

Visual Perceptions and Written Impressions of the First World War at the Time of Portuguese Modernism: Anglo-Portuguese Military Intervention

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“Today’s art, manifestly superior,
reaches everywhere and reproduces everything”
(Martins 2)

Introduction

The Great War broke out as the Modernist movement in Portugal was taking its first steps.¹ Two camps, interventionists and anti-interventionists, defended diametrically opposing views as to whether Portugal should fight alongside Great Britain and France in the struggle on the Western Front.² Behind the Interventionist position was the Government’s desire to preserve the colonies and reserve a place at the table of a future Peace Conference, at which the spoils of war would naturally be divided between the victorious nations. Joining the war was also seen as a chance to counter the negative impression caused by the advent of

1. The dominant phase of Modernism is considered to have lasted from the second decade of the twentieth century up to the forties. See Silvestre 473.

2. The emphasis here on the Western Front is intentional, as Portuguese soldiers had been fighting German forces in Mozambique since the last quarter of 1914. On this subject see Teixeira 1996.

the Republic³ and to restore Portugal's damaged esteem with the Allied nations. On the other side, the anti-interventionists included monarchists, who believed that the victory of the *Kaiser* would bring the restoration of the Portuguese monarchy,⁴ and anti-British elements, still smarting from the *Ultimatum*,⁵ who justified their stance as a reaction towards what they saw as a disloyal treaty policy which Britain had pursued since 1890.⁶

It is now generally accepted that Britain did everything in its power to avoid the participation of its diminutive ally, foreseeing, on the one hand, diplomatic complications with Spain, which nourished ambitions towards Portuguese territory,⁷ whilst fearing that it might have to sustain the cost of the Portuguese war effort, due to the financial difficulties of the new Republic. Britain was also ill at ease with the possibility that its hands might be tied in peace negotiations because of agreements with Lisbon. As a consequence, the Portuguese Expeditionary Force (CEP) would only embark for Flanders on January 30th 1917, when the war was entering its final stages.

Taking these premises as my point of departure, I will attempt to examine how the written and visual discourses of early Portuguese Modernists portrayed the British and the Anglo-Portuguese role in the conflict. From the start, the British were either ignored (due to the diplomatic stalemate and the fact that Portugal had not yet joined the war) or were shown in a bad light, largely because of Britain's attitude towards its old ally and the image left in the minds of the Portuguese people by the *Ultimatum*. However, as the conflict progressed and

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3. In this context it is worthwhile recalling the controversy involving the British chocolate manufacturers, regarding the alleged use of slave labour in São Tomé and the campaign in favour of Portuguese political prisoners led by the Duchess of Bedford. On these subjects see Evans, 2022 and Terenas, 2023.
 4. When the war broke out many people affirmed that though they were not in favour of Germany, they were unable to forget the *Ultimatum* of 1890, which was tantamount to saying that they had no desire to side with Great Britain.
 5. The Anglo-German agreement of 1898, which envisaged the division of the Portuguese African colonies between the two powers, is of obvious relevance here.
 6. In fact, the monarchists were convinced that Britain had aided in the establishment of the Republic, and that the Hohenzollerns (to whom D. Manuel was connected by marriage) would assure the restoration of the Crown.
 7. Alfonso XIII, who had reacted unfavourably towards the establishment of the republic by his neighbour, attempted to obtain the support of the British Government to intervene in Portugal.

Germany began to demonstrate that it would be a formidable enemy to overcome, new cultural imago-types of the allies began to emerge.

This article endeavours to trace the course of this imagological evolution by analysing visual representations which appeared in both contemporary periodicals and impressions written by Portuguese soldiers. Two periodicals have been selected for the purpose of the present study. Firstly, *Ilustração Portuguesa*, the weekly supplement of *O Século*, a daily newspaper with Republican leanings, which was edited at the time by J.J. da Silva Graça.⁸ An important source for information on Portuguese life in the first quarter of the twentieth century,⁹ *Ilustração Portuguesa* included articles by Mário de Sá Carneiro and António de Almada Negreiros,¹⁰ as well as illustrations by Ferreira de Castro, Ferreira da Costa¹¹ Rocha Vieira¹² and especially Stuart Carvalhais, one of the most brilliant representatives of the Portuguese Modernist Movement.¹³ Secondly, *A Águia*,¹⁴ in which Fernando Pessoa began his literary career, and to which several of the founders of *Orpheu* – the emblematic journal of Portuguese Modernism – contributed.¹⁵

As far as the military memoirs are concerned, four accounts have been selected from the huge number¹⁶ in existence, due to the many

8. Journalist and owner of *O Século*, José Joaquim da Silva Graça (1858-1939) was responsible for the introduction of innovative techniques in printing and black and white and colour photogravure.

9. On the importance of *Ilustração Portuguesa* see Manique 1990, Ferreira 2008, and Sousa 2013.

10. Journalist and author, Antonio Lobo de Almada Negreiros (1868-1939) was present on the Western Front during the Great War as the correspondent for the *Século* newspaper and, amongst many other works, published *Portugal na Grande Guerra* (1918). He was the father of the great Portuguese Modernist José Sobral de Almada Negreiros (1893-1970).

11. An artist and a man of letters, João Ferreira da Costa (1885-?) was the Paris correspondent of *Ilustração Portuguesa* during World War I and the author of a number of exceptional illustrated accounts. He was also a contributor to *Seara Nova*.

12. A pupil of Roque Gameiro, Alfredo Carlos da Rocha Vieira (1883-1947) was an excellent draughtsman and watercolour painter, who was also a prolific and multifaceted illustrator of newspapers, magazines and books. A master of technique, Rocha Vieira's work was characterised by his fine, critical sense of humour.

13. One of the pioneers of the comic strip and one of the greatest Portuguese caricaturists, José Herculano Stuart Torrie de Almeida Carvalhais (1888-1961) was a prolific contributor to *Ilustração Portuguesa*. Stuart, as he signed himself, was the author of some of its finest covers, illustrated prose and poetry and published countless humorous drawings.

