

Portugal: A Historical View of the Age of Revolutions, from 1814 to 1827, by an English Eyewitness

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Introduction

The events of the early 19th century in Portugal were violent and dramatic, leaving an indelible mark on the country's development for decades. From 1814 to 1827, Portugal experienced substantial political instability, which shaped its history and left enduring effects in the country, which persist today. The period in question was characterised by the end of the *Ancien Régime*, when traditional monarchical systems of government in Europe, identified by absolute monarchy, were overthrown or significantly reformed. According to Maria de Fátima Bonifácio (2002), the history of the 19th century in Portugal consists of a long, complicated, and frequently violent transition from the monarchy to the Republic, carried out against the forces that struggled to preserve the halfway house between the two.

The events that unfolded during the first quarter of the 19th century were decisive for the destruction of the economy and the political struggles between absolutists and liberals, the latter divided into radicals and moderates, culminating in the Civil War (1832-1834). These events included, among others, the War of the Oranges against

a Franco-Spanish alliance (1801), the three French invasions (1807-8, 1809, and 1810-11), the departure of the royal family to Brazil (1807), the opening of Brazilian ports to the trade of friendly nations (1808), the Peninsular War (1808-1814), the creation of the United Kingdom of Portugal, Brazil, and the Algarves (1815), the ascension of King João VI (1816) and his coronation (1818), the republican revolt in Recife (1817), the conspiracy against the government in Lisbon (1817), the revolution of 1820, the Martinhada (1820), the General Courts (1821-22), the return of King João VI to Lisbon (1821), the Constitution of 1822, the Independence of Brazil (1822), the anti-liberal revolts in the North (1823), the absolutist revolts of Vilafrancada (1823) and Abrilada (1824), the suspension of the Constitution of 1822 (1824), the death of King João VI (1826), the regency of Infanta Isabel Maria (1826), the succession crisis between the two brothers, Pedro and Miguel (1826-1832), the recognition of Pedro, Emperor of Brazil, as King of Portugal (1826), the Constitutional Charter (1826), the abdication of King Pedro IV in favour of his daughter Maria II (1826), the return of Miguel and the rise of absolutism (1828).

Throughout this tumultuous transition period between regimes, the situation in Spain was not any more stable, often decisively influencing the status of Portugal. Not only due to its geographical proximity but also because, at specific times, the royal houses of Braganza and Bourbon were connected by family ties. King João VI was married to Queen Carlota Joaquina de Bourbon, daughter and sister of Spanish Kings Carlos IV and Fernando VII, respectively; and then Fernando VII married the daughter of João VI, Maria Isabel de Braganza, who became Queen Consort of Spain, from 1816 until she died in 1818. King João VI was simultaneously both the father-in-law and brother-in-law of the Spanish King, who was married to his own niece.

Moreover, the political power in Spain and its policy of alliances oscillated between a friendly relationship with France and the acceptance of British-Portuguese allied intervention. All this significantly influenced the situation in Portugal. For example, during the declaration of war by Spain against Portugal (1801), the invasion of

Portugal by Spanish military forces accompanying the first French invasion (1807), the treaty for the partition of Portuguese territory between Spain and France, signed in Fontainebleau (1807), the liberal Constitution of Cadiz (1812), the enthronement of Napoleon's brother in Madrid (1808-1813), the restoration of absolutism with the return of Fernando VII (1814-1820), the pronouncement of the more radical liberals and the restoration of the Constitution of 1812 (1820-1823), and the French invasion of Spain to restore the absolutist regime (1823), which led to Spain's recognition of Miguel (1829) as King of Portugal.

The English intervention in Portugal after the events of 1820, both diplomatically and militarily, was heavily debated in London, particularly in Parliament, and it divided opinions. Canning,¹ Foreign Secretary of Liverpool's government from 1822 to 1827, had a significant role in developing this intervention. Canning advocated a policy of non-military intervention in other European nations; nevertheless, he exhibited a pragmatic and adaptable political disposition and "was flexible on these points and willing to alter his policy slightly in order to better deal with real world situations and further the interests of Great Britain". (Endorf 2008, 43) A private visit to Portugal of Beresford in 1823 and his constant presence alongside King João VI, became a diplomatic tool and a source of vital information to London, however, he returned to London in 1824 following the Abrilada. (Beresford 2020, 77-78)

Finally, in December 1826, a division of the British Army with 5,000 men, commanded by General Sir William Henry Clinton, arrived in Lisbon, demonstrating British support for the Portuguese constitutional regime. The presence of English forces in the Lisbon region ensured the security of the capital and the court, enabling loyalist forces aligned with the Liberal Cortes to be mobilised and dispatched to the northern regions of the country to suppress the

1. Georges Canning (1770-1827) was a British Tory statesman. He was Foreign Secretary in two critical terms, 1807-1809 and 1822-1827, British Ambassador to Portugal from October 1814 to June 1815, finally becoming Prime Minister of the United Kingdom from April to August 1827.

uprising of supporters of Dom Miguel, who aimed for the return to absolutism. Eventually, these latter forces had to seek refuge within Spanish territory. Clinton's division returned to England in April 1828, with Portugal still in an unclear situation. (Collins 2013)

However, for a very long time, the political history of Portugal in the 19th century received little attention. The challenging growth of Portuguese liberalism was neglected under Salazar's New State in favour of older eras from which that nationalist administration drew inspiration, primarily, the periods encompassing the formation of national identity under the early monarchs, and the Age of Discoveries and maritime expansion. Subsequent historians preferred to focus on social and economic advancements instead. The recent interest in the 19th century in Portugal is a reaction against decades of neglect. (Fernandes, Menezes, and Baiôa 2003) However, supported basically by national sources, ignoring international sources.

Almost unknown and hardly ever referenced in Portugal, an 1827 book published in London, with the long title *An Historical View of the Revolutions of Portugal Since the Close of the Peninsular War: Exhibiting a Full Account of the Events Which Have Led to the Present State of That Country, by an Eye-Witness*, was authored by an Englishman, John Murray Browne (1792-1828),² who had joined the Portuguese Army during the Peninsular War and stayed in Portugal afterwards, witnessing all these tumultuous events. This work was published anonymously and received excellent reviews from the Whig and the Tory sides of the British literary and political Press.

