whom he therefore appointed Regent on behalf of the Queen.

D. Miguel

CIVIL WAR

D. MIGUEL, however, as soon as he arrived in Lisbon, convened the «*Côrtes*» in the old

fashion, and these offered him the throne of Portugal, proclaiming him their Absolute King.

The Furies were then let loose. Anarchy revelled everywhere. It was the reign of Force and the Big Stick which were deified by the grandiloquence of the pamphleteer, José Agostinho de Macedo ; and thus began the Hunt of the Liberals.

Of these, all who succeeded in escaping imprisonment, fled to France and England. The little Queen did not receive in England a welcome from the Tory Government of the Duke of Wellington and so sought refuge in France.

The Island of Terceira, one of the Azores, refused to recognise D. Miguel as king, and so, it was on that Island, that in 1829, the Duke of Palmela, Vila Flor, afterwards the Duke of Terceira, and others constituted themselves into a Council of Regency on behalf of D. Maria II. The Liberal emigrés in France and in England, comprising both Moderates and Radicals,

united against the common enemy and began one by one to find their way to the Island of Terceira.

The political situation in Europe had now become more favourable to their cause. In England, the Whigs had risen into power and in France the Revolution of July 1830, had overthrown Charles X.

D. Pedro abdicated the Crown of Brazil in favour of his son, and put himself at the head of the Portuguese Liberals. A loan was negotiated in England and English volunteers were recruited. A fleet was got ready, and all the troops and the rest of the emigrés assembled at Belle Isle, off the Coast of Brittany, and from there the expedition sailed to the Azores.

In July 1832, D. Pedro with an army of 7500 men, landed near Oporto, but on entering that City he was besieged by the « *Miguelists* ». The days that followed were ones of extreme sadness and anxiety.

During this siege, Mousinho da Silveira, with the assistance of Garrett, continued

the task he had begun while in the Azores, which was to destroy the whole of the economic structure of Portugal by the issuing of edicts and circulars, in which he pictured the horrors that awaited the hard-working citizens, who wearied of toil, at the end of every year, would see the hard-earned fruits of their labour, plundered by a thousand agents of civil and clerical greed. When we consider that the Liberals, were at the time of these edicts, in possession of, at most, only the streets of Oporto, they give us the impression of being merely a platonic pastime. But, in fact, they were not so, as they were made to circulate among the Absolutist soldiers, who, belonging to the agricultural classes, began to be convinced that they were fighting against their own interests. The seeds of half-heartedness and disaffection were thus sown in the fields of the enemy.

In 1833, the Duke of Saldanha with the Radicals put new life into the movement. Commander Charles Napier of the British

Royal Navy succeeded Sartorius in the Command of the fleet and transported fifteen hundred men from Oporto to Algarve, under the command of Vila Flor, Duke of Terceira. On his way back, Napier encountered the fleet of the enemy and defeated it off Cape St. Vincent on 5th July 1833. This was a terrible blow to the cause of D. Miguel.

Vila Flor marched across Alentejo, fell upon Teles Jordão at Cova da Piedade and then entered Lisbon in triumph on the 24th of the same month. The Liberals now flocked into the Capital. Saldanha took Leiria and also defeated the *Miguclists* at Torres Novas and Almoester. Napier landed and subdued the province of Minho, while Sá da Bandeira subdued that of Alentejo, and the Duke of Terceira that of Trás-os-Montes, winning later the victory of Asseiceira. The remaining Absolutists were besieged in Evora-Monte where D. Miguel capitulated on 26th May 1834, whereupon he was once again sent away to Vienna.

**MARY II AND FERDINAND OF SAXE-COBURG
AND GOTHA**

MARY II was then declared of age and crowned Queen in the following September. Her father Pedro IV who had abdicated in her favour died two days after her coronation. Queen Mary II married Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha, uncle of Queen Victoria of England, and reigned until 1853.

With the defeat of the Absolutist party, the Liberals, in their turn, began to persecute the partisans of D. Miguel and to confiscate their belongings. From 1835 to 1850 we have a series of riots, counter-riots, revolutions and counter-revolutions which serve to reveal the difficulty of converting the heteronomous and communitarean structure of economy which had been consolidated during three centuries of dominion overseas, into one of a particularistic and self-sufficing character.

In 1847 an anonymous writer thus des-

cribed the situation in Portugal: — « The struggle in which the nation has been engaged since 1820, has as its immediate and direct cause the ambition of the individuals who constitute the different bands, which under the false title of political parties, dispute among themselves the possession of the public treasury... The civil wars in Portugal are evidently a war for government appointments... Although they ostensibly profess other aims, more or less artfully, the real object of all the factions consists in securing government appointments for their partisans ».

About the middle of the century, thanks to the abundance of money on foreign markets, and the consequent facility for raising loans, a state of comparative peace was achieved in Portugal. This period is known as « *Fontism* » from the name of Fontes Pereira de Melo, a statesman who was then in power. Oliveira Martins, the historian, thus describes this period: — « In the system of government implanted in

Portugal in 1857 we find a new Pactolus ready to be exploited. All the historical vices of society were pandered to, giving such an increment to the number of government officials as to satisfy the ambitions of all and kill the germs of future revolutions. To the personnel of the administrative machinery of government, there was now added a whole legion of beneficiaries employed in the public works department; some thousands of officials were more or less lavishly provided for; hundreds of government contractors were made rich... Portugal thus for many years gave the impression of being a good country to exploit, and foreign Bankers, forgetting former bankruptcies, wiped out the past and threw open their coffers. This was, as it were, the discovery of new mines; a new Brazil had sprung up!» The same old situation reappeared as in former times — « a society living on foreign or abnormal resources and not on the fruit of its own labour and thrift. For while the scenic

display of economic measures gave the country an appearance of being rich, the fact is that the Budget announced an ever increasing deficit of almost incredible proportions. How, then, one would naturally inquire, was this enchanted Portuguese castle propped up? In a simple manner: firstly, by making up for the scarcity of internal employment by official salaries, which had the effect of subsidizing laziness, from the proceeds of foreign loans, and secondly by settling annually the accounts of the national administration by the exportation of human cattle (*the reference is to the enormous exodus of labourers to Brazil*). Formerly there used to come to the Government-Treasury the fifths from Brazil, but nowadays the only things that come from there are bank-drafts on private individuals ».

When what was really necessary was the reform of the machinery of production, Fontes, by confining himself to the promotion of his system for the development of *circulation*, only succeeded in increas-

ing the number of those who were discontented with the monarchical regime while at the same time these malcontents were goaded on by the preaching of utopian and sentimental ideas imported from France.