14. On the importance of *A Águia*, see Oliveira 2008.

15. On this subject see Reis 2015.

16. See Brandão, [n.d.].

references to the British to be found in them: *Cartas da Guerra. Com o Exército Inglês (Janeiro a Abril de 1917)* (1917) by Adelino Mendes;¹⁷ *Nas Trincheiras da Flandres* (1918) by Augusto Casimiro,¹⁸ who also wrote in *A Águia; Portugal na Grande Guerra. (Crónicas dos Campos de Batalha)* (1918) by Almada Negreiros, who also contributed to *Ilustração Portuguesa* as previously mentioned;¹⁹ *Campo de Ruínas. Impressões de Guerra* (1919) by Augusto de Castro;²⁰ and *A Ferro e Fogo. Na Grande Guerra. 1917-1918* (1919) by Eduardo Pimenta.²¹

Focussing on the portrayal of the British, and the Anglo-Portuguese role in the war, the paper is divided into three parts which loosely coincide with the previously-defined sources. The first part covers the first two years of the World War I (1914-15) as portrayed in *Ilustração Portuguesa*; the second is centred on 1916 and on images of Great Britain conveyed by the magazine *A Águia*; whilst the last part covers the final years of the conflict (1917-18), focussing on portrayals of the allies in the memoirs of Portuguese soldiers and comparing them with those in the *Ilustração Portuguesa*.

17. A journalist and author, Adelino Lopes da Cunha Mendes (1878-1963) was a member of the staff of *O Século*.

18. A poet, author and distinguished military officer, Augusto Casimiro dos Santos (1889-1967) fought in Flanders, and was promoted to the rank of captain. In addition to the present text, he wrote *Sidónio Pais: Algumas Notas sobre a Intervenção de Portugal na Guerra* (1919) and *Calvários da Flandres* (1920). As well as contributing to *A Águia*, he was amongst the founders of *Renascença Portuguesa* (1912) and, ten years later, a member of the group of intellectuals who launched *Seara Nova*, which he directed between 1961 and 1967.

19. See note 9.

20. A writer, diplomat and journalist Augusto de Castro Sampaio Corte Real (1883-1971) was the leader writer for the *Jornal do Comércio*, a member of the editorial board of *O Século* and editor of the *Diário de Notícias*. In 1924 he was appointed ambassador in London.

21. A physician and military officer, Eduardo Augusto Pereira Pimenta (1865-1922) supervised the health department of the CEP, holding the rank of Lt. Col.. He contributed to a number of newspapers and magazines, principally *Ilustração Portuguesa*. See for example, "A Morte da Catedral", illustrated by Stuart Carvalhais, in no. 630, March 18th 1918, 201-203.

1. Which Allies? Written and Visual Discourses in *Ilustração Portuguesa* (1914-1915)

Reading the *Ilustração Portuguesa* for the year 1914 leaves the impression that the main protagonists in the First World War were France (at the side of Belgium) and Wilhelm II's Germany. In fact those who supported the allies identified with the French rather than the British, as can be seen, for example, in an article written by Amadeu de Macedo, entitled "A Europa em Guerra". In this text, like in many others published in 1914, praise is heaped upon Belgium, and France – "the cradle of liberty" –, together with the tenacity, courage and bravery demonstrated by the people of the two countries in the confrontation with their redoubtable adversary.²² In an anonymous article published in the issue of October 12th 1914, entitled "Bélgica e França", the two countries are described as having always been "inseparable, in heartfelt Portuguese sympathy". (477)

In truth of fact, despite the colossal number of illustrations of the war in the pages of the weekly magazine, images of British soldiers are few and far between, in comparison with those of the French, Belgians, Germans and even the Italians, and are somewhat uncomplimentary in comparison with those of the other belligerent nations, the Germans and French, in particular. Whereas engravings or photographs of the latter show their soldiers smartly uniformed, combative and audacious, one of the first images of the British Army to be published shows an infantry parade with soldiers in their traditional kilts, contrasting vividly with the portrayals of the French and Germans.²³ Later on, the kilt would provide an interlude of light-heartedness in the gloomy atmosphere of the war. Although most humoristic drawings involved the figure of the *Kaiser*, the traditional uniform of the Scottish soldier inevitably attracted the attention of artists, as exemplified by the drawing published under the title "Iremos ter uma nova moda de saias?" ("Are we going to have a new fashion in skirts?")

22. See Anon. 236-247.

23. See Anon. 237.

(Fig. 1) The caption reads "A beautiful Parisian observes, with great delight, the traditional garb of a Scottish highlander". (443)



Fig. 1 - "Are we going to have a new fashion in skirts?" *Ilustração Portuguesa* 1914, 443.

It should also be remembered that certain members of the Portuguese intellectual and political elite, such as João Chagas, who was then ambassador in the French capital, considered that the entry of Portugal into the war was dependent upon the Lisbon-Paris rather

than Lisbon-London axis, which, in part, explains the identification of the allies with the French, instead of the British.²⁴

True to its fascination with the aristocracy and the haute bourgeoisie, the *Ilustração* often featured portraits of the Royal families of the warring nations on its cover, including those of Belgium, Russia, Italy and later Montenegro and Romania. During the whole of the two-year period, however, the British Royal family never appeared, with the exception of occasional photographs of the Prince of Wales at the Front²⁵ or King George V inspecting the troops.²⁶ It is worth remembering, on this point, that D. Manuel II was living in exile in England, and was closely related to the British Royal family, with whom he was on excellent terms, which may possibly explain this omission. Amongst those figures who were given prominence in the *Ilustração* were the Minister for War, Lord Kitchener²⁷ and later Sir Douglas Haig, Commander-in-Chief of the British Expeditionary Force.²⁸ In effect, we are confronted by a complex communicative system in which journalists and visual artists play fundamental roles, for as Stuart Hall and David Morley (2010) argue, the authors, when receiving an image or a piece of information do not interpret them within the same cultural context as the one in which they originated.