This is a rare and unique book written by a foreigner well-connected to the Portuguese King's court who had in-depth knowledge of Portugal and its people. The book explores this particularly

2. The authorship of the book is wrongly attributed to Andrew Halliday by Manoel Bernardes Branco, in his book *Portugal e os Estrangeiros* (1879, vol.1, 370) and so wrongly registered in the Centro de Estudos Anglo-Portugueses data-base *Portugal e os Estrangeiros*. (Sousa and Birne 2002, 28) *The Naval and Military Magazine* (1828) revealed the name of the author, "Captain Browne, now of the 75th Regiment, [...]" (153) All posterior book reviews concurred with that attribution and Samuel Halkett, in the 1883 *Dictionary of the Anonymous and Pseudonymous Literature of Great Britain* attributes the book to Captain John Murray Browne. (vol. 2, 1123) The information presented by the author in the Preface (vii-viii) of his book unequivocally eliminates any uncertainty regarding its authorship: Captain John Murray Browne.

fascinating period in Portugal's history, marked by revolutions and counterrevolutions, and compares and discusses the political implications of the Constitution of 1822 and the Portuguese Charter of 1826, from an external viewpoint. The book is, in all perspectives, unique, a long-period view from within; indeed, other British authors visited or had short stays in Portugal during this turbulent period, writing predominantly popular descriptions and travel books, such as Henry Matthews who visited Lisbon in 1817 (1820),³ Marianne Baillie with a residence of about two years and a half in Portugal (1825),⁴ the Earl of Carnarvon (Lord Porchester), who travelled the Peninsula and stayed in Lisbon over a short period in 1827-1828 (1830 and 1836),⁵ or the reverend William Kinsey (1828)⁶ who visited Portugal in 1827.

The author who most closely aligns with the profile of John Browne and who also penned a book about this tumultuous period is William Young (1828). Young, an English officer (half pay) and a veteran of the Peninsular War, married to a Portuguese woman, possessed fluency in the Portuguese language, (2) and after 1814, resided in the Leiria region, pursuing agricultural endeavours. (14) Nevertheless, his work, entitled *Portugal in 1828: Comprising Sketches of the State of Private Society, and of Religion in that Kingdom, under Dom Miguel*, focuses on the events of the year 1828, revealing the overwhelming power of the priesthood over the Portuguese people and the violent treatment he endured while incarcerated by the henchmen of Dom Miguel, ultimately culminating in his expulsion from Portugal. Hence, it falls significantly short of providing the historical and political perspective offered by John Browne's book.

3. Henry Matthews (1789-1828), British judge and traveller.

4. Marianne Baillie (1795?-1831), English travel-writer and poet.

5. Henry John George Herbert, 3rd Earl of Carnarvon (1800-1849), Lord Porchester, British writer, traveller and politician.

6. Reverend William Morgan Kinsey (1788-1851), B.D. Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford, and Chaplain to the Right Honourable Lord Auckland, British cleric and traveller.

1. The Author

John Murray Browne's last name is spelt in several ways in various sources. The most common are Browne, Brown, and Broune, the latter version found in Portuguese Army records.

We know about John Murray Browne's children and family life from the biography of his older sister and only sibling, Charlotte Elizabeth Tonna (née Browne), the Anglican evangelical missionary and famous Victorian English journalist, editor, poet, and novelist, who published under the name of Charlotte Elizabeth.

Charlotte was a prolific writer and editor of *The Christian Lady's Magazine* (1834-1848). She left us more than forty books. In her autobiographic book *Personal Recollections*, she affirms her strong bonds with her brother: "[...] that only brother was a second self" (Tonna 1847, 17) and reproduces, in an Appendix, (*Idem*, 431-435) word-by-word, a short sketch of the life of her brother previously published by Dr Southey, in the *Quarterly Review* for July 1829. (41, 184-226)

John, born in 1792,⁷ was the only son of "a clergyman at Norwich, who, yielding most reluctantly to the ardent but determined inclination of the boy, obtained a commission for him, while yet a mere youth, in 1809." (*Idem*, 186) Michael Browne, the father of Charlotte and John, was rector of St. Giles's Church and minor canon of Norwich Cathedral and contributed significantly to the development of Tonna's and John's intense faith and devotion to God, the consequence of being raised in a Tory, royalist, Church-of-England family. Her mother, also named Charlotte, was the daughter of local physician Dr John Murray. Charlotte Elizabeth bestows upon her brother the following laudatory words, as might be expected from a sister who held great affection for him:

The brightest, the sweetest, the most sparkling creature that ever lived,
he was all joy, all love. I do not remember to have seen him for one moment

7. Regimento de Infantaria n° 13. *Livro de Registo de Assentamento de Oficiais e Praças do Regimento de Infantaria n° 13*. Liv. 7. 3. PT/AHM/G/LM/B-13/07. Manuscript. Arquivo Histórico-Militar. Livros Mestre. Arma de Infantaria.

out of temper or out of spirits for the first sixteen years of his life, and he was to me what the natural sun is to the system. We were never separated; our studies, our plays, our walks, our plans, our hearts were always one. That holy band which the Lord has woven, that inestimable blessing of fraternal love and confidence, was never broken, never loosened between us, from the cradle to his grave; and God forbid that I should say or think that the grave has broken it. (Tonna 1847, 13)

Also, she appends the following text, affirming John's intention, since birth, of becoming a military officer:

[...] for my brother, in whose character the soldier had reigned predominant from babyhood, assembled all the little boys of the neighbourhood, addressed them in a patriotic speech, and brought them to the unanimous resolution of arming in defence of their country. (49)

Further revealing her complete admiration for his brother, highlighting his physical traits, and admiring his personality, which was well-suited for the chosen profession:

Never did a sister more fondly love a brother; never was a brother more formed to be the delight, the pride, the blessing of a sister. He was the most rare beauty from the cradle, increasing in loveliness as he grew up, and becoming the very model of a splendid man; very tall, large, commanding, with a face of perfect beauty, glowing, animated, mirthful, a gait so essentially military, that it was once remarked by an officer, 'If [John] were disguised as a washerwoman, any soldier would give him the salute'. (231)

John was commissioned an Ensign in the 48th (Northamptonshire) Regiment of Foot, dated July 20, 1809, joining Wellington's Army in the Peninsula in 1810. The two battalions of the 48th were deployed to Portugal in the spring of 1809 for service under General Sir Arthur Wellesley in the Peninsular War. The 2nd Battalion saw action at the Second Battle of Porto, in May 1809, and both Battalions were in action at the Battle of Talavera in July 1809, when they carried out a

bayonet charge that broke the French attack. However, John missed both these actions, as he remained at this time in Great Britain.

Aged just seventeen and a member of the lowest officer rank, John joined his Regiment in October 1809, (Challis 1949) and the following year, he saw battle at the Bussaco ridge, on September 27, 1810, positioned in the unattacked sector of the 2nd Division commanded by Major General Rowland Hill, at the southern end of the ridge. To John's regret, the real action was much further to the North. A retreat followed as Hill's and Hamilton's Portuguese divisions crossed the fords of Penacova and marched for Espinhal and Thomar towards the Lines of Torres Vedras, (Oman 1908, 397) and later John's unit moved to the South bank of the river Tagus, where the 2nd Division spent much of the winter of 1810-11.

In March of 1811, Massena's Army initiated a retreat and was pursued by the Allied Army of Wellington. Under the command of Beresford, the independent British and Portuguese forces to the South of the River Tagus were sent to Badajoz, laying siege to the French garrison consisting of approximately three thousand soldiers, led by General Phillipon, from May 6 to 12. The advance of a French army under Marshal Soult meant the siege had to be lifted to take up a defensive position South of Badajoz, near the small village of Albuera.