THE LAST KINGS OF PORTUGAL

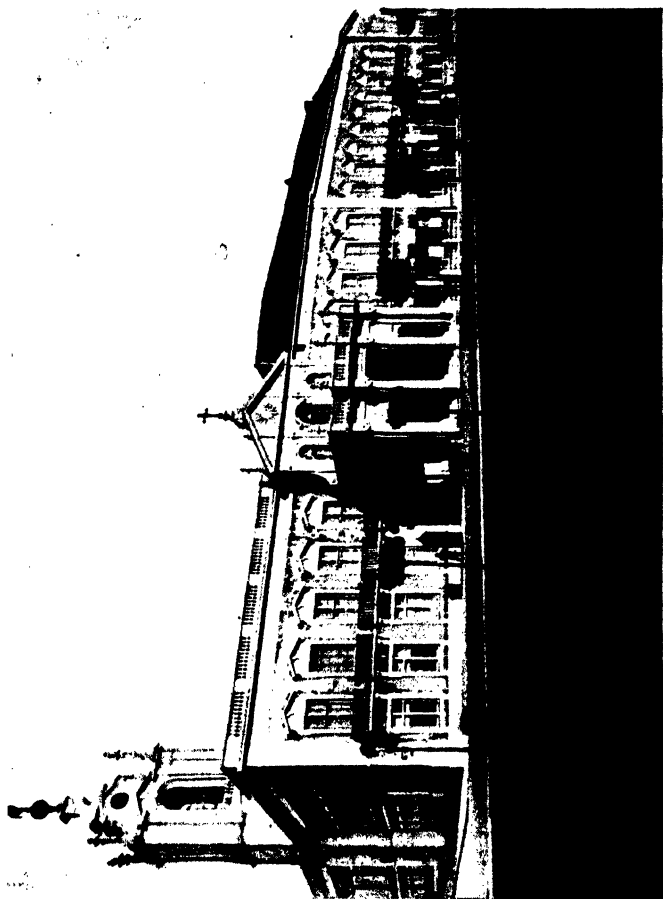
THE kings who now followed, right up to the proclamation of the Republic, were D. Pedro V, a very intelligent young man who reigned from 1855 to 1871; his brother D. Luís who reigned from 1871 to 1889; the latter's son, D. Carlos, who together with the heir-apparent was murdered in 1908.

D. Carlos, second son, D. Manuel, who now lives in exile in London, reigned from 1908 to 1910.

THE REPUBLIC

THE Republic, proclaimed on 5th October 1910, has not yet succeeded in resolving

THE HISTORY OF PORTUGAL.



the Portuguese difficulties, because it has not attacked with determination the fundamental problem of the nation, which is to create in the country employment for the activities of the citizens by modifying the system of land tenure; by the utilization of water-power; by the modernization of methods of labour and by the establishment of a new system of education with an essentially active and productive aim.

AESTHETIC REACTION

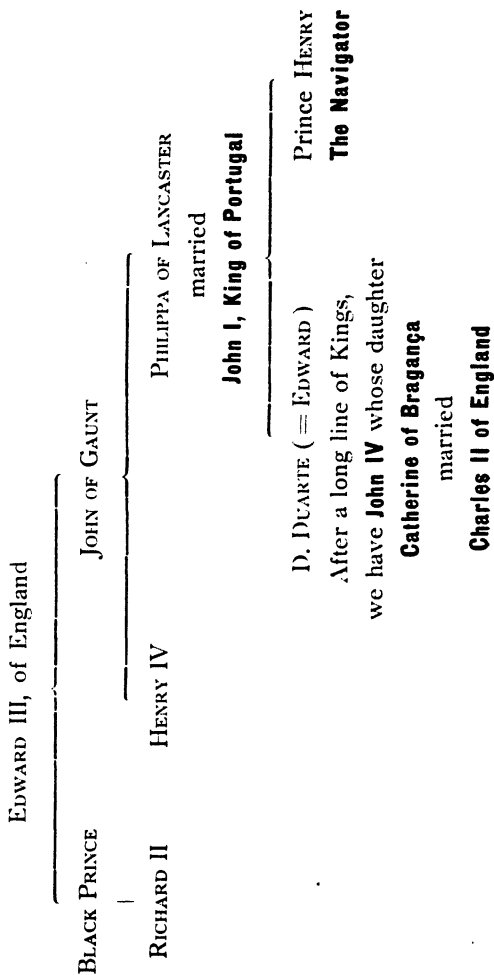
To the ordinary Portuguese returning from his travels abroad Liberalism formerly meant a total subversion of the national artistic traditions. It was thus that the invasion of a barbarous middle-class dissipated the artistic patrimony, destroyed monuments, crowded the country with horrible chalets, dreadful furniture and collections of equally appalling curios.

A little before 1890 an aesthetic reaction began which has triumphed. There exists

at the present day an artistic elite ; but the political and the scientific elite has not yet gained sufficient influence over the masses to instil moraliy into the anarchical activity of the professional politicians and to render the nation worthy of her glorious past.

THE END

GENEALOGICAL TREE, No. I



THE KINGS OF PORTUGAL

FIRST DYNASTY

D. (= Dom) AFONSO HENRIQUES	A. D.	1128-1185
D. SANCHE I	»	1185-1211
D. AFONSO II	»	1211-1223
D. SANCHE II	»	1223-1248
D. AFONSO III	»	1248-1278
D. DENIS	»	1278-1325
D. AFONSO IV	»	1325-1357
D. PEDRO I	»	1357-1367
D. FERNANDO I	»	1367-1383

DYNASTY OF AVÍS

D. João I	A. D.	1383-1433
D. DUARTE	»	1433-1438
D. AFONSO V	»	1438-1481
D. João II	»	1481-1495
D. MANUEL I	»	1459-1521

D. João III	A. D. 1521-1557
D. SEBASTIÃO »	1557-1578
D. HENRIQUE, Cardinal »	1578-1580

SPANISH OCCUPATION

PHILIP II of Spain and I of Portugal	A. D. 1580-1598
PHILIP III of Spain and II of Portugal »	1598-1621
PHILIP IV of Spain and III of Portugal »	1621-1640

HOUSE OF BRAGANÇA

D. João IV	A. D. 1640-1656
D. Afonso VI »	1656-1683
D. Pedro II »	1683-1706
D. João V. »	1706-1750
D. José »	1750-1777
D. (= Dona) Maria I »	1777-1816
D. João VI »	1816-1826
D. Pedro IV »	1826-1828
D. (= Dona) Maria II »	1828-1853
D. Pedro V »	1853-1861
D. Luís »	1861-1889
D. Carlos »	1889-1908
D. Manuel II »	1908-1910

LIST OF PRESIDENTS

TEÓFILO BRAGA (Prov.