Thus, it is also remarkable that throughout this two-year period, the *Ilustração* ignored the role of British nurses, whilst praising the Red Cross work of their French, Russian, Italian and even American counterparts. French nurses were praised for their morale and spirit of sacrifice, their heroism in facing up to the horrors of war and for the

24. It should be remembered that in a special session held on August 7th 1914, the Congress unanimously approved a declaration of intent regarding the conduct of Foreign Policy, reaffirming the traditional alliance with Great Britain, without, however, declaring war on Germany. This nuance was in response to the dubious British request of August 4th that Portugal should avoid joining the war, without declaring neutrality. It can be deduced from this position that the Portuguese Republicans were eager to join the war whilst Great Britain had reservations in accepting such a contribution. It is also apparent that the Foreign Policy of the Republic depended entirely upon London.

25. See for example Anon. 1915, 557.

26. It was only at the end of 1916, in a special issue entirely devoted to Great Britain, that the first series of photographs dedicated to the British Royal family would appear. See Anon. 1916, 421-422.

27. See, for example Anon. 1916, 666.

28. See, for example Anon. 1916, 44 and Anon. 1917, 461.

way they had left everything behind to help the wounded,²⁹ whereas English women, represented here by the suffragettes, were criticised for wanting to play their part in battle at the side of men “in the hideous and ignoble art of killing”, (Santiago 678) rather than dedicating themselves to the care of the wounded, and carrying out the role for which they were best suited in a world at war, being good nurses and not parliamentarians. It was only in October 1916, when the news of the death of Edith Cavell reached the press that the role played by the unjustly-forgotten English nurses in the care of war casualties received the praise it deserved.³⁰ Nurse Cavell, it will be recalled, had been executed by the Germans on the pretext of having aided British prisoners to escape. From time to time, the role of British women in the recruitment of volunteers³¹ and their work in the munitions factories³² was also acknowledged.

In 1915, when the unquestionable naval superiority of Great Britain was becoming apparent, a journalist wrote, in an article entitled “O Velho Mundo em Guerra” (“The Old World at War”), that Britain was still “The Queen of the Seas”, (169)³³ but was quick to add, “as Portugal had been in the 16th Century”. The bravery of the British soldiers and their humanity (even towards the enemy) had also become a topic for journalists, as can be seen from the covers of the issues of March 15th (319) and April 5th 1917. (415) However, the images were British, originating in magazines and newspapers such as the *Illustrated London News*, *The Sketch* or, as in the above examples, *The Sphere*. It was also in 1915 that the first story featuring a British leading character appeared. In fact, a number of fictional narratives were illustrated by Stuart Carvalhais, but the heroes were almost always

29. See Dantas 707.

30. See Anon. 586 and also Anon. 656. In 1916, Guerra Junqueiro would also publish an article dedicated to Edith Cavell. In June 1916, the *Ilustração* published a piece about the English “godmothers” of soldiers who were fighting in the trenches, or were in hospital or imprisoned. See Anon. 654.

31. The question of the enlistment of volunteers would appear in 1916, not associated with the English but with the Irish, with whom the Portuguese had sympathised since the 19th century. See Anon. [cover].

32. See, for example, Anon. 1915, 338; Anon. 1915, 399; Anon. 1915, 459; and, later, Anon. 1916, 62-63; Anon. 1917, 291; and Anon. 1917, 362-364. The cover of the August 21st 1916 issue carries a colour photo of English women working in shipbuilding.

33. See also Anon. 1915, 233.

French or Belgian.³⁴ However, a story entitled “Narrativa Simples”, by Jorge de Abreu, appeared for the first time in the April 5th 1915 issue (450-452). In the story, a typical, tall, fair-haired Englishman, who has been wounded in the war, tells of his exploits on the fields of Mons, Marne and Yser, whilst placidly puffing at his pipe as he lies in bed convalescing (Fig.2):



Fig. 2 – “Simple Narrative”. *Ilustração Portuguesa* 1915, 450.

34. See also “A Morte de Louvain. Visões da Guerra”, by Paulo Osório, published in issue no.469, February 15th 1915, 194-196; “Ferido no Peito”, by Jorge de Abreu, in issue no. 470, February 22nd 1915, 226-228 or, later, “Pela França” by Eurico de Seabra, in issue no. 485, of June 7th 1915, 706-708, “O Intruso” de A. C., in no. 486, of June 14th 1915, 738-740, “O Diálogo das Estátuas” by João Grave, in no. 488, of June 28th 1915, 802-804, “Pela Pátria!” by Eurico de Seabra, in no. 496, of August 23rd 1915, 226-228, “Do Amor à Vitória” by João Grave, in no. 498, of September 6th 1915, 290-292, “Luz Extinta” by Eurico de Seabra, in no. 506 of November 1st 1915, 546-548, and “Entre o Amor e o Dever” by Mary O’Ramos, in no. 511, of December 6th 1915, 706-708. After Germany’s declaration of war and the consequent mobilisation of Portuguese troops, most of the characters in fictional narratives were Portuguese. See for example, “A Carga de Baioneta” by João Grave, in issue no. 541, of July 3rd 1916, 13-14 and “Abnegação Inesperada” also by João Grave, in no. 549, of August 28th 1916, 162-163.

“Tommy”³⁵ is a light infantry man. Tall and wiry, with long arms and neck and a strong face capped by a mop of fair hair. It seems there could be no gentler person in the world, as he describes his exploits on the battle-field to his wife and friends. (...) Tommy lights his pipe and two curls of smoke soar towards the ceiling as another episode unfolds. (Abreu 450)

Here, the image of the heroic soldier goes hand in hand with a rather stereotyped image of British phlegmatic behaviour, which is symbolised by the pipe in Stuart’s remarkable drawing. Stereotyped portrayals of British soldiers were often featured in the pages of the *Ilustração Portuguesa*, due to the influence and the mediation of photographs, engravings and texts first published in British periodicals.³⁶ In one such case, soldiers were compared with sportsmen, suggesting that military life on campaign shared something of the thrill of sport:

In certain parts the trench war can be rather like sport, keeping the men busy and enthusiastic! Far from being terrifying or provoking tearful compassion like the fiercest and bloodiest aspects of the conflict, many photographs convey a sense that campaign life for these people has become part of an everyday routine. (Anon. 458)

In another, in which the caption reads “O chá das 5 horas numa casa arruinada de uma quinta situada atrás das linhas britânicas no distrito de Ypres” (Fig.3), the suggestion is that British soldiers do not go without their traditional cup of tea, even in the thick of war:

35. Note that Tommy (Atkins) was the nickname given to British soldiers.

36. On this subject see Mitchell 1986 and 2007.



Fig. 3 – “Five o’ clock tea in a ruined farm behind the British lines near Ypres”. *Ilustração Portuguesa* 1915, 809.