So, on May 16, 1811, we can find John fighting bravely at the Battle of Albuera. Both the 1st and 2nd battalions of the 48th regiment forming part of the 2nd Division, now under the command of Major General William Stewart in Hill's absence due to illness, took heavy losses, suffering terrible charges from Polish lancers and French husars. The 1st Battalion, part of Houghton's Brigade, lost 280 men, of which 67 were killed, from a total of 497 officers and men, (Oman 1911, vol. 4, 631) and its commanding officer, Lieutenant Colonel George Henry Duckworth, was killed; whilst the 2nd Battalion, part of Colborne's Brigade, lost 343 men, of which 48 were killed, from a total of 452 officers and men, (*Idem*) and its commanding officer, Major Brooks, was taken prisoner. The French also captured the King's and the colours of the Regiment. (Burnham 2010, 233)

He survived this bloody battle without being wounded. However, the losses of the two battalions were such that the remnants of the 2nd Battalion were absorbed into the 1st Battalion, and some of its cadre went down to Lisbon and then to England to recruit new men. John was promoted to Lieutenant, dated June 19, 1811, most probably to fill the slot of one of the five lieutenants from the 48th killed at Albuera, and he was sent home in July 1811, as part of 2nd Battalion officers, only to return to the Peninsula in December 1812. (Challis 1949)

Lieutenant John Murray Browne was away from the Peninsula for 18 months, missing the brutal 1812 sieges of Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajoz, where the walled cities were recaptured from the French, and the Battle of Salamanca, in July 1812. John rejoined his Regiment in time to participate in the battle of Vitoria (June 21, 1813), where the 48th Foot was in Major General William Anson's 1st Brigade of Lt. General Lowry Cole's 4th Division. At Vitoria, Anson's Brigade was positioned to provide rear support to Stubbs' Portuguese Brigade as the Division moved to take up an attacking line. "It would seem that 1/48th caught stray cannonballs as they came through the line up ahead, casualties on the day being one man killed and eighteen wounded of which, not a single officer." (Foster 2010)

His unit followed the Army's advance to fight in the Spanish Pyrenees, seeing combat at the first battle of Sorrauren (July 28, 1813), where they took a significant role, revealed by the heavy toll of 12 killed, 112 wounded and 146 missing. (Oman 1922, vol. 6, 769) The 48th and the 3/27th attacked the left flank of the French, near the small village of Zabaldica, winning the combat in the centre. (Lipscombe 2010, 314)

A month later, for undisclosed reasons, the inconspicuous lieutenant was appointed to the Portuguese Army, joining the 13th Line Infantry Regiment, with a promotion to Captain (dated September 14, 1813).⁸

8. Regimento de Infantaria n° 13. Livro de Registo de Assentamento de Oficiais e Praças do Regimento de Infantaria n° 13, de 1815 a 1828. Liv. 8. 7. PT/AHM/G/LM/B-13/08. Manuscript. Arquivo Histórico-Militar. Livros Mestre. Arma de Infantaria.

John had the position of a Portuguese officer at the head of a fighting company throughout the final operations of the Allied Army against the French, already inside Southwest France, which occurred in the last quarter of 1813 and the first quarter of 1814.

The 13th Portuguese Infantry Regiment, led by a very young (23 years old) and promising Lieutenant Colonel, João Carlos Saldanha de Oliveira e Daun, future Marshal Saldanha and Portuguese Prime Minister, was part of the 10th Portuguese Independent Brigade, also known as Bradford's Brigade after its commander, General Sir Thomas Bradford. After crossing the Bidassoa into France, on October 7, the 13th Regiment was present at the battle of the Nivelle (November 10, 1813), (Soriano 158) and fought at the battle of the Nive (December 9-13, 1813) (*Idem*, 200) and at the siege of Bayonne (February 22 to May 8, 1814).

The 13th remained in reserve during the Bidassoa crossing and the Battle of the Nivelle, not being tactically engaged. Still, it played a significant role on the left flank of the Allied Army during the Battle of the Nive. The Portuguese brigades of Bradford and Campbell, in defensive positions near the village of Barrouillet, faced the main attack from the French forces in the western sector of the Allied Army, south of Biarritz, close to the sea. The advanced posts suffered some attrition, but the main positions bravely withstood the attack. (Lipscombe 2010, 336) The casualties suffered by the 13th Regiment, on December 10-11, 1813, in Barrouillet were high: 21 dead, 33 wounded, and 46 missing. (Oman 1930, vol. 7, 546)

According to the memoirs of his sister, John Murray Browne "[...] served in the Peninsula with the highest possible credit, regarded by those in command as one of the best officers in the service, and mostly ardently loved by the men under him." (Tonna 1847, 231)

After the peace of 1814, John remained with his Regiment on its return to Portugal, being moved to half-pay in the British Army dated December 25, 1816, (Great Britain. War Office 1821, vol 17, 656) which meant he made a personal decision to stay with the Portuguese Army. In 1817, he was transferred to the Staff of the Portuguese Army

as an Assistant in the Quartermaster Generals Department,⁹ under the command of General Benjamin D'Urban. In 1819, by order of August 4, he was appointed Assistant Army Quartermaster General, being responsible for the 2nd Region of the Southern District, based in Tomar, tasked with inspecting units in his region, which comprised Leiria, Torres Novas, Tomar, Abrantes, and Santarém. (*Collecção das Ordens do Dia* [...] OD August 4, 1819, 97-99) In the initial pages of his book, published anonymously, a text elucidates his situation following the liberal revolution of August 1820:

In common with his brother officers, he quitted the Portuguese service in 1820; but, unlike the greater number of them, remained in Portugal, and during the reign of the Cortes devoted his time to agricultural pursuits. Shortly after the counter-revolution of 1823, he removed to Lisbon, where an intimacy with some members of the royal household, afforded him opportunity of being much at the court of John VI, and acquainting himself with circumstances that few of his countrymen had means of learning. (viii)

John transitioned to civilian life, dedicating himself to farming in the region of Torres Novas, where he cultivated olive trees. His family was composed of his wife Lucy Norton (Smith) and their children: Lusitania (born in 1816), James (born in 1817, passed away in 1819), James II (born in 1819, passed away in 1823), and John Wilson (born in 1823). The name of the first child, Lusitania, has often been used as an alternative name for Portugal. It is a curious and very rare choice for a forename, probably a tribute to a nation and its populace that warmly embraced John with open arms and whom he felt a profound affinity towards.

From his offspring, we only know that Lusitania married Dr Solomon Caspersonn in 1846. They moved to Australia and lived in Brighton, Victoria, between 1850-1857. Lusitania's family moved to

9. Regimento de Infantaria n° 13. Livro de Registo de Assentamento de Officiais e Praças do Regimento de Infantaria n° 13, de 1815 a 1828. Liv. 8. 7. PT/AHM/G/LM/B-13/08. Manuscript. Arquivo Histórico-Militar. Livros Mestre. Arma de Infantaria.