Govt.)	from Oct. 1910 to Aug. 1911
MANUEL DE ARRIAGA .	» Aug. 1911 to May 1915
TEÓFILO BRAGA . . .	» May 1915 to Oct. 1915
BERNARDINO MACHADO	» Oct. 1915 to Dec. 1917
SIDÓNIO PAIS. . . .	» Dec. 1917 to Dec. 1918
CANTO E CASTRO. . .	» Dec. 1918 to Oct. 1919
ANT. JOSÉ DE ALMEIDA	» Oct. 1919 to Oct. 1923
TEIXEIRA GOMES . . .	» Oct. 1923 to Dec. 1925
BERNARDINO MACHADO	» Dec. 1925 to May 1926
GENERAL CARMONA .	» 1926

A SUMMARY
OF THE MOST IMPORTANT OF THE PORTU-
GUESE VOYAGES, JOURNEYS AND FLIGHTS.

- 1300? — In the xivth century the Portuguese are supposed to have discovered Canary Islands.
- 1419 — Zarco, Vaz Teixeira and Bartolomeu Perestrelo discover the Island of **Madeira**.
- 1425 — Dom Fernando de Castro goes to **Canary Islands**.
- 1431 — Gonçalo Velho Cabral discovers some of the smaller Islands of the Azores group.
- 1434 — Gil Eanes doubles the cape of **Bojador**.
- 1439 — Denis Dias or Fernandes reaches **Cape Verde**.
- 1440 — Count of Portalegre commands the third expedition to Canary Is., as the possession of the Islands was disputed by the Castilians.
- 1446 — Lançarote Pessanha reaches Senegal River.
- 1457 — Luis de Cadamosto discovers the **Islands of Cape Verde**.
- 1461 — Pedro de Sintra goes far as Sierra Leone.
- 1469 — Fernam Gomes discovers the Islands of **S. Tomé, Prince and Fernando Pó**.

- 1470 — **Christopher Columbus** went to Portugal and set out on his voyages accompanied by Portuguese sailors and experienced navigators.
- 1471 — Alvaro Esteves crosses the Equator.
- 1487 — Pedro de Evora, Gonsalo Eanes, Mem Rodrigues, Rodrigo Rebelo and Rodrigo Reinol go from Timbuctoo over the whole region of the Niger and thence as far as the Senegal.
- 1488 — **Bartholomeu Dias** together with the famous pilot Pero de Alenquer doubles the **Cape of Good Hope**.
- 1492 — João Fernandes Labrador discovers **Labrador**.
- 1497 — **Vasco da Gama** sails for India on 8th July and arrives at Calicut on 8th May 1498.
- 1500 — **Pedro Alvares Cabral** discovers **Brazil**.
- 1500 — **Côrte Real** discovers **Newfoundland** and an Island at the entrance of **Hudson Strait**.
- 1501 — João da Nova discovers **Ascension Island**, and
- 1502 — **St. Helena** the next year.
- 1502 — Vasco da Gama on his second voyage does the East Coast of Africa.
- 1504 — Diogo Fernandes Pereira reaches Sokotra.
- 1505 — Dom Lourenço de Almeida discovers **Ceylon**.
- 1506 — Rui Pereira Coutinho and Fernão Soares, discover the Eastern and the Western coast, respectively, of the Island of **Madagascar**.

- 1506 — **Tristam da Cuuha** discovers the Island that bears his name.
- 1507 — Dom Lourenço de Almeida discovers the **Maldives**.
- 1507 — Afonso de Albuquerque goes along the southern coast of Arabia and takes **Ormuz**.
- 1509 — Diogo Lopes de Sequeira reaches **Malaca** and **Sumatra**.
- 1511 — Rui da Cunha goes to **Pegu** and Duarte Fernandes as far as **Siam**: in the same year Abreu and Serrão reach the **Molluccas**.
- 1516 — Duarte Coelho reaches **Cochinchina**.
- 1517 — Fernam Peres de Andrade reaches **Canton** and **Nankin**, having touched at the **Island of Formosa** (Taiwan).
- 1519 — Antonio Terneiro starts off from Ormuz and travels through Persia, Armenia, Siria, Egypt and Cyprus and then publishes an account of his journey.
- 1519 — Fernam de Magalhães a Portuguese in Castilian employ, begins his voyage round the world passing through the **Straits of Magellan**, named after him.
- 1525 — Estevam Gomes sails as far as the North-American Coast.
- 1526 — D. Jorge de Menezes discovers **Timor**.
- 1526 — Henrique Gomes Leme discovers Sunda Island.

- 1527 — Belchior de Sousa Tavares, while assisting the Ruler of Bussra against a neighbouring Potentate, is the first Portuguese to sail up the Rivers Tigris and the Euphrates.
- 1537 — **Fernão Mendes Pinto**, the famous chronicler, begins his « Perigrinations » in the East which lasted for 21 years.
- 1538 — João Fogaça discovers **New Guinea**.
- 1542 — Fernam Mendes Pinto, Christovão Borralho and Diogo Zeimoto arrive at **Japan**.
- 1545 — **Lourenço Marques** discovers the bay that bears his name, sometimes, also called **Delagoa Bay**.
- 1557 — The Portuguese obtained **Macau** from China.
- 1565 — Mestre Afonso starts off from Ormuz and goes to Portugal by land.
- 1569 — Francisco Barreto leads an expedition to Monomotapa and the Sofala Mines.
- 1578 — 1587 — The famous traveller Duarte Lopes explores the interior of Africa.
- 1588 — **João Martins**, makes a long voyage over the seas and through the Straits to the north of **America** reaching the Western Coast of that Continent as far as 60° Lat., N.
- 1601 — Manuel Godinho de Heredia discovers and explores **Australia**.
- 1624 and 1635 — Two priests, Antonio de Andrade

and João Cabral, respectively, penetrate into **Tibet**.

1650 — Pedro Fernandes Queirós goes to **Manila** and on his way back discovers **New Hébrides** and other **Polinesean Islands**.

1660 — **David Melgueiro** starts off from Japan on an arctic expedition reaching 81°, and passing through **Greenland** and **Spitzberg** on his way to Lisbon.

1839 — 1854 — Silva Porto explores the interior of Africa.

1877-1879 — An expedition was undertaken with the object of linking the Province of Angola to that of Mozambique. It started off from Benguela and at Bié separated into two groups. The men under the command of Serpa Pinto went East while the rest of them under the direction of Capelo and Ivens made for Quioco, in order to discover the Sources of the Kuang River. These reached Iacca and then returned to Loanda.