Curiously, these stereotyped views of the British were in accordance with the aristocratic code of behaviour that modernism invoked in its critique of the uniformity of bourgeois society and its capitalist foundations.

In 1914 and 1915, at a time when the presence of Portuguese troops on the Western Front was still far away, the propaganda content of certain articles in the *Ilustração Portuguesa* was already significant. Following the lead of the Partido Democrático, some article-writers began to argue in favour of joining the war on Britain’s side, especially in 1915, putting forward the defence of the colonies as an argument to convince those who were against intervention. A more positive imago-type of Great Britain began to emerge from such propagandistic discourse:

We are not at war with Germany, we still have qualms about joining and standing at the side of England, our great ally and friend, but the Germans (...) do not hide their hostility towards us, recognising that the two nations are, for all intents and purposes, at war, whereas we keep up this pretence

which can no longer be dissimulated under the guise of neutrality (...). If, in this grave situation, nations with confined territorial limits do not show [themselves to be] courageous, spirited and supportive in the struggle for freedom against tyranny, what will become of them when the time comes to settle scores and fix new borders!" (Anon. 1915, 487-488)

This patriotically-inspired propagandistic tone was also widely used in articles published in *A Águia*, as I will now endeavour to show.

2. De(Construction) of Imagotypes

2.1. "Portugal and the War": Great Britain in *A Águia*, 1916

In the first quarter of 1916, the triple issue (52-55) of volume IX (2nd series³⁷) of *A Águia. Orgão da Renascença Portuguesa*³⁸ came out clearly in favour of the allied cause, with a series of twenty-three articles, accompanied by three illustrations,³⁹ dedicated to the now burning question of Portugal's entry (or otherwise) into the Great War. The following articles, which, in one way or another, convey images of the British or Anglo-Portuguese intervention, have been picked out for the purpose of this study: "A Guerra" by Teixeira de Pascoaes⁴⁰ (the editor of the magazine, at the time), "Unidos pela Pátria!" by Raúl Proença,⁴¹

37. It should be noted that the 2nd series of the magazine was the longest-lasting and most important.

38. A cultural movement founded in 1912, in Oporto, the *Renascença Portuguesa* was active during the first quarter of the 20th century. The movement, which was associated with the republican revolution, was nationalistic in inspiration and its avowed purpose was to encourage the socio-cultural and literary regeneration of Portugal.

39. The illustrations, which display an extremely critical view of Germany, were by Rocha Vieira ("Agricultura Moderna. O Cultivador do Campo da Morte"), Cristiano Carvalho ("O Supremo Ultraje"), António Carneiro ("A Guerra") and Stuart Carvalhais ("Kultur"). The first shows a huge German soldier, weapon in hand, standing over a field strewn with skulls. It represents the deculpabilisation of the Portuguese soldiers who, because of Germany, were obliged to act against Christian values and kill human beings. The second shows a black crow (symbolising Germany) crouching over a skull in a field of death, whilst the third shows the *Kaiser*, mounted on a black horse, which stands over a field filled with bloodstained skulls.

40. *Nom-de-plume* of Joaquim Pereira Teixeira de Vasconcelos (1877-1952), Teixeira de Pascoaes was a poet, writer and the principal exponent of Saudosismo.

41. Writer, journalist and intellectual, Raúl Sangreman Proença (1884-1941) was one of the founders of both *Renascença Portuguesa* and *Seara Nova*.

and “Os Impulsos da Consciência Nacional e a Guerra” by Jaime de Magalhães Lima.⁴² Whilst making it quite clear that he knew that there was still no consensus regarding Portugal’s entry into the war, Raúl Proença appealed in his article for a propaganda campaign which would help the Portuguese people to understand the reasons for joining the conflict, which he considered imperative. Aware of the existence of a pro-German, Anglophobe school of thought, based on outdated antagonism and on the idea that unlike Britain, Germany had never done any harm to Portugal, Proença considered it was a patriotic duty to mobilise the nation in favour of intervention and the recruitment of troops to fight on the side of the Allies. Magalhães Lima took the same stance, emphasising that the initial enthusiasm towards German exploits had given way to a growing fear of German victory.⁴³

Employing the same propagandistic tone, Teixeira de Pascoaes tried to counter the idea, still held by many, that Lisbon had always been too subservient towards London. On this question he put forward the hitherto unheard argument that England had never meddled in Government affairs and that the case of Beresford, for example, was a temporary situation provoked by the Portuguese King, D. João VI. He went on to affirm that Portugal’s destiny was not only tied to England and France, but that the Anglo-Portuguese Alliance was indispensable to national independence. This idea was also conveyed by Raúl Proença, who argued that events of the past (especially the Peninsular War) could not justify present decisions nor could they ensure the future of the youthful Republic. Only the victory of Great Britain would guarantee national independence and the protection of the colonies, whereas a German victory would quickly lead to the annexation of Portugal’s African territories. It was therefore crucial to fight alongside Britain, all the more so because staying neutral would be an affront to Portugal’s national dignity.⁴⁴

42. Poet, essay writer and literary critic, Jaime Magalhães Lima (1859-1936) contributed to several periodicals of his time. Outstanding amongst his many published works was *A Guerra: Depoimento de Hereges* (1915).