Albury in 1857, where she became a pharmacist and was quite possibly the second woman to work as one in New South Wales. (*Australian Women's Register* 2009)

After staying in Portugal for some years, John returned to England, holding the rank of Captain, and was later appointed to the 75th Regiment of Foot.¹⁰ In the *London Gazette*, dated September 10, 1825, is published the following note: "Dated August 25, 1825, [...] 75th Infantry, Captain John Murray Browne, from the half-pay, to be Captain, vice John Samuel St. Leger, who exchanges." (1825, vol. 18174, 1648)

Initially, he resided in Bagshot, to deepen his military studies; (Southey 1829, 187) according to his sister "with leave to study for two years in the senior department of the Military College at Sandhurst the better to qualify himself for the future staff appointment." (*Idem*, 233) However, in January 1828, he rejoined his unit, being assigned to a posting in Ireland. Unfortunately, in June 1828, following an accident on a boat when fishing in a lake in Mullingar, County Westmeath, he drowned. (*Idem*, 434) Thus, ending his life tragically and still very young, at only thirty-six years of age, a life filled with great promise. Southey (Cutmore 1995) pens the following highly laudatory text, in his eulogy on John Murray Browne, in the *Quarterly Review* magazine:

[...] the late Captain John Murray Browne, the British army has lost a man who was likely to have been one of its brightest ornaments; for he possessed, in an eminent degree, not only the physical and intellectual endowments requisite for his profession, but the gentleness and benignity of disposition which are required to temper it, and those vital principles of morality and religion which can alone secure the happiest disposition against the evil tendencies of a military life; so that in mature manhood he had no cause to repent having chosen for himself this course in childhood, and persisted in his choice against the wishes of his father. (Southey 1829, 195-6)

10. Captain J.M. Browne – 5 June 1815. (*The Army List for October 1825*, 40)

2. The Book

The book was written and published with the motivation to enlighten the British public about the events in Portugal and its recent history, “at a moment when the foreign policy of Great Britain is again so intimately connected with the state of the Peninsula, and when the safety of Portugal is once more committed to a British Army.” (Browne 1827, v) John’s aim in writing the book was to explain the evolution of Portuguese society and politics since the end of the Peninsular War and the status of affairs when a new British intervention was being planned and executed under the command of General Clinton (Dec 1826 – Feb 1828), with much discussion in Parliament, the British press, and the common people. (Collins 2013) As the author said in the foreword of his book:

[...] the author of the following sheets has been led to believe, that an authentic account of the political circumstances which have produced the present condition of that kingdom, will not be unacceptable to the British reader. That a great deal of misapprehension and ignorance still prevail in this country, on the real character of the revolutions which have agitated Portugal, since the close of the Peninsular War [...].

John Murray Browne’s book was published in June 1827, by John Murray, the publisher of famous 19th-century authors such as Jane Austen, Sir Walter Scott, Washington Irving, George Crabbe, Mary Somerville, and many others. His home and office were at 50 Albemarle Street, in Mayfair, the centre of a literary circle fostered by Murray’s tradition of “four o’clock friends”, an afternoon tea with his writers. The book price at its launch in 1827 was 12 shillings, equivalent in purchasing power to about £81.13 today.¹¹ The book was widely advertised in the press, such as in the October 1827 advertisements section in of *The Retrospective Review* (Southern 1827) or in

11. “Value of 12 shilling [£0.60] in 1827 → 2023: UK Inflation Calculator.” Official Inflation Data, Alioth Finance. <https://www.officialdata.org/uk/inflation/1827?amount=0.60>. Accessed on 29 Jun. 2023.

February 1828 of *The Evangelical Magazine and Missionary Chronicle*. (1828, vol. 6, 64)

The publisher also used the last pages of other books such as Duke Acland's *The Glorious Recovery by the Vaudois of Their Valleys*, in 1827, or William Napier's *A Reply to Lord Strangford's Observation on Some Passages in His History of the War in the Peninsula*, in 1828, to announce the publication of John Murray Browne's book.

The book was organised into chapters chronologically, in addition to a lengthy preface explaining why the author chose to write it and why he was among the best equipped to recount the history. Readers can access the list of issues and topics discussed in each chapter thanks to the thorough contents index. John, however, did not limit himself to only stating the facts. The book concludes with two chapters on political analysis, one (Chapter VII) discusses Portugal's prospects for the future and the political stance that England should take in its relations with the Peninsular Kingdom, and the other (Chapter VIII) compares the Constitution of 1822 and the Constitutional Charter, the latter being fully translated and transcribed in the book Appendix. These are the chapter titles, with respective pages:

CHAPTER I.	1814 - 1820.	1
CHAPTER II.	1820 - 1822.	45
CHAPTER III.	1823 - 1824.	92
CHAPTER IV.	1823 - 1824.	153
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CHAPTER VII.	Considerations on the future Prospects of Portugal; and on the Line of Policy which it behoves England to adopt in her Relations with that Country.	284
CHAPTER VIII.	Examination of the Portuguese Charter of 1826; with a Comparison between it and the Constitution of 1822.	327
APPENDIX.	Translation of the Constitutional Charter of Portugal - 1826	363

Captain John Murray Browne's thorough and analytical account, *An Historical View of the Revolutions of Portugal Since the Close of the Peninsular War*, offers an in-depth analysis of Portugal's turbulent history following the Peninsular War and a firsthand viewpoint from an eyewitness. Due to Capt. Browne's extensive knowledge of Portugal gained throughout his seventeen years of residence and military duty, he can provide an informed account of the political and social advancements of the nation.

The book opens by describing the post-war context of Portugal, showing how the country was undergoing rapid external changes without real material advantages. Given the constant concentration of wealth and opportunities of the ruling elite in contrast to the relatively static and destitute circumstances of the general population, the need for political regeneration was considered necessary but seen as unachievable. The author takes delight in providing a respectable historical perspective and steers clear of the sensationalism and anecdotes common in contemporary writing.

John Murray Browne describes the suffering of poor farmers and the neglect of olive groves as a result of poverty as he looks into the effects of an idiotic administration on an impoverished nation. He underlines the importance of a particular agricultural strategy for the health of olive trees and abundant harvests. He closely examines and analyses political transactions throughout the book, offering a direct and critical assessment of influential individuals, such as King João VI, whom he views as an upright but naive man who is unprepared for the demands of leadership.

As he recounts the exploits of Prince Miguel, a significant figure in the book, the author's knowledge of military issues is evident. The early exploits of Miguel are depicted as lacking in restraint, portending his abuse of absolute power. Captain Browne presents a cogent analysis of the dispute over Royal succession between Miguel and his brother, Pedro, Emperor of Brazil, and father of future Queen Maria II.

Before comparing the Constitution of 1822 and the Constitutional Charter of 1826 included in a separate chapter, and translating and including the latter in an appendix, Captain Browne discusses

Portugal's relationship with Britain and the Charter significance. His extensive views of Portuguese politics, his meetings with local officials, and his connections within the royal household offer enlightening perspectives on the nation's internal dynamics during difficult times.