1884 — **Capelo** and **Ivens** begin their journey at Mossamedes and go right across the Continent of Africa to the coast of Mozambique.

1887-1888 — Antonio Maria Cardoso, Paiva de Andrada, Augusto Cardoso e Victor Cordon undertake an expedition to **Nyassaland**.

- 1922 — **Admiral Gago Coutinho** and Commander Sacadura Cabral fly from Lisbon to Rio (Brazil). This was the first time in the history of Aviation that a scientific instrument was used for the purpose of steering. The new model of the sextant with an artificial horizon is an invention of the Admiral himself.
- 1924 — Major **Sarmento de Beires** and Capt. Brito Pais fly from Lisbon to Macau, in China.

LORD BYRON AND PORTUGAL

AFTER the lines on «Lord Byron and Portugal» had been printed at pages 175-184 of this book and after it was too late to introduce any alteration in them, my attention was drawn by a friend to the fact that some of my statements were liable to be misinterpreted by the ordinary reader who might think that I was trying to justify Byron's attitude against the signatories of the Convention of Sintra, and specially against the world-honoured name of the great Duke of Wellington. My intention was however exactly the opposite. My idea was to demonstrate that the great irritation of which Byron seemed possessed, all on account of the Convention of Sintra, had completely prejudiced his mind against Portugal and everything in any way connected with it, and that no value should be

(^a) These four pages [175], [176], [177] and [178] were inserted after the book had been printed: these numbers have therefore been repeated, and put in brackets.

attached to the anathema pronounced against the Portuguese by a poet who did not hesitate to make irreverent references to the Iron-Duke himself. I have therefore thought it convenient to reproduce here a declaration of the Duke of Wellington which proves conclusively that he had not the slightest interference with, or the remotest responsibility in, the so-called Convention of Sintra.

The preliminary agreement which formed the basis for that Convention was signed by General Kellermann on behalf of the French and by Arthur Wellesley on behalf of the English. The circumstances in which the latter signed it he, however, explains in a despatch which is to be found printed at page 122 of vol. VI of «The Supplementary Despatches of Field-Marshal the Duke of Wellington: Denmark: Mexico: Peninsula», published by John Murray, London, 1860.

From that despatch (no. 97) the following extract is made:

To Viscount Castlereagh.

Camp at Ramalhal, 23rd Aug; 1808.

My dear Lord,

You will have heard that one of the consequences of our victory of the 21st has been an agreement to suspend hostilities between the French and us preparatory to the negotiation of a convention for the evacuation of Portugal by the French. Although my name is affixed to this instrument, I beg that you will not believe that I negotiated it, that I approve of it, or that I had any hand in wording it. It was negotiated by the General himself in my presence and that of Sir Harry Burrard; after it had been drawn out by Kellermann himself, Sir Hew Dalrymple desired me to sign it

..... If they are to be allowed to evacuate, it must be with their property; but I should have wished to adopt some mode of making the French Generals disgorge the church plate which they have stolen.....
..... Ever, &c., *Arthur Wellesley.*

The mere fact of having signed that agreement would appear to have inspired the following lines of *Childe Harold*:

*"And sundry signatures adorn the roll,
Whereat the Urchin points and laughs with all his soul".*

Canto I, XXIV.

The Duke of Wellington gained three brilliant victories over the French in Portugal. He defeated Junot at Vimeiro on the 21st August 1808. In May 1809 he drove Soult into Galicia and at the Battle of Buçaco, 27th September 1810 he forced Massena to retire. Not a word of praise to the hero is to be found in Byron's poems. Only in a foot-note is there a reference made to these victories. «*The late exploits of Lord Wellington have effaced the follies of Cintra*» are the words of the Poet. The object of the foot-note does not seem to be to do honour to the hero, not even to acquit him of alleged responsibility but merely, in a most bombastic display of magnanimity, to declare that, as Wellington had redeemed his sins by wiping out his past follies, BYRON forgave him.

15-1-29.

C. J. S.

(^a) See note on page [175].

LORD BYRON AND PORTUGAL

A STORY OF
«ORLANDO INNAMORATO» «ORLANDO
FURIOSO» AND «BOMBASTES FURIOSO»

LORD Byron visited Portugal in 1809, a few months after Wellington's victory over Junot, which resulted in the signing of the Convention of Sintra, in Aug. 1808. At this Convention the enemy had the better of the allies, but Portugal came off the worst, for the French were allowed to take away with them all the precious objects they had plundered in the country. England also had reason to expect better terms. Wellington signed the preliminary document admittedly against his own better judgment, coerced by his brother-officers. Public opinion openly attributed the great fiasco to the English Generals, and Byron

gave vent to his resentment not only against the Portuguese and his own countrymen but the very town of Sintra did not escape his wrath.

He inveighs against it in the following manner:—

*“And ever since that martial synod met,
Britannia sickens, Cintra! at thy name;
And folks in office at the mention fret,
And fain would blush, if blush they could, for shame.”*

«Childe Harold», Canto I, XXVI.

On Wellington and his comrades Childe Harold passed the following judgment:—

*“Convention is the dwarfish demon styled
That foil'd the knights in Marialva's dome:
Of brains, (if brains they had) he them beguiled,
And turn'd a nation's shallow joy to gloom.”*

Canto I, XXV

The above lines are sufficient to show that Byron was not in a very friendly mood towards this country when he visited it, and that the opinions thus far expressed are

those he brought over with him from England. There is, however, a very unfortunate adventure of the poet-pilgrim, in Portugal, which the poem does not record, but to which, those acquainted with the incident may perhaps discover a veiled allusion, in the lines in which Childe Harold is evidently sorry for himself when « *conscious Reason* » makes him see his own shortcomings, and upbraids him for « *his youth misspent in maddest whim* ».

This is more specially so, because, before he leaves his native shore, of the Childe

*" 'Tis said, at times the sullen tear would start
But Pride congeal'd the drop within his ee : "*

Canto I, VI

" Nor made atonement when he did amiss "

Canto I, V

Whereas, soon afterwards in Portugal,

" But as he gazed on truth, his aching eyes grew dim. "

Canto I, XXVII

The fact is that a jealous husband, in Lisbon, chastized Lord Byron, in public, for the poet's effusive gallantry towards the aggressor's wife. This rude collision with the realities of life seems to have made a profound impression on the poet, for after a torrential outpour of Byronian bile against the whole race of Lusians, we have, in the passage already referred to, Childe Harold's confession that it was *here*, in Portugal, that he *learned* to moralize : —

*" Sweet was the scene, yet soon he thought to flee,
More restless than the swallow in the skies :
Though here awhile he learn'd to moralize,
For Meditation fixed at times on him ;
And conscious Reason whispered to despise
His early youth, misspent in maddest whim ;
But as he gazed on truth his aching eyes grew dim."*

Canto I, XXVII

It was here, in Portugal, then, that he learned a lesson but never would he forgive this country for the severity of that lesson.