43. See Proença 1916, 119 and 124; and Lima 1916, 134-135. Curiously, that year, the *Ilustração Portuguesa* emphasised the efficiency of British propaganda in recruitment, attributing its success to the “love of country of English youth”. (Anon. 1916, 21)

44. See Pascoaes 1916, 110-111; and Proença 1916, 121-122 and 124.

Hence both Pascoaes and Proença promoted more positive imagotypes of the British people: liberal, supportive of weaker nations, democratic and antimilitarist.⁴⁵ Furthermore, they emphasised that joining the war alongside Britain would also lead to an alliance with much-loved and generous France, which would bring great prestige to the country, a view which was echoed in the *Ilustração Portuguesa*, as shown previously, but also in 1916, when the generous and hospitable welcome given to the allies in the villages of France was duly praised.⁴⁶ Magalhães Lima added that it was a natural union between political families and Latin peoples, a category in which he also included Italy. Pascoaes further argued that Portugal should make the sacrifice of joining the war alongside Britain for the sake of France, cleverly reaching out in this way to those who were in favour of the previously-mentioned axis between Lisbon and Paris, rather than Lisbon-London.⁴⁷ Intervention, then, was not just a question of fighting for national independence but above all, a manifesto for a patriotic duty, a theme which was also very dear to the Portuguese Modernists:

(...) it is through the rocking of the cradle that we find ourselves thrust into war. A decisive move for our social and political independence in the future as it was in the past; it is the fate of our country which is at stake, its life or death, its affirmation or abdication. (Lima 137)

In 1916, after Germany's declaration of war against Portugal (March), the *Ilustração* published a poem by Esmeralda de Santiago⁴⁸ which reminded the reader that "infamous" Germany lied when it had described "Portugal (...) as an English colony", because Portugal was no-one's vassal or slave, but a nation of valiant and brave people in whose blood flowed the heroism of their forebears. (573)

45. See Pascoaes 1916, 110; and Proença 1916, 123.

46. See Anon. 1916, 243.

47. See Lima 1916, 134-135 and 137; Pascoaes 1916, 109-111; and Proença 1916, 123.

48. A well-known poet in her day, Esmeralda de Santiago (1882-1930) published her first poems in the *Ilustração Portuguesa*.

In truth of fact, before autumn 1916, writers in the periodicals under study had difficulty in admitting that without the support of Britain, Portugal could never have joined the war, as patriotic sentiment always overrode other considerations.⁴⁹ However, as soon as intervention on the Western front became official, their attitude towards the United Kingdom changed completely. A case in point is the November 27th 1916 issue of the *Ilustração Portuguesa* which was entirely devoted to Great Britain, beginning with the cover (Fig.4) in which England is represented by the legendary queen Boadicea, sword in hand, in a drawing by Ferreira da Costa. The caption reads: “A força indómita da nobre Albion ante a bárbara Alemanha”:



Fig. 4 – “The indomitable strength of noble Albion before barbarous Germany”. *Ilustração Portuguesa* 1916, [cover].

49. See Anon. 1916, 644-645.

Bringing a different view of the question, the memoirs of Portuguese soldiers who fought at the side of the British tended to construct new and much more favourable imagotypes, some of which would be visually echoed in the *Ilustração*, an aspect which will be developed further in the following section.

2.2. The Discourses of Memory: The British and Portuguese on the Western Front (1917-1918)

Memory, of course, is no longer understood as a store of imprinted recordings, but rather as an interpretive and creative function, within the framework of permanent autobiographical confirmation and reformulation.⁵⁰ In addition to providing different views of the conflict, accounts in memoir form also reveal the individual perceptions of the British soldiers who fought side-by-side with the Portuguese against the common enemy. Such accounts, therefore, not only offer an extremely valuable contribution to the study of the Other but also to the study of Anglo-Portuguese relations at the time of the First World War. Generally speaking, the Portuguese soldiers tended to concentrate their perceptions of the Other in specific areas, from which the following categories have been selected: the Royal Navy; the character, physical appearance and lifestyle of the British soldier on campaign; the competence of the British in the training of the Portuguese troops; their fighting ability; and, finally, the medical treatment provided on campaign.

The first contact between the Portuguese military and the Royal Navy took place during the transport of troops between Lisbon and Brest, which was carried out by British ships. The convoy was escorted by Royal Navy destroyers which provided protection against possible attack by German submarines. Hence, in a first and (somewhat ingenuous) appreciation, the British officers were described as valiant and self-sacrificing men who were zealously protecting the lives

50. On Memory Studies see, for example, Erll and Nünning.

of their allies: “the vigilance of the destroyer which accompanied us was extraordinary (...), vigorous and tireless, it never let us down. Its performance was superb, its skill was matchless.” (Mendes 45-72) Although admitting that Germany, besides possessing “the greatest ships in the World”, was taking giant steps and fiercely imposing its international presence, the writers also expressed the view that no-one could compare or compete with the Royal Navy. The general view of the Portuguese military authors was that due to his audacity, strength of character and experience, the British sailor was invincible, notwithstanding the fact that Germany had been struggling, for some considerable time, to impose its model of civilisation and to challenge the hegemony of the nation which then dominated the seas. Hence the British escort was portrayed as both protective and liberating, offering reassurance to those who were leaving Portugal behind.⁵¹

Contrasting with this portrayal, up to the second half of 1916 such images were absent from the periodicals under study, and the Portuguese were shown as worthy allies and hence neither inferior nor dependent upon the British.⁵² However, in the previously-mentioned issue no. 562 of the *Ilustração* of November 27th 1916, a poem written by Acácio Pais and illustrated by Stuart Carvalhais, unquestionably exploits this image of England as the undisputed “Queen of the Seas” (Fig.5):

51. See Mendes 73-74.

52. See Anon. 1916, 552-553.



Fig. 5 – “England and the Sea”. *Ilustração Portuguesa* 1916, 427.