Browne reveals his views on the future prospects of Portugal and England's relationship with the Portuguese people. To the author England's government goal should be to support the Portuguese constitutional system, abandoning small profits from trading with Portugal and instead focusing on political relations. Browne argues that Portugal's prosperity has decreased, and England should focus on supporting the country, emphasising the importance of maintaining a counterbalance to France's influence in Spain, and the threat of Portugal becoming a helpless province of the French empire.

The text also calls for the Portuguese government to adopt measures to make the Charter more familiar to the nation to gain popular support. The text warns against France's menacing inclination against England and urges the Portuguese government to remove obstructions and beware of inertia, as it may delay the deliverance of a whole nation and England is urged to press her counsel on the Portuguese government, as she possesses the necessary qualities to promote Portuguese prosperity. To reconcile the counter-revolutionary Miguelites and the existing liberal government, Don Miguel is suggested to be placed at the head of the government until the young queen passes her minority. Finally, Browne suggests that England's counsels must be given honestly and unequivocally, with the declaration that unless sufficient weight is attached to them, the English army will be immediately recalled. In his own words Browne writes that:

We may maintain an army on the Portuguese territory, sufficient to repel those enemies who now menace her; and we may scatter a little money in the districts immediately surrounding the stations which that army occupies. But unless we demand a change in the internal administration, much more extensive than that which the Charter will necessarily produce, if executed to the letter, we shall bring on ourselves a weight of guilt, and its consequent punishment. (324)

The book includes the first known published English translation of the Portuguese Constitutional Charter, which was the document that governed the Portuguese political system for the longest period (seventy-two years) in modern history and made the greatest ideological and institutional contributions to the monarchical regime that ruled Portugal in the 19th century. The Charter was founded on a specific political culture known as “charterism”, which redefined the language of liberal Europe at the time, distinguished it from revolutionary traditions, and adopted a “middle way” for conducting politics halfway between traditional royal absolutism and radical popular democracy. (Sardica 2012)

The Constitution of 1822 was notably radical for its time within the European context, as it envisioned a monarch with limited or no powers and a system with only one elected chamber of deputies. As the author states “insidiously stripping the monarch of every vestige of regal power, legislative and executive, while leaving to him the semblance of possessing both, it reduces him to a mere automaton”. (334-335) Conversely, the Constitutional Charter of 1826, being inclusive, aimed to strike a moderate balance between conservative liberals and more progressive factions, while also attempting not to alienate the absolutists. John Browne highlights: “Very different is the charter of 1826, which leaves unfettered the privileges befitting a sovereign ruler, though still in a manner as perfectly compatible with the free establishment of public liberty, security, and property.” (335)¹²

12. The most significant features of the Constitutional Charter of 1826 are as follows:

1. The Charter was a royal concession that, unlike the Constitution of 1822, did not assert the principle of popular sovereignty but granted the King an essential role in the constitutional order.
2. It established the principle of the separation of powers, which, in addition to the classic three branches – legislative, executive, and judicial – introduced another one: the moderating power. The legislative power was vested in the Cortes, with the King’s sanction. It was exercised by two chambers: the Chamber of Deputies, elective and temporary, and the Chamber of Peers, composed of lifelong members appointed by the King, with an indefinite number of seats, some of which were hereditary. The moderating power, the most significant, was exclusively held by the King, who oversaw the harmony among the other three powers and was not subject to any accountability. The executive power also belonged to the King, who exercised it through his ministers. The judicial power was independent and relied on a system of judges and jurors.
3. The Charter also enumerated the rights of citizens, among which the most important included the right to freedom of expression, both oral and written, the right to security, ensuring that no one could be arrested without formal charges, and the right of property.

Military candour and an engaging openness are the defining traits of the writer's style. The unassuming, masculine, and modest language reflects the author's image as a soldier. The book is an excellent source of historical information because it objectively records historical occurrences and viewpoints while providing important political data through an engaging and humorous narrative. The author, while striving for impartiality in his analysis, does not conceal his preference for the Constitutional Charter of 1826, and is a staunch critic of the abuses perpetrated by the governments that had governed the country under the Constitution of 1822, and particularly of the constitutional Cortes:

But these hopes were soon wearied out, and every thinking mind disgusted by the idle delays, forms, proclamations, and ridiculous acts of a body, which appeared under the guidance of a few madmen, more fit to inhabit the cells of a lunatic asylum, than to occupy such a responsible place, and to frame laws for the government of a nation. (Browne 1827, 64)

This book primarily revolves around key figures from the royal family, notably King João VI, the Queen, and their two sons, Pedro and Miguel, in addition to politicians and military men who played pivotal roles in the events of that era. Three noteworthy figures are the Count of Suberra,¹³ the Count of Amarante,¹⁴ and the 2nd Count of Amarante and Marquis of Chaves.¹⁵ Equally significant are two British

13. Manoel Inácio Pamplona Corte Real (1762-1832), one of the most complex figures of the time, general officer of the Portuguese and French Armies, Baron of Pamplona in France and Count of Suberra in Portugal, "loyal" to Queen Maria I, Emperor Napoleon, King Louis XVIII and King João VI, condemned to death in Lisbon for high treason, in 1811, because he was in the staff of the invading French army in 1810, he was granted amnesty in 1821 by the Constituent Cortes of Lisbon, being elected deputy and minister. Right arm of D. Miguel in the Vilafrancada coup, he was then prime minister of D. João VI. Later dismissed he was sent as ambassador to Madrid. He was arrested by the D. Miguel regime (1828) and died in prison (1832).

14. General Francisco da Silveira Pinto da Fonseca Teixeira (1763-1821), Count of Amarante, hero of the Peninsular War at the head of the Portuguese militia, and strongly supporter of absolutism, raised the standard of counter-revolution in 1820.

15. General Manuel da Silveira Pinto da Fonseca Teixeira (1784-1830), Count of Amarante and Marquis of Chaves, son of Francisco da Silveira, strongly supported D. Miguel and absolutism. He revolted the

subjects, Beresford and Charles Stuart,¹⁶ who held important roles in political and diplomatic decisions.

The British public very well received the book, and complete reviews of the text were published in many literary and political magazines such as *The London Literary Gazette and Journal of Belles Lettres*, *The London and Paris Observer*, *The Gentleman's Magazine*, and *Historical Chronicle*, *The Spirit and Manners of The Age*, *The Quarterly Review*, *The Naval and Military Magazine*, *The Atheneum*, the *Meyer's British Chronicle*, *The Literary Chronicle*, and *The Monthly Review*.

3. The Reviews

As already said numerous literary and cultural magazines were published in Britain during the early 19th century, each with its own focus and editorial approach. These publications were vital in promoting and critiquing British literature, arts, and culture. John's book made an impact when it was published in London because it was not only mentioned but also received lengthy reviews and extraordinary positive remarks, most of them by anonymous reviewers, as it was customary for articles not to be undersigned.