This marks the first transition, that is, the

evolution of « Orlando Innamorato » into « Orlando Furioso ».

Byron's own version of the assault is, however, to be found in his note to the last line of stanza XXI, Canto I:—

*“ Throughout this purple land, where law secures not
life.”*

“It is a well-known fact, that in the year 1809, the assassinations in the streets of Lisbon and its vicinity were not confined by the Portuguese to their countrymen; but that Englishmen were daily butchered: and so far from redress being obtained, we were requested not to interfere if we perceived any compatriot defending himself against his allies. I was once stopped in the way to the theatre at eight o'clock in the evening, when the streets were not more empty than they generally are at that hour, opposite to an open shop, and in a carriage with a friend: had we not fortunately been armed, I have not the least

doubt that we should have « adorned a tale » instead of telling one. ”

And he has told his tale with a vengeance ! He does not, however tell us the real reason for that assault at such a time and at such a place !

If soldiers and sailors of any nationality were made to land in any town in the world and allowed to move about freely in it, no one would, I think, be very surprised to find some of them mixed up in street-brawls. Such squabbles are usual and invariably take place in the vicinity of a tavern but not near a theatre. Under ordinary circumstances I am quite sure that our poet would not have found this so-called *butchering of the British* very remarkable in a country under military occupation during such troublous times as those of the Peninsular War. But, with all that, we must take his statement with a grain of salt for he also asserts that this state of things was allowed to go without redress by the British Military Authorities

who were then in command in this country, and who, we have a right to suppose, were better judges of the situation than would be a mere sight-seer.

Some justification had, however, to be found for the assault against the poet, and what better than this blood-thirsty lust of the Portuguese for butchering defenceless Britishers?! It would not only serve to throw dust in the eyes of the public but would also win for the poet the sympathy of all his compatriots. A chance that was not lost by our subtle annotator.

We know how Byron despised public opinion in literary affairs, but that was because he felt his own superiority in the matter, and it fed the flames of his unparalleled presumption to be different to others. He did not however show that same contempt for public opinion in cases where he knew his motives, if discovered, would appear petty and mean. He would then do his very best to keep concealed the secret springs of his genius at whatsoever

cost, for if it is true that human nature has a conscience, it is equally true that it also has its weaknesses and to tell a lie in self-defence is one of those weaknesses.

No other poet, in the world, is perhaps so true to nature as Lord Byron. This 'being true to nature' when applied to Literature is no doubt a very great quality. Its intrinsic value must however suffer considerably if to attain that literary greatness we had to admit that it was necessary for the author to devote his own private life to nature in its wildest form, unrestrained by moral teachings, and with an unquenching thirst *to experience the sensations of an assassin!* We should then have, as in the case of Lord Byron, a man continually climbing down from the sublime to the ridiculous. At Venice, for instance, among the victims of his love, were the Countess Guiccioli and a woman-gondolier. He used to beat both of them. In the case of the latter, however, he caught a tartar, for she used to retaliate and thrash him. Nevertheless it

still is a problem to decide, whether the author of *Childe Harold* could have been so great a poet had he been able to curb his passions, had not his spirit, unbridled by better principles, let him run riot in society.

Howsoever that may be we shall now see, how this giant among poets, rather than retract false accusations, could deliberately stoop to put forward nonsensical arguments in the hope of explaining away an undammed outburst of ignoble rancour. Anything would serve his purpose except make public *atonement when he did amiss*.

Canto I from which I have quoted was written in 1809. Wellington gained his decisive victory over the French, in Portugal, in Sept. 1810. In 1812 Byron wrote the following note to the last line of stanza XXXIII of Canto I:—

“Twixt him and Lusian slave, the lowest of the low”

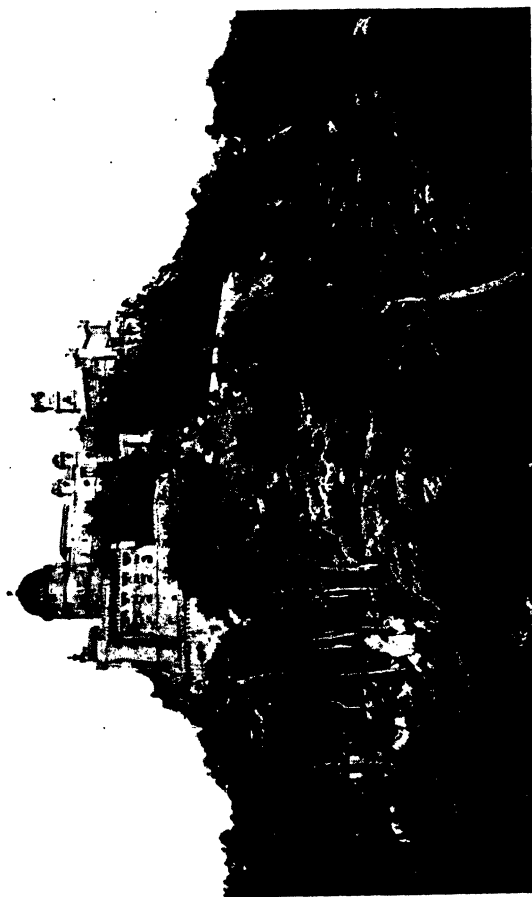
«As I found the Portuguese, so I have characterized them. That they are since improved, at least in courage, is evident.

The late exploits of Lord Wellington have effaced the follies of Cintra. He has indeed done wonders: he has perhaps changed the character of a nation, reconciled rival superstitions, and baffled an enemy who never retreated before his predecessors — 1812. »

Wellington has perhaps changed the character of a nation (in about six months)!!! What Wellington did do was to change our *Orlando Furioso* from a mighty thunderer of poetic imprecations into a *poor paltry* scribbler of « Bombastic » annotations! This is his second and last transition in this story.

What Wellington further did do was to convince the poet that the British public then saw, only too clearly, how unjust was that revengeful vituperation of Childe Harold against the Portuguese: but Byron had not the moral courage to own up to his weakness — his wounded vanity.