These initial perceptions of the British were acquired, therefore, on the sea voyage, and were dominated by the idea that they were protectors of the Portuguese. The long-awaited encounter with the Other took place in the training camps of France, where, true to the spirit of comradeship, the Portuguese soldiers were given a warm welcome by their allies. At the beginning, the Portuguese appreciation of the British was superficial and focussed on the physical appearance of their future comrades-in-arms. Ignorance, in certain cases, led to lumping Scots, Canadians and Australians together as English soldiers, perhaps due to their similar physical appearance and attitude: tall and thin, with closely-cropped, fair hair and pinkish complexion, phlegmatic but short-tempered, impeccably turned out but with somewhat eccentric details, such as military hackles on their berets,⁵³ stereotyped images which, up to a certain point, are in conformity with the first portraits published in 1914 and 1915 in the *Ilustração Portuguesa*.

Curiously, socialising with the British led the Portuguese to acquire British habits. They got used to shaving every day, began to wear waterproofs lined with fur, gloves and army belts, smoked Egyptian cigarettes and changed their eating habits. The war undoubtedly brought to many Portuguese soldiers certain civilised habits that were unknown to them in their homeland. In fact, there seems to have been a desire on the part of the Portuguese to please their allies, which was translated into a conscious attempt to convince the British that they were capable of adapting to the British way of life, which had a favourable effect on Anglo-Portuguese relations on the Western Front. In January 1917, when the first Portuguese troops embarked for Flanders, the warm relationship between the allies was celebrated in the *Ilustração Portuguesa*, in the form of the well-known picture postcard with the caption “Saudações da Grã-Bretanha ao seu aliado mais antigo” (Fig.6):

53. See Mendes 162 and 235.

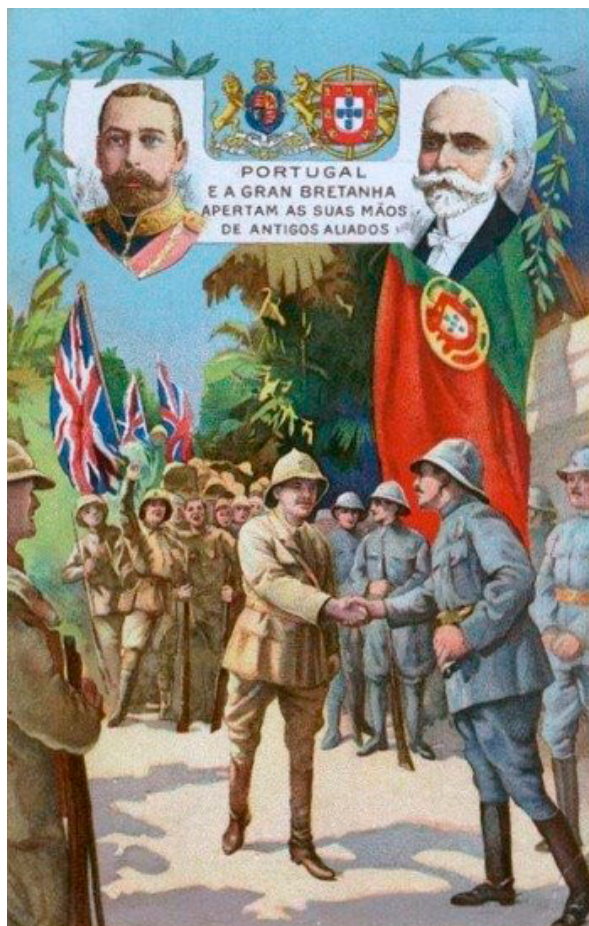


Fig. 6 – “Greetings from Great-Britain to its oldest Ally”.
Ilustração Portuguesa 1917, 45.

Significantly, in the memoirs of the Portuguese soldiers, the inevitable impact of the war on daily habits is described as being far less severe than might have been expected, due to deliberate British solidarity. In fact, many of the Portuguese soldiers who had been sent to the Front in France had never left their modest homes and had never enjoyed so much comfort and attention. Travelling by sea, getting to know other countries, wearing freshly-laundered, warm clothing,

were considered by many as an opportunity generously provided by the British,⁵⁴ unaware, as they were, that it was all part of an agreement established between the two Governments. In this way, as they spent more time in the company of their English and Scots comrades-in-arms (aptly nicknamed *cámones*), the Portuguese soldiers gradually built up a more positive image of them.⁵⁵ A photograph published in the *Ilustração Portuguesa* seems to confirm this friendly companionship (Fig.7). The caption reads “Soldados e sargentos do CEP confraternizando com escoceses”:



Fig. 7 – “Soldiers and sergeants of the CEP fraternising with the Scots”. *Ilustração Portuguesa* 1917, 186.

54. See Mendes 311.

55. See Negreiros 13 and 15.

After undergoing instruction in the training camps and before being granted their own sector, the CEP troops were exposed to active training on the fields of Flanders. The final preparation of the Portuguese troops for battle was supervised by British officers. Although the difficulties were great and the danger extremely high, the Portuguese soldiers felt slightly more confident because they were going to face the enemy alongside the British. In the trenches, the British soldiers were methodically organised and observed the strictest discipline, and the Portuguese, in their own sector, were obliged to apply the same system and to follow the British example. The practical, firm and serene attitude of the British soldiers and the competence in combat demonstrated by the British Army as a whole, were true examples for the Portuguese troops.⁵⁶

At the side of the "Tommies", the "Lanzudos", as they were called due to the woollen kit they wore, began to emulate British military smartness, matured as they took on their responsibilities, and faced up to adversity with bravery and pride. According to the memoirs covered in this study, the characteristics which were attributed to the British helped to mould the Portuguese soldiers, who, contrary to the idea conveyed by the *Ilustração Portuguesa*,⁵⁷ arrived in Flanders unprepared to face the formidable German Army.⁵⁸

The summer of 1917 marked the moment when the Portuguese began to mix more closely with their British comrades-in-arms and to consolidate the admiration they felt towards them. The British were highly praised for their military prowess, for their coolness and calm under fire, and their methodical persistence in the struggle.⁵⁹ In the opinion of Adelino Mendes, the British soldier would stop at nothing to achieve his objective, and hence showed no pity for those who were an obstacle to allied victory. On the other hand, when a German

56. See Mendes 19, 55, 140, 142-43, 152, 188, 196, 218, 242, 272, 288-89, 291, 310, 312-13, 318 and 321; Negreiros 49, 75; and Castro 111, 142 and 171.