The weekly *London Literary Gazette and Journal of Belles Lettres* (1817-1862),¹⁷ made a very long review of the book, with more than five thousand words, published in two successive issues, numbers 546 (July 7, 1827, 437-9) and 547 (July 14, 1827, 455-6). The review starts with the following text:

northern provinces in 1823 and 1826 against the liberal regime, in support of D. Miguel's party, against the liberal government.

16. Charles Stuart (1779-1845) was an English diplomat who served as an ambassador in Lisbon during the Peninsular War, between 1810 and 1814, assuming a significant role in the negotiations between Portugal and Brazil in the period following Brazil's declaration of independence in September 1822.
17. *The London Literary Gazette and Journal of Belles Lettres* (1817-1862), founded by the publisher Henry Colburn, who appointed the journalist and contributor William Jerdan as editor in July 1817, was a weekly prominent literary magazine, and it was first established in 1817 and continued its publication until 1836. The magazine focused on literature, poetry, and various branches of the arts without a political bias. A favourable review in *The London Literary Gazette* meant almost certain success for writers and publishers, but a mixed review could be disastrous. (Horvat 199_)

This is an extremely well-timed and also an intelligent publication. Seventeen years of personal acquaintance with the Peninsula – enjoying superior opportunities (as appears from internal evidence) for obtaining information, observing events with acuteness and sagacity, and recording his opinions impartially, it seems to us that we could hardly have a more satisfactory volume on the subject than that which the writer has here supplied. He has, indeed, laid open a correct view of the real and actual state of Portugal at a crisis extremely interesting, not only to Great Britain, but to the whole civilised world. (437)

The reviewer praises the book's author for providing valuable insights into Portugal's state during a critical period. The review outlines Portugal's condition after the Peninsular War, highlighting the distressing state of the nation, its economy, and the corruption in the government. It further describes the country's transition through various political movements and uprisings, including the rise of a constitutional charter and the involvement of foreign powers, such as Spain and England. The review emphasises the importance of Britain's role in mediating conflicts and ensuring the well-being of Portugal but cautions against overstepping boundaries and interfering in the country's internal affairs. It concludes by emphasising the need for a prompt and decisive approach to address the urgent challenges and improve the country's governance and welfare.

The Sunday issue, August 5, 1827, of *The London and Paris Observer*,¹⁸ republishes *verbatim* *The London Literary Gazette and Journal of Belles Lettres* article for a wider audience, covering then Paris and Continental cultural circles. The *Literary Chronicle and Weekly Review*¹⁹ published, on July 7, 1827, in the section "Review of New Books", a comprehensive review of more than four thousand

18. *The London and Paris Observer*, or *Chronicle of Literature, Science, and the Fine Arts*, was a weekly newspaper, published in English, in both London and Paris.

19. *The Literary Chronicle* was a London-based journal published from 1819 to 1828. Weekly issues were usually published as *The Literary Chronicle and Weekly Review*. The annual volumes were usually published just as *The Literary Chronicle*. The later title was *The Athenaeum*.

words of John Browne's book. The text of this review was reproduced later by *Meyer's British Chronicle, a Universal Review of British Literature*.²⁰ (Meyer 1827) More than a review, it is an excellent synthesis of the book.

The *Literary Chronicle* review starts by comparing Spain and Portugal, their past and present, two countries connected by nature and history and inspiring very different feelings. Portugal shines out with indications of resiliency and a light of optimism, whereas Spain has sunk into darkness and surrendered truth and freedom. This synthesis examines a piece that highlights a free spirit among Portugal's people while shedding light on the unpleasant effects of war on Portugal's economy and society. A captivating overview of Portugal's recent history is provided by the author's original ideas, which result from substantial experience in the nation.

On the effects of the War on Portugal, the *Literary Chronicle* review observes that the author states that after years of fighting in the late war, Portugal was in terrible shape. The once-fertile terrain of the nation turned barren, and farming was frequently abandoned because of the destructive presence of opposing forces. The impoverished farmers suffered greatly since they received little or no compensation for their produce. The development of unscrupulous contractors worsened matters by encouraging fraudulent activities that further decreased the population's standard of living.

Effects on trade and agriculture are analysed in depth. Due to the devastation brought on by war, the farming industry suffered severely. A major source of wealth for many, olive trees were plagued by illness, and the worry of future yield reductions inhibited appropriate trimming. As a result, the olive crop failed, resulting in widespread farmer depression and a considerable negative influence on the country's wealth. The wine industry, another significant source of income, encountered similar difficulties. The lack of consistent

20. *The Meyer's British Chronicle* made reviews and analyses of all new, interesting and important productions of British Literature, partly original texts, but mostly compiled from other magazines such as *The Quarterly Review*, *The Monthly Magazine*, *The London Literary Gazette*, *The Literary Chronicle*, etc. That was the case of the review of John Browne's book review.

farming could not guarantee a consistent supply of forage for cavalry regiments. This resulted in rising costs and a shortage of necessities. Also, it referred to the large impact in the economy of the loss of the commerce of Brazil.

The review states that the book also explored Portugal's potential future. The Infanta Regent,²¹ who oversaw the country, possessed traits that could have helped her to promote security and happiness at home. But there were worries about future unrest due to Miguel's impending claim to rule during the minority of the Queen.²² The majority-approved Charter might not have put an end to current factions and rivalries. Although the Charter offered some balance of power, it might not have satisfied those who wanted more freedom from sovereign decisions, which could have resulted in unhappiness and further calls for change.

According to the author, given the capacities of the then-current leadership, Britain had to provide helpful advice to the Portuguese government. Coercive action was not necessary, but diplomatic involvement might have helped assist the nation in moving toward a fair and stable constitutional system. But it was important to proceed cautiously because most Portuguese people might not have been willing to give up their deeply ingrained prejudices and allegiances. Even though foreign involvement temporarily silenced the groups, they might have reappeared in the future, each looking to further their own interests.

In conclusion, according to the *Literary Chronicle*, the book provides a thorough examination of Portugal's past and present. Although the country had suffered greatly due to the war, there were signs that its people were resilient and hopeful. To have set Portugal on the right course for a secure and prosperous future, the review underlines the necessity of prudent and attentive foreign intervention. Portugal had to face its past, change with the times, and strike a fine balance between upholding its traditions and embracing contemporary

21. Infanta Isabel Maria, sister of Pedro and Miguel, regency from 1826 to 1828.

22. Maria, daughter of Pedro, future Queen Maria II.

principles as it navigated the difficulties that lay ahead. The review in the *Literary Chronicle* is by far the most faithful summary of John Murray Brown's book.

Almost a year after the publishing of John's book, in March 1828, *The Athenaeum*²³ review of John's book offers a comprehensive analysis of the work (vol. 18, March 28, 1828). The review, characterised by its eloquent prose and reflective analysis, discusses various aspects of the book, including its scope, narrative style, author's credentials, and underlying themes. The review serves as a critical engagement with the book, assessing its strengths, weaknesses, and overall contribution to the understanding of Portugal's political history. The review begins by setting the context and expectations surrounding the book. It highlights the reader's anticipation of gaining insights into the historical events of Portugal, particularly the period following the Peninsular War and the emergence of Miguel as the Regent. The reviewer anticipates that the book will delve into the causes and consequences of the political vicissitudes and examine the potential trajectory of the nation's future. This introduction not only succinctly outlines the purpose of the book but also underscores the reviewer's perspective on its intended scope and significance.