THE HISTORY OF PORTUGAL



APPENDIX

ENGLAND'S OLDEST ALLY

AN EXTRACT FROM THE LONDON TIMES OF THE 19th OCTOBER 1917

“THE President of the Portuguese Republic was the guest of King George yesterday. Dr. Bernardino Machado has come among us as the representative of our oldest Ally, and the welcome which we extend to him is not only a tribute to his personal qualities, but the expression of our high regard for the people of Portugal. Both countries are proud to remember that the alliance between England and Portugal is the oldest in the world. King Edward I, made a treaty of commerce with Portugal in 1294, and it was followed by the Treaties of London in 1373 and 1386. These trea-

sentative of The Times yesterday that he is delighted with the cordial feelings which exist between his countrymen and their Allies. He looks forward to a period after the war when the peaceful relations between England and Portugal as colonizing and naval nations will be closer than ever. It will not be our fault if his desire is not fulfilled. The friendship of Portugal has always been highly prized by us. Her strong moral influence in the greatest of her old colonies increases its value to-day, and promises to increase it still more in the future. Dr. Machado not long since told a French journalist that the proud attitude of Brazil had filled his countrymen with pride, that Brazil and Portugal form one people, although they are two nations, and that on the day when Portugal entered the war Brazil in spirit entered it with her. When Portugal thought her independence was in danger in the eighteenth century, the British Ambassador was instructed to assure her that our Sovereign « would

always consider the defence of the Kingdom and of the States of Portugal (that ancient and natural Ally of England) as an object dear and interesting to the welfare of his Crown and of his people, and the first in rank immediately after the preservation of the Dominions of Great Britain herself ». As Chatham spoke in 1760, England again speaks to-day."

CONTENTS

	Page
DEDICATION	7
FOREWORD	9

EARLY PERIOD

INCLUDING

THE FOUNDATION OF THE KINGDOM AND THE CONSOLIDATION OF THE HOMELAND

ARCHEOLOGY	17
EARLY INHABITANTS.	20
THE LUSITANIANS	21
THE ROMANS	23
THE ALANI, THE VANDALS, THE SUEVI AND THE VISIGOTHS	25
ARAB INVASION.	26
FOUNDATION OF THE KINGDOM OF PORTUGAL	29
D. AFONSO HENRIQUES, THE FOUNDER OF THE MONARCHY	30
THE FIRST DYNASTY	32
THE NATION AND THE ELEMENTS THAT CONSTI- TUTED IT	33

192 THE HISTORY OF PORTUGAL

	Page
THE KING	34
THE CLERGY	35
THE CISTERCIANS. THE MONASTERY OF ALCobaça	36
THE RULE OF ST. AUGUSTINE	36
THE TEMPLARS AND THE ORDER OF CHRIST . .	37
THE HOSPITALERS	37
ORDER OF AVIS	38
ORDER OF SANTIAGO	38
THE NOBILITY AND OTHER CLASS DISTINCTIONS .	38
CONCELHOS	39
THE CÔRTEs	40
D. SANCHO I	41
D. AFONSO II	41
D. SANCHO II	42
D. AFONSO III	43
D. DENIS	46
SAINT ISABEL, THE HOLY QUEEN	48
D. AFONSO IV	49
INÊs DE CASTRO	50
D. PEDRO I	52
D. FERNANDO	53
REVOLUTION IN FAVOUR OF D. JOÃO, GRAND-MAS- TER OF THE ORDER OF AVIS	57
NUNO ALVARES PEREIRA, THE CONSTABLE OF PORTUGAL	59
BATTLE OF ALJUBARROTA	61
COMMENTARY	62

SECOND PERIOD

OVERSEAS EXPANSION

D. JOÃO AND QUEEN PHILIPPA	69
D. DUARTE	78
D. AFONSO V	80
D. JOÃO II.	82
D. MANUEL I. VASCO DA GAMA SAILS FOR INDIA	86
INDUSTRIAL ACTIVITIES CHOKED	88
THE POLICY OF THE FIRST VICEROY	89
ALBUQUERQUE	90
D. JOÃO III	90
THE JEWS	91
THE INQUISITION	93
THE JESUITS	94
ORGANIZATION OF COLONIAL GOVERNMENT	96
PORTUGUESE LITERATURE	98
D. SEBASTIAN, THE LONGED-FOR	100
ENCUBIERTISM	102
CARDINAL D. HENRIQUE	104
SPANISH OCCUPATION	105
THE DISASTROUS CONSEQUENCES OF THE SPANISH OCCUPATION. MOST OF THE OVERSEAS CON- QUESTS PASS INTO THE HANDS OF THE DUTCH AND THE ENGLISH	107
RICHELIEU	112

	Page
CONSPIRACY TO OVERTHROW THE SPANISH YOKE.	113
INDEPENDENCE REGAINED.	114
D. JOÃO IV	114
D. AFONSO VI.	117
PEACE OF THE PYRENEES.	118
THE MARRIAGE OF CHARLES II OF ENGLAND TO CATHERINE OF BRAGANÇA.	118
AFONSO VI ASSUMES THE REIGNS OF GOVERNMENT	119
D. PEDRO II	122
BRAZIL AND THE ECONOMIC SITUATION OF POR- TUGAL	124
METHUEN TREATY	127
WAR OF SPANISH SUCCESSION. OCCUPATION OF MADRID.	129
D. JOÃO V.	130
BATTLE OF MATAPAN	132
ENCOURAGEMENT OF ART AND SCIENCE. . . .	133
D. JOSÉ AND THE MARQUIS OF POMBAL . . .	134
THE GREAT EARTHQUAKE OF LISBON	134
THE EXPULSION OF THE JESUITS	135
POMBAL'S BRUTALITY	137
THE TITLE OF MAJESTY CONFERRED UPON THE HOLY OFFICE OF THE INQUISITION	138
ADMINISTRATIVE MEASURES	138
INDUSTRIES.	139
COUNT OF LIPPE	139
EDUCATIONAL REFORM	140

	Page
POMBAL PERSECUTED	140
D. MARIA I	141
FRENCH INVASION	143
THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON AND GENERAL BERESFORD.	145
D. João VI	147
THE INDEPENDENCE OF BRAZIL	148

THIRD PERIOD

ATTEMPT AT INTERNAL RECONSTRUCTION	149
D. PEDRO IV	151
D. MIGUEL. CIVIL WAR	151
MARY II AND FERDINAND OF SAXE-COBURG AND GOTHA.	156
THE LAST KINGS OF PORTUGAL	160
THE REPUBLIC	160
AESTHETIC REACTION	161
GENEALOGICAL TREE NO. I	163
GENEALOGICAL TREE NO. II	164
LIST OF THE KINGS OF PORTUGAL.	165
LIST OF PRESIDENTS.	167
A SUMMARY OF THE MOST IMPORTANT OF THE PORTUGUESE VOYAGES, JOURNEYS AND FLIGHTS	169
LORD BYRON AND PORTUGAL.	175

