



## ABSTRACT

This paper focuses on the changes introduced by the 8th Marquis of Fronteira in the garden and ties them with his family background and English cultural context. Furthermore, it establishes links between horticulture and music. In both cases, his taste was nurtured in his youth through appreciation and knowledge of gardens and music, and later transformed into creative works and institutional sets.

## ARTICLE

“With Mr. Alves & A. & K. in the Bus to Bemfica to see Count Farrobo's Quinta of the Laranjeiras. Then mass there & then went all over the Palace. We went also to see the Marquis of Fronteira's & Countess Farrobo's nearest quintas. Back in the Bus & then took a boat & went to Mr. V. Z. to dinner.”

Pedro João de Morais Sarmiento, Diary, November 19th 1848

## Introduction

The garden of the Palace of Fronteira was created in the post-Restoration period by the 1<sup>st</sup> marquis of Fronteira, D. João de Mascarenhas (1633-1681). It looks nowadays similar to its seventeenth-century descriptions. However, during the late nineteenth-century it had a totally different appearance: The formal *parterre* was disguised by a horticultural garden created by Pedro João de Morais Sarmiento (1829-1903), 8<sup>th</sup> Marquis of Fronteira since 1881. Although there is already some bibliography on the Palace of Fronteira and its gardens (NEVES 1954; MESQUITA 1992; MONUMENTOS 1997; CASTEL-BRANCO 2008; VALE 2010; RODRIGUES 2014a), there is none which covers the transformations undergone by the garden during this particular period. In this paper, based on the Diaries written by Pedro João, from 1848 to 1856, we identify how the modern taste of gardening has changed the Fronteira garden into what we classify as an “almost *gardenesque*” arrangement; we argue that the novel gardening choices in Fronteira's villa can only be understood through the lenses of the 8<sup>th</sup> Marquis of Fronteira's family background and its unusual English cultural framework; and we establish the co-relationship between Pedro João's English habit of walking in gardens, the way he experiences gardens and landscapes, and his preference for “natural” landscapes. Finally, we demonstrate how Pedro João's creativity and actions are revealed in both gardening and music, his two passions.

## I – The nineteenth century transformations undergone by the garden of Fronteira

The garden of the Palace of Fronteira was created after the Restoration War (1640-1668) against the Spanish. D. João de Mascarenhas (1633-1681) supported King D. João IV (1604-1656) in this war to restore Portuguese

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autonomy, and was hence rewarded with the title of 1<sup>st</sup> marquis of Fronteira, and many other privileges, including incomes. Therefore, he built the palace and garden of Fronteira using erudite French and Italian models. It looks nowadays similar to the seventeenth-century descriptions provided by the 1673 inventory and Alexis Collotes' travel memories (1678). Its main feature was the great geometric *parterre* of box hedges with roses in the middle,



Fig. 1. Palace of Fronteira's garden, view over the great parterre and water mirror, June 2015. Photograph by Ana Duarte Rodrigues.



Fig. 2. Palace of Fronteira's garden, view over the great *parterre* and water mirror, ca. 1900. Photograph by Ana Duarte Rodrigues.

inhabited by lead sculptures with black painted bodies and gilded heads of dancers and statues copied from the most famous of Ancient Greece and Rome.

Thomas Cox's *Relação do Reino de Portugal* (1701) considers the garden of Fronteira as the only one worth visiting in Lisbon as it surpasses in beauty the Royal garden (COX 1701: fl. 46). Among Royal gardens, he is probably referring to the garden of Paço da Ribeira built by King D. Manuel I (1469-1521) in the transition from the fifteenth to the sixteenth century, which looked quite old fashioned in the baroque period.

The garden of the Palace of Fronteira is among the most praised Portuguese gardens as confirmed by foreign travelers' descriptions since the seventeenth century as well as contemporary international books. For instance, *The Gardener's Garden*<sup>1</sup> (2015), which lists the most beautiful 270 gardens worldwide, selects five Portuguese gardens, including the garden of Fronteira.

### 1.1. Novel gardening choices and horticultural interests

Despite presenting nowadays the same layout as in the seventeenth century, probably a token of its continuous seduction, photographs of the turn of the nineteenth-century reveal a totally different appearance, the formal



Fig. 3. Palace of Fronteira's garden, view over the palace and garden's box hedges, June 2015. Photograph by Ana Duarte Rodrigues.



Fig. 4. Palace of Fronteira's garden, view over the palace and garden's trees and shrubs, ca. 1900. Photograph by Ana Duarte Rodrigues.