An aspect of the review's commentary revolves around the author's credibility and qualifications. The reviewer provides detailed information about the author's background, including his residence in Portugal, service in the British and Portuguese armies during the Peninsular War, and continued presence during subsequent political developments. This analysis serves to establish the author's authority as a credible eyewitness, offering a nuanced understanding of the historical events discussed in the book. However, the reviewer acknowledges that despite the author's unique perspective, there are instances in which traces of bias or national sentiment emerge, reminding readers of the challenges of maintaining absolute

23. A literary and critical journal, founded in 1828, and published in London, replaced the *Literary Chronicle*. *The Athenaeum* was a highly influential periodical published between 1828 and 1931, focusing on literature and the arts, and it set the standard for nonpartisan, professional criticism of literature (both English and foreign), art, music, drama, and science.

objectivity. The review pays significant attention to the author's narrative style and the work's organisation. It praises the author's ability to seamlessly interweave historical facts with thoughtful reflections, creating a harmonious flow of narration. The reviewer highlights how the author effectively integrates personal anecdotes, which enhance the narrative's vividness and authenticity. Additionally, the reviewer identifies the author's tendency to provide vivid descriptions, exemplified by his depiction of the olive gathering process and the characterisation of Portuguese peasantry. Such descriptions contribute to a richer understanding of Portugal's socio-economic landscape.

Furthermore, the review emphasises the book's central theme, which is Britain's role and responsibilities in Portugal's political evolution. The reviewer notes the author's perspective on how Britain's intervention during critical junctures has intertwined the two nations' destinies. The book serves as a call to action for Britain to carefully navigate its relationship with Portugal, utilising its influence for the advancement of the nation while respecting its sovereignty. The review does not shy away from discussing certain weaknesses in the book, particularly the author's occasional partiality and biases. While acknowledging the author's dedication to presenting a plain and unvarnished account of facts, the reviewer criticises certain instances where the author's perspective diverges from complete impartiality. This critical evaluation adds depth to the review, showcasing the reviewer's commitment to a balanced assessment of the book's merits and limitations. In conclusion, *The Athenaeum* review provides a thorough academic analysis of the reviewed work. Through its insightful examination of the book's content, narrative style, author's credibility, and underlying themes, the reviewer guides potential readers in understanding what it offers.

*The Naval and Military Magazine*²⁴ made a short review of Browne's book in volume 3 from 1828 (153-154) starting the article with the following statement:

The opinions of several of the more influential contemporary journals having been already expressed, and in such favourable terms, of this work, we have little more to do than yield our cordial acquiescence in them, and strongly recommend it to all who would obtain knowledge of what has been passing in a country with which we have been, and still are so closely connected. It bears internal evidence of having been written by a man who is well acquainted with the subject, and whose aim is to elicit truth. (153)

The journal also predicts a great future in the literature for the book's author saying:

Among the numerous candidates for literary fame, of late years, in this country, few have been more generally successful in their attempts to deserve it than officers of the army and navy, and few have produced works so generally interesting as they have. The names of many distinguished officers, of both services, occur to us, and will occur to our readers at the moment, who have done themselves equal honour, and their country equal service, with the pen and with the sword; to them may now be added the author of the work before us, who is one of the glorious band that had the honour of following the 'Great Captain' from the Tagus to the Seine. (*Ibidem*)

The review identifies the author as Captain Browne of the 75th Regiment, and states that the book presents a comprehensive and well-informed narrative of Portugal's history from 1814, drawing on the author's intimate knowledge of the country gained over seventeen years. Capt. Browne's writing displays soldier-like frankness and keen insights, providing valuable information on political events, societal conditions, and the Portuguese army. Although readers may not

24. *The Naval and Military Magazine* (1827-1828) was a publication focused on military and naval topics. After 1829 was published under the title of *The United Service Journal and Naval and Military Magazine*.

universally agree with his political views, the book is an engaging and informative account of Portugal's recent past.

Also in 1828, *The Spirit and Manners of The Age*²⁵ published in the first volume of a new series that Browne's book was:

[...] a work which we can conscientiously recommend, as possessing, in an eminent degree, the requisites most desirable in books of this description. Events watchfully observed, and traced with cool judgment to their secret origin; opinions candidly put forth; and predictions, of which the passing scenes furnish but to correct a fulfilment; are brought before the reader in language unaffected, manly, and withal modest. (252)

The review included, in the literature review section, a short comment on John Murray Browne's book, stating that the author, a British Officer with firsthand experience, provides a succinct and well-observed account of events, candid opinions, and accurate predictions. The narrative delves into Miguel's prominent character, early adventures, and the question of royal succession. The volume offers valuable political information and an interesting, engaging narrative, with the military frankness of the author's style standing out. Finally, it includes the Constitutional Charter and pertinent details concerning Portugal's relations with Britain. The reviewer is extremely fond of the work, affirming, "we like the military frankness of his style" and, concludes his review with "altogether, the volume comprises a body of valuable political information, judiciously wrought into a narrative, in itself both interesting and amusing." (*Ibidem*)

Two years after the publication of John's book, *The Gentleman's Magazine*²⁶ referred that Browne's *An Historical View of the Revolutions of Portugal* was considered a book with "openness of style and

25. *The Spirit and Manners of the Age: Christian and Literary Miscellany*, published in London with a new series starting in 1828, containing a collection of essays from William Hazlitt.

26. *The Gentleman's Magazine and Historical Chronicle*, often referred to as simply *The Gentleman's Magazine*, was one of the earliest and most influential monthly magazines published in England. Printed in London and edited by Sylvanus Urban.

language, and regard for truth". (1829, vol. 99, 604) The book review was published in the June 1829 issue stating that:

We lay down this volume with the satisfaction of having been informed by it. Had we gone into debateable questions, we are not prepared to say that we should have coincided with all of Captain Browne's opinions; but he was an eyewitness, and we are at a distance. The manly openness of his style and language, and his regard for truth, are more valuable than the pleasure which is derived from finding our prejudices flattered, perhaps at the expense of both. (605)

According to the reviewer, the book covers Portugal's rapid external changes over the last few years, which have not resulted in any material benefit for the country. The nation's external appearance, represented by the monarchy, nobility, military, and clergy, has experienced constant motion, but most of the population remained unaffected, leading to a need for political regeneration. The book starts by depicting Portugal's state at the end of the war and the detrimental effects of an inept government on an already impoverished nation. The author extensively covers the subject of manufacturing and production, highlighting the struggles of farmers who could not prune their olive trees due to poverty, resulting in long-term damage to the plantations. The political events of the period are skilfully recounted, with the author maintaining the dignity of history by avoiding the proliferation of partisan anecdotes. King João VI's character is described as a well-intentioned but gullible and deficient ruler, whose reign was marked by continuous disasters and personal torments. It is noted that the author, however, omits any mention of Sepúlveda,²⁷ whom some attributed responsibility to the changes during that