196 THE HISTORY OF PORTUGAL

	Page
APPENDIX. ENGLAND'S OLDEST ALLY . . .	185
CONTENTS	191
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS WITH EXPLANATORY	
NOTES	197
PRINTER'S MISTAKES.	205

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

WITH EXPLANATORY NOTES

	Facing Page
I. BATTLE-ABBAY, BATALHA	17

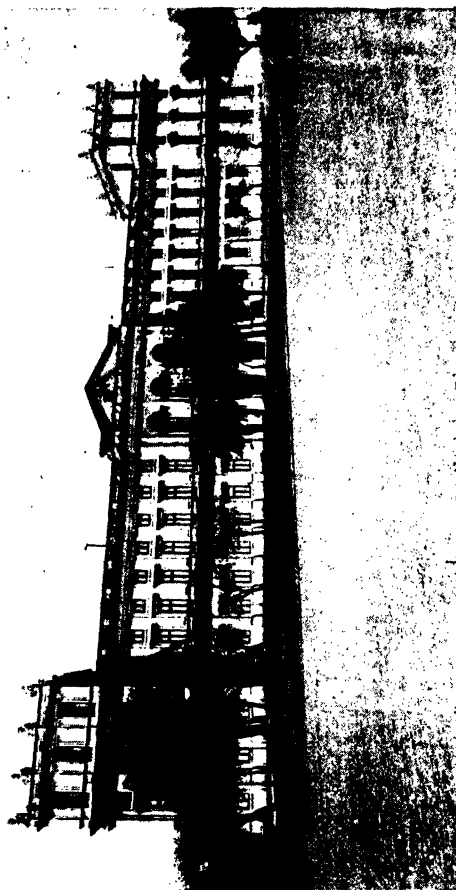
It was built in commemoration of the victory over the Spaniards, at Aljubarrota in 1385. In the words of *Martin Hume* it is one of the most beautiful gothic structures in the world. He had seen and admired the majestic grandeur of the Cathedral at Amiens, the superb pomp of the one at Cologne, the vast magnificence of that at Burgos, the fine elegance of those at Milan, Ely, Norwich and Lincoln: each of these was supreme and incomparable in its own kind, but Battle-Abbey at Batalha had for him a special charm which he never met with in any other gothic church.

Lichnowsky says: "It is the first among all the churches of the Iberian Peninsula,

and one of the most perfect buildings of all times and of all countries". It contains the tombs of King John I and his Queen, Philippa of Lancaster and of their children. It now also contains the tomb of the *Unknown Soldier*

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|--|----|
| 2. A DOLMAN IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF SINTRA | 18 |
| 3. A DOLMEN IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF EVORA | 20 |
| 4. TEMPLE OF DIANA AT EVORA. | 24 |
| 5. A CASTLE, AT SINTRA, THAT BELONGED TO THE MOORS | 26 |
| 6. SANTA CRUZ CHURCH, COIMBRA, XII th Century, built by D. Afonso Henriques, and contains his tomb | 30 |
| 7. THE TOMB OF D. AFONSO HENRIQUES, FOUNDER OF THE PORTUGUESE MONARCHY, IN SANTA CRUZ CHURCH, COIMBRA | 32 |
| 8. CONVENT OF LORVÃO, NEAR COIMBRA, VI th Century. | 35 |
| 9. CISTERCIAN MONASTERY AT ALCobaça built by D. Afonso Henriques in fulfilment of a vow made when he captured Santarém from the Moors in 1147. It contains the tombs of Inês de Castro and D. Pedro. . | 36 |
| 10. CHURCH OF ST. VINCENT DE FORA, built by D. Afonso Henriques soon after the taking | |

THE HISTORY OF PORTUGAL



of Lisbon. Belonged to the Templars, XII th Century, and was used as a Royal Pantheon by the House of Bragança . . .	37
11. CATHEDRAL AT EVORA, XIII th Century . . .	38
12. CASTLE OF TOMAR, XII th Century, belonged to the Order of Templars	40
13. CASTLE OF ALMOUROL, in the middle of the River Tagus, built by the Templars, XII th Century	42
14. UNIVERSITY BUILDING, COIMBRA	47
15. THE OLD CATHEDRAL, COIMBRA. XII th Cen- tury	48
16. CONVENT OF SANTA CLARA, COIMBRA, XIII th Century	49
17. TOMB OF INÊS DE CASTRO in Alcobaça by the side of that of D. Pedro	51
18. D. PEDRO'S TOMB, ALCOBAÇA	52
19. BATTLE-ABBEY, at Batalha near Aljubar- rota. Principal entrance	61
20. TOMB OF D. JOÃO I AND QUEEN PHILIPPA OF LANCASTER, AT BATTLE-ABBEY.	69
21. SAGRES	72
22. TOWER OF BELÉM	82
23. MONASTERY OF JERÓNIMOS, LISBON, built in the early part of XVI th Century to commemo- rate the Discovery of the Sea-route to India	87

	Facing Page
24. TOMBS OF VASCO DA GAMA AND CAMÕES IN JERÓNIMOS, LISBON	88
25. ALBUQUERQUE'S STATUE, AT BELÉM, LISBON	90
26. TOMB OF HERCULANO, IN JERÓNIMOS, LISBON	93
27. THE OLD UNIVERSITY BUILDING, AT EVORA	94
28. TOMB OF ST. FRANCIS XAVIER, AT GOA .	95
29. CAMÕES' STATUE IN CAMÕES PLACE, LISBON	98
30. CONVENT OF CHRIST, TOMAR, XII th Century, founded by the Order of Templars. It is on the terrace of this convent that Philip II of Spain took the Coronation oath before the <i>Côrtes</i> on 15 th April 1581.	106
31. THE CATHEDRAL OF LISBON, of great anti- quity, was transformed by the Moors into a Musjid and readapted subsequently. .	114
32. MONUMENT COMMEMORATING THE RESTORA- TION OF PORTUGUESE INDEPENDENCE IN 1640.	116
33. SINTRA PALACE, of the time of the Moors, added to subsequently.	