57. In fact, the praise expressed in the *Ilustração Portuguesa* goes straight to the Portuguese and the magnificent work which had been carried out in Tancos.

58. See Castro 17.

59. See Mendes 41; and Negreiros 49, 122 and 242.

surrendered, the British soldier behaved like a gentleman and treated his prisoner as if he were a “Tommy”, (1917, 295) as shown in the following engraving, where the caption reads: “O carinho com que um inglês trata de um ferido alemão” ⁶⁰ (Fig.8):



Fig. 8 – “The care with which an Englishman treats a wounded German.” *Ilustração Portuguesa* 1917, 319.

60. See also Anon. 1917, 450.

Along with their extraordinary physical vigour the “Tommyes” had inexhaustible moral strength and a will to overcome the enemy which impressed everyone who saw them in battle. Perfectionists, with a thirst for victory, the British Expeditionary Force faced the enemy with great calmness, authority and confidence, acting with bravery, tenacity, doggedness, sobriety and the determination of those who knew the enemy well and were in complete control of any manoeuvres in the surrounding area.⁶¹ According to Adelino Mendes and Almada Negreiros, the British soldiers, who were aware of the dangers, never launched mindless attacks nor lost their composure but planned every tactical move carefully to guarantee the success of the operation. Always smartly turned-out, the British, who were never disheartened by adversity, were indefatigable and determined to win. (Mendes 141, 200, 314, 318, 321; and Negreiros 44) Here, the construction of the image of the Other is made through direct contact, the product of travel experience brought about by war. The active perception of the Other does not eliminate the Self, nor does it lead to the renunciation of its place in time or its own culture. As Mikhail Bakhtine argues, what is important in the act of attempting to understand the Other is that the subject of the cognitive relationship realises his own exotopy – in time, space, culture – as far as what he wishes to understand is concerned. (*Apud* Terenas 2018)

After the Battle of the Lys on April 9th 1918, General Garcia Rosado was appointed, in July, to replace the previous Commander-in-Chief of the CEP. The reorganisation of the Portuguese Army took place under difficult conditions, leaving the Portuguese First Division subordinated to the British Fifth Division. Many of the Portuguese survivors of the battle were integrated into the British forces or employed in digging trenches. However, according to Augusto Casimiro and despite the criticism from London and the demoralisation of the Portuguese soldiers, they never lost the desire to fight alongside the British and to contribute towards an allied victory, (128, 151-153) a victory which

61. See Mendes 78, 179, 182, 218, 313 and 191; Negreiros 75 and 111; and Castro 27, 172 and 182.

would be achieved after a second offensive on September 26th, which forced the expected German retreat.

As far as medical assistance was concerned, generally speaking the Portuguese soldiers placed great trust in the nursing and medical staff. Many of the wounded were transported in ambulances to the Duchess of Westminster's⁶² campaign tents and hospitals or to Hasbruke (where Dreyfus had been held) where Portuguese officers were treated with particular care. The military surgeon Alfredo Pimenta, who was also an internee, witnessed the friendly personal attention of the Duchess, herself, to the patients interned in her hospital, and describes the care he received from the British nurses, in terms which are suggestive not only of the legacy of Florence Nightingale, but also the role of dreams in the perception of the reality:

Two sisters, elegant and well-bred, with delicate hands, come to take care of us. Captain Lillburn and I move towards the beds we have been given and an orderly pulls the curtains around us. Changing out of our uniforms into flannel pyjamas and shivering with cold we slide between the soft, previously warmed sheets. (...) I watch the sister coming towards me. The kerchief covering her graceful head has an end loose at the nape of her neck which flutters in the air like the wing of a hovering bird. Her voice is gentle and she laughs openly. Caring and considerate, she takes my temperature with a thermometer drawn from a glass holding an antiseptic solution (...). Then, turning on her heels, she glides vaporously from bed to bed, repeating the exercise with the other patients. It is a charming sight, as if she had emerged from a delightful dream. (Pimenta 26-27)

Curiously, on January 21st 1918, the *Ilustração Portuguesa* published a long excerpt from the memoirs of Alfredo Pimenta (to which the previous quotation belongs) accompanied by a portrait of the Duchess of Westminster (Fig.9). The caption reads: "A senhora

62. Constance Edwina Cornwallis-West (1876-1970) who married Hugh Grosvenor, 2nd Duke of Westminster whom she would divorce in 1919.

duquesa de Westminster, a mais rica e uma das mais formosas senhoras de Inglaterra, fundadora de muitos hospitaes para feridos”:

NO HOSPITAL DA DUQUEZA

O auto ambulancia parou á porta da Villa dos Aliados, n'um sujo dia de Fevereiro. O horrejo junto do casinoto planisara-se sob a espessa camada de gelo, sepultando os magros legumes e os pequenos arbustos.

Captain Lillburn e eu passámos a porta baixa levando connosco uma ligeira bagagem. Entrados no carro, o «chauffeur» deu a abalada e partimos com uma velocidade média. O frio era duro. Enregelados tentavamos em vão abrigar-nos do vento cortante, cobrindo-nos com espessas mantas de grosseira lã. As cortinas sacudidas e mal fechadas descobriam o que nos ia ficando para traz. A estrada cortando por entre renques d'essios pinheiros, grupos de casas campestres, vilas de recreio a chamar o tardo estio, umas lindas, outras inesteticas, alongava-se uniforme com levisimas incurvações, até perder de vista. Árvores extolidas erguiam as brancas nuas para a brama do ceu, arminhadas de neve, derretendo precipitosamente e pingando no solo.

A velocidade do carro, a deslocação do ar, a furia das rajadas provocavam a tosse violenta, que nos oprimia, sufocava, exgotando o resto da nossa abaladenergia. E parecia que o frio aliado mais nos exacerbava a febre.