27. Bernardo Correia de Castro e Sepúlveda (1791-1833), commander of the 18th Infantry Regiment, then stationed in Porto, was one of the most active leaders of the liberal revolt in Porto in 1820. He was one of the members of the *Sinédrio* of Porto and one of the most outstanding pioneers of liberalism in the Portuguese military. He joined the Vilafrancada coup too late, but despite that, he was later made a prisoner of D. Miguel; after being released he went into exile in Paris, pursued by the absolutists and ignored by the liberals.

time. The reviewer praises the volume for providing a comprehensive and detailed account of the events, shedding light on the various factors driving the actions of those involved. The author of the volume expresses optimistic expectations regarding Pedro's Charter, though it is pointed out that subsequent events did not fulfil these hopes. The reviewer reveals the author's name, Captain John Murray Browne, a British officer with a notable military background, highly esteemed by King João VI and that he died in a boating accident in 1828. The review concludes by commending the work's informative and honest nature, given his firsthand experience and the distance from the events discussed, even if some readers may not agree with all the author's perspectives.

Also in 1829, the *Quarterly Review*²⁸ covered John's book in volume 41, corresponding to the July & November edition. A 40-page article named the "Political and Moral State of Portugal", where Portugal's history and politics were discussed at length, was written by Dr Southey. (Tonna 1847, 431) Selecting six books on Portugal, from English, Portuguese, and Italian authors, and two journals, the *Correio Braziliense* and the *Investigador Português*, as reference material, (Southey 1829, 184) the article discusses the situation of the Peninsular country. John Murray Browne's book is selected and referred to as "a book of great ability, written with full knowledge of the subject on which it treats, in the best spirit, with sound judgment and perfect discretion." (*Idem*, 195) The book is highly praised, and the reviewer not only does the book review (*Idem*, 184) and comments on the value of his work (*Idem*, 187, 220, 224) but also includes John's obituary and short career path, (*Idem*, 185) which corresponds to the text published by Charlotte Elizabeth on the already referred *Personal Recollections*. (Tonna 1847) Southey praises the author, stating that:

28. *The Quarterly Review* was a prominent British literary and political journal, with some links to the Tory sensibility, printed in London.

the volume which he [John Murray Browne] published a few months only before his death is not one which will go the way of ephemeral publications – it will always have its place in the Bibliotheca Histories of that kingdom to which it relates; and it is one of those books which no person can ever peruse without a feeling of respect for the author. (1829, 187)

Southey commends Browne's book in several ways such as when he discusses the revolution of 1820, the author states that "The history of that revolution should be read in the very satisfactory and authentic sketch of it by Captain Murray Browne" (220-221) and when he describes the events of 1823 in Portugal he writes that "[...] these events are put in the clearest light, and related in the most temperate and candid spirit, by Captain Browne, than whom no person had better opportunities of knowing the whole truth." (224)

We may conclude that John's book received excellent literary reviews from weekly, monthly, and quarterly publications, regardless of the political stance of their editors. These literary critiques were published from July 1827, probably immediately after its publication, until late 1829, which reveals the interest the book aroused in the English public of that time.

Conclusion

John Murray Browne's book titled *An Historical View of the Revolutions of Portugal, Since the Close of the Peninsular War, by an English Eye-Witness* constitutes a unique work within its genre. Noteworthy is the book's originality due to its preparation by a foreigner who resided in Portugal for nearly 17 years, predominantly as a member of the Portuguese Army. This affiliation facilitated engagement with various *strata* of society and involvement in diverse geographical locations. Unlike most English-born military personnel who, following the 1820 revolution, returned to England after their service in the Portuguese Army was terminated, John Murray Browne chose to remain in Portugal.

Initially, he established an agricultural enterprise in the Torres Novas region, accompanied by his family. Subsequently, he relocated to Lisbon, closely associating with the circles surrounding King João VI. This proximity afforded him the privileged vantage point to observe the political, diplomatic, and military undertakings of the era. John Murray Browne stems from a family deeply rooted in religious traditions and nurtured with a refined education and Portuguese experience bestowed upon him the optimal prerequisites to be the author of this work. Following its publication, the book received a favourable reception from literary and political critics in England.

The perusal of his book bestows a distinct perspective on the tumultuous epoch of Portuguese political affairs between 1814 and 1827. It serves as an exceptional contribution to comprehending the bilateral relationship between Portugal and England, and the interactions amongst the factions vying for power within Portugal. John Browne's book is not merely a historical account of the events that unfolded in Portugal from the end of the Peninsular War in 1814 to its publication in 1827, coinciding with a new British intervention. It also addresses the profound economic crisis and the attempts at liberal constitutionalism, culminating in the Constitution of 1822 and the Constitutional Charter of 1826. Browne further examines, from his perspective, the relations between the United Kingdom and Portugal, offering his suggestions on how these relations should evolve to promote peace and economic development while simultaneously preventing the dominance of France, which was so prevalent in Spain.

Unacknowledged or unfamiliar within Portugal, this book garnered near unanimous consensus among contemporary English political and literary critics that unequivocally affirmed its value in facilitating an enhanced understanding of Portugal's history and politics:

[...] extremely well-timed and an intelligent publication" (*The London Literary Gazette and Journal of Belles Lettres* 1827, 437)

[...] our author [...] on the whole [...] writes fairly and judiciously. (*Meyer's British Chronicle* 1827, 137)

[...] we deem we have done enough to recommend it as one of those works most calculated, at this moment, to interest the public attention. (*The Athenaeum* 1828, 295)

[...] strongly recommend it to all who would obtain knowledge of what has been passing in a country with which we have been, and still are so closely connected. (*The Naval and Military Magazine* 1828, 153)

[...] a work which we can conscientiously recommend, as possessing, in an eminent degree, the requisites most desirable in books of this description. (*The Spirit and Manners of the Age* 1828, 252)

The manly openness of his style and language, and his regard for truth, are more valuable than the pleasure which is derived from finding our prejudices flattered, perhaps at the expense of both. (*The Gentleman's Magazine and Historical Chronicle*, 1829, vol. 99, 65)

[...] a book of great ability, written with full knowledge of the subject on which it treats, in the best spirit, with sound judgment and perfect discretion. (*The Quarterly Review* 1829, 185)

An Historical View of the Revolutions of Portugal, Since the Close of the Peninsular War [...] significantly contributes to our understanding of Portugal's post-Peninsular War history, exhaustively delving into the tumultuous period spanning between the years 1820 and 1827. Capt. John Murray Browne's depiction of the events that moulded Portugal's course in the early 19th century is based on his experience and deep knowledge of the nation and the Portuguese. Even today, students and scholars interested in Portugal's 19th-century history, political events, and historical society dynamics should read the book.

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