*"Lo ! Cintra's glorious Eden intervenes
In variegated maze of mount and glen.
Ah me ! what hand can pencil guide, or pen,
To follow half on which the eye dilates
Through views more dazzling unto mortal ken
Than those whereof such things the bard relates,
Who to the awestruck world unlock'd Elisium's gates?"*

34. FIELDING'S TOMB IN THE BRITISH CEMETERY
AT LISBON. *Henry Fielding* born at Sharp-
ham Park, near Glastonbury, Somersetshire
in 1707: died at Lisbon, Oct. 8, 1754. Au-
thor of *Tom Jones*, *Joseph Andrews*, *Ame-
lia*, etc. 129.
35. CONVENT OF MAFRA

*"Yet Mafra shall one moment claim delay,
Where dwelt of yore the Lusians' luckless queen ;
And church and court did mingle their array,
And mass and revel were alternate seen ;
Lordlings and freeres — ill-sorted fry I ween !
But here the Babylonian whore had built
A dome, where flaunts she in such glorious sheen,
That men forget the blood which she hath spilt,
And bow the knee to Pomp that loves to varnish guilt."*

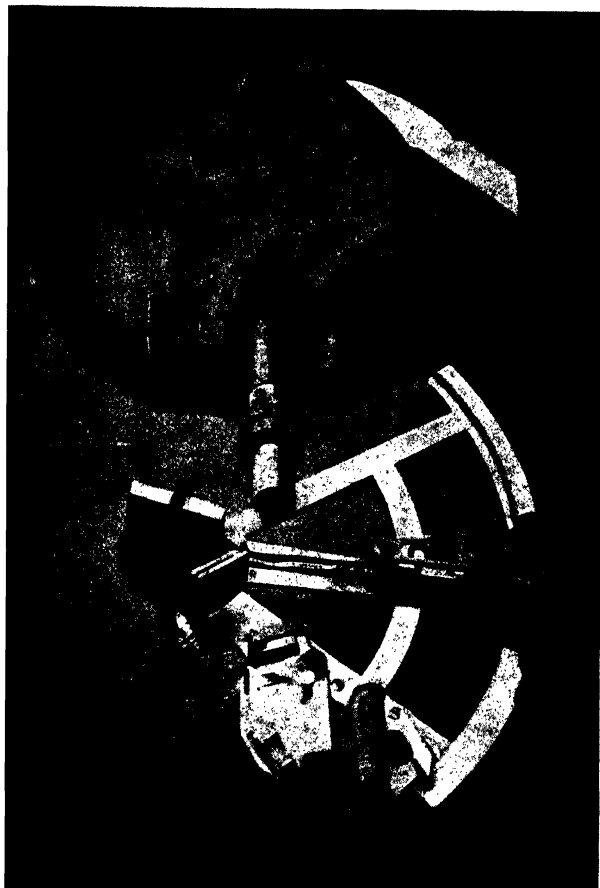
"Childe Harold", Canto I, XXIX

The following is Byron's note on the above lines:—"The extent of Mafra is prodigious; it contains a palace, convent and most superb church. The six organs are the most beautiful I ever beheld, in point of decoration: we did not hear them, but were told that their tones were correspondent to their splendour". The building covers an area of 40,000 sq. meters. *The Lusians' luckless queen* is Mary I, Queen of

- Portugal who succeeded her father D. José in 1777. About the time of the French Revolution in 1792 the Queen went mad. Her insanity lasted until her death in 1816. In 1807 the French invaded Portugal and occupied the Convent of Mafra. It was in the Palace of Mafra that D. Manuel and the Royal Family spent their last hours in Portugal on 5th Oct. 1910, before sailing away from Ericeira, a beach close by 131
36. RUINS OF CARMO CONVENT, LISBON. One of the very rare relics of the Great Earthquake. This Convent was founded by Nuno Alvares Pereira, the Constable of Portugal, in 1389, in fulfilment of a vow made on the battle-field of Aljubarrota. The Church contains the Constable's tomb 134
37. POMBAL STUDYING THE RECONSTRUCTION OF LISBON 135
38. D. JOSÉ'S STATUE IN TERREIRO DO PAÇO, LISBON. Terreiro do Paço also known as Praça do Comércio measures over 34,000 square meters 140
39. CLOISTER OF JERONIMOS. Convent occupied by *Casa Pia* orphanage 142
40. VICTORY COLUMN AT BUÇACO. 146

41. D. PEDRO IV'S STATUE IN ROCIO, THE PRINCIPAL SQUARE IN THE CITY. 148
42. NECESSIDADES PALACE, LISBON. D. Manuel II was in this Palace on the day of the Republican Revolution, 4th Oct. 1910. It is now occupied by the Portuguese Foreign Office. General Carmona the President, also has his official residence, in a portion of this palace 160
43. PENA PALACE, SINTRA. On this spot existed an old Hermitage. In its place D. Manuel I built a Monastery in 1503. In 1840 the present Palace was built around the old Monastery and enclosing it. It was the favourite summer resort of the Royal Family. They were staying in this Palace when the Republican Revolution broke out in Oct. 1910. The King had gone to Lisbon, for the day. *Pena* is the old Portuguese form of *penha* meaning *rock* and does not require any *til*, the nasal accent or mark. The monastery is therefore of Our Lady of the Rock as Sir Walter Scott pointed out to Byron and not «*Our Lady's house of woe*» from «*Our Lady of Punishment*» as he called it. 184

44. AJUDA PALACE, LISBON, where official functions are now usually held, although the official residence of all the previous Presidents has been at Belem Palace. . 197
45. THE PORTUGUESE ADMIRAL GAGO COUTINHO AND HIS SEXTANT. This new model of the instrument, with an artificial horizon, invented by the Admiral himself, was made use of when he and Sacadura Cabral flew across the Atlantic Ocean, in 1922, from Lisbon to Rio. It was the first time in the history of Aviation that a Scientific instrument was used for steering purposes. . 204



45. ADMIRAL GAGO COUTINHO AND HIS SEXTANT

PRINTER'S MISTAKES

Page	15, line	18,	dia = did
»	16,	» 5,	enconraging = eucouraging
»	23,	» 9,	organisation = organization
»	»	» 11,	civilising = civilizing
»	24,	» 2,	organisation = organization
»	27,	» 20,	civilisation = civilization
»	32,	» 9,	colonisation = colonization
»	»	» »	organisation = organization
»	»	» 13,	1175 = 1185
»	34,	» 20,	medievel = medieval
»	51,	» 22,	car e = cares
»	»	» 23,	ands = and
»	59,	» 16,	organisation = organization
»	62,	» 4,	expecienced = experienced
»	63,	» 11,	concentratiou = concentration
»	93,	» 15,	1310 = 1810
»	114,	» 18,	eays = easy
»	145,	» 10,	Vimieiro = Vimeiro
»	160,	» 14,	D. Carlos = D. Carlos'
»	162,	» 4,	moraliy = morality
»	169,	» 17,	goes far as = goes as far as
»	175,	» title,	Portugai = Portugal