Encostados um ao outro falavamos molemente das terras d'Espanha, onde nascera a mãe de Captain Lillburn e do bom sol, da alegre luz de Portugal. O carro virou uma ponte comprida. Em baixo a aqua turva corria babando as raizes das hervas raras, vicejando na terra gorda das ilhotas disseminadas aqui e além e onde as gavotas descansavam do longo vôo que traziam das bandas do mar.

Surgiram as primeiras casas da cidade. As ruas imundas e salpicadas de neve esparrinhavam uma aqua lamacenta contra as cortinas da ambulancia. Passámos a estacão do caminho de ferro. Sem pressa, muito de ripanso, prisioneiros germanos assentavam rails e perfilavam travessas. Ouviu-se um silvo e por uma das vias ferreas deslizou rapidamente um longo comboio de feridos, tão suave que mal se lhe sentia a trepidação. Parámos um minuto á porta de uma loja de bebidas. Junto do lume do fogão de ferro aquecido ao rubro reconfortamo-nos com um copo de mau café.

Novamente entramos no auto-ambulancia. To-

mando a estrada, que péga na ponte, seguimos por entre renques d'espesso arvoredo até um grande largo ladeado por dois enormes edificios. O carro passou uma cancela aberta para um parque ensabrado e endurecido. A neve cobria os canteiros esparsos entre o arrelvado crestado e um grande floco de gelo pendia da nuca sobre o dorso de uma Diana de marmore, que de pé sobre um pinto arre-messava elegante e forte um agudo dardo contra um imaginario animal.

Apeçimos. Um sargento risinho, de faces coradas e rosto escanhado, veiu buscar-nos á entrada da escada nobre do enorme castro.

No vestibulo houve ainda uma pequena demora para o cumprimento de uma formalidade burocratica. Corridos minutos estavamos no recinto do salão onde nos esperavam os fofoz leitos, antecipadamente destinados ao nosso repouso.

Que maravilha d'ordem e d'asseio! Cada cama tinha em forno um retangulo de cortinas, que corridas o encerravam como se fosse um quarto pequeno e discreto. Junto dos leitos havia mesas com jarras de flores. A um canto do salão um piano de concerto e em frente do grande blombio forrado a panno vermelho os tubos d'aquecimento subiacentes ao peitorali de uma ampla janella de vidros muito limpos. As paredes eram pintadas a oleo; paisagens e aspectos de dunas, sobre tudo á hora crepuscular. Do tecto filigrinado d'estuques irradiavam em corolas crucias as lampadas electricas. Duas *sister* elegantes, finas, com mãos de fada vieram cumprimentar-nos. Captain Lillburn e eu, acercimo-nos dos leitos que nos eram destinados; um *orderley* correu as cortinas. Trocados os fatos por umas pyjamas de flanela, tremulos de frio enfiámos pelos lençoes macios previamente aquecidos.

De scerraram-se as cortinas. Uma luz triste penetrava a modo no risinho do salão. Muitos doentes, alguns feridos. No conjunto uma harmonia perfeita, uma serenidade absoluta, uma ordem impecavel.

Olho a *sister* que se aproxima. O lenço cobrindo a cabeça graciosa tem uma ponta solta sobre a nuca e palpita no ar, como a aza branca de uma ave pairando. A voz é doce e o riso é franco. Carinhosa, solícita, tirando do copo meio cheio de uma solução



A senhora duquesa de Westminster, a mais rica e uma das mais formosas senhoras de Inglaterra, fundadora de muitos hospitaes para feridos.

Fig. 9 – “The Duchess of Westminster, the wealthiest and one of the most beautiful ladies of England, founder of many hospitaes for the wounded.” *Ilustração Portuguesa* 1917, 41.

Final Remarks

The idea of the defence of the homeland as a justification for the intervention of Portugal in the Great War takes pride of place, in both written and visual discourses, over any alliance with Great Britain. Moreover, the alliance with Britain was somewhat forced, at the outset, as, from the Portuguese viewpoint, our natural allies were the French rather than the British. It was for these reasons that I chose to analyse the evolution of the image of the British against the background of contemporary political events, as it was portrayed in the periodical press just as the Modernist movement in Portugal was beginning to make its mark.

Stereotyped images began to evolve, first towards deconstruction and eventually to the building up of new, positive imago-types, often for the purpose of propaganda. As Rocha Martins wrote in the leader of the *Ilustração Portuguesa*, drawing had become an art which could reproduce whatever it wished, in everything from books to magazines. The art of the day, manifestly superior to anything that had gone before, reached everywhere and recognised no limits to what it could show.⁶³ Although it was in the memoirs of Portuguese soldiers that positive images of Anglo-Portuguese collaboration in the war reached their supreme expression, it was in the pages of the *Ilustração* that the visual appeal of such ideas was most eloquently portrayed.

The first steps of Portuguese Modernism, a movement in which literature was closely associated with the visual arts, are well represented in both the *Ilustração Portuguesa* and *A Águia*, where written articles are often accompanied by watercolours, drawings, caricatures or artistic photographs. In the *Ilustração Portuguesa*, it was the visual arts which almost always determined the tone and content of the written texts. Hence, the representation of the British and the Anglo-Portuguese role in The Great War (as well as the many other aspects covered by the magazine) was clearly subordinated to aesthetic concerns.

63. See Martins 1.

In fact, when dealing with Modernism Studies there is still a need for interaction between the different approaches. Such interaction will enable an assessment to be made as to how Visual Studies, and Culture Studies, can analyse the new issues which have arisen from the conceptualisation of Modernism, both as a historical movement and as a global tendency, a question which is far from being exhausted. I have endeavoured, in this article, to contribute to these current debates on Modernism, through an examination of the visual representation, in the Portuguese periodical press, of the British military forces and of Anglo-Portuguese relations during the First World War, whilst comparing, at the same time, the perceptions expressed in the memoirs of Portuguese military personnel, at a time when Modernism in Portugal was beginning to take its first steps.

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