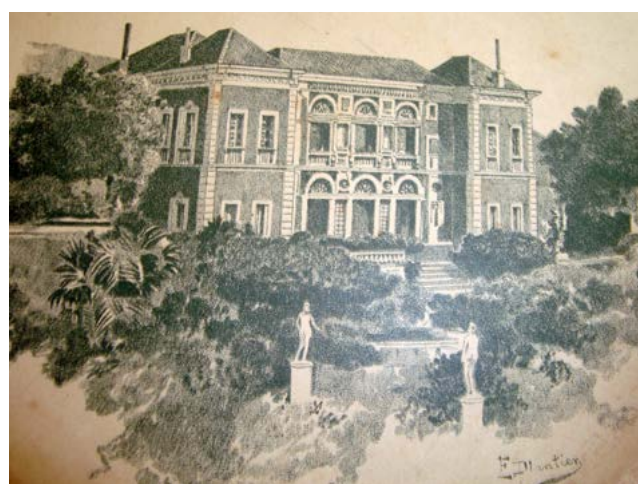


Fig. 5. Palace of Fronteira's garden, view over the great parterre with painted statues, water-color on score's front cover *Partitura do 8º Fado de Alexandre Rey Colaço dedicado ao 8º Marquês de Fronteira*, 1894. Photograph by Rui Castilho de Luna.

<sup>1</sup> In this issue, one can read a book review on this book by Isabel Albergaria.

*parterre* having been disguised by the horticultural garden created by the 8<sup>th</sup> Marquis of Fronteira. This took place most probably after 1881, when the 8<sup>th</sup> Marquis succeeded to his father-in-law, the 7<sup>th</sup> Marquis of Fronteira<sup>2</sup>.

Photographs reveal four main differences: 1) the regular grid disappears under the wildness of the vegetation; 2) tall trees, such as palm trees and a huge amount of shrubs, appear and dominate the great *parterre*; 3) statues become painted in white to imitate stone; 4) a huge quantity of vases appears next to the box hedges underlining main paths. However, the box hedges' frames stemming from the seventeenth century have not completely disappeared, as if the various stratum of gardening, and therefore of history, have been maintained layer by layer.

The main changes undergone in the garden by the 8<sup>th</sup> Marquis of Fronteira took place in the field of horticulture. His deep interest and expertise in this area is mirrored in many aspects of his life, mostly horticultural experiences, the build-up of an art of gardening library, and finally his role as a founding member of Real Sociedade Nacional de Horticultura em Portugal.

Horticultural interests beyond gardening are revealed by the 8<sup>th</sup> Marquis of Fronteira's botanical experiences and floricultural collections with exotic specimens (*Boletim* 1903: 169). A photograph shows labels identifying each species in the middle of flowerbeds, as if in a botanic garden. All iconographical sources, including many photographs, show a huge amount of vases where different species of trees, shrubs, plants and flowers were cultivated such as roses, camellias, chrysanthemums, Geranium and Pelargonium, like in a nursery (*Boletim* 1903: 166). In fact, different sources stress he had the best collection of roses in Portugal, cultivated in his garden by himself, for



Fig. 6. Book with the 9<sup>th</sup> Count of Torre's *ex-libris*. Library of the Fundação das Casas de Fronteira e Alorna (FCFA). Photograph by Ana Duarte Rodrigues.

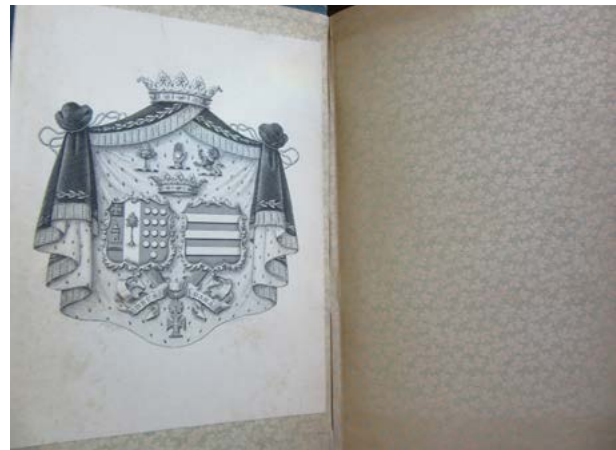


Fig. 7. Book with the 8<sup>th</sup> Marquis of Fronteira's *ex-libris*. Library of the FCFA. Photograph by Ana Duarte Rodrigues.

long hours, aided by a basket with gardening tools, including his pipe, tobacco and correspondence. Together, they show his practical expertise (*Boletim* 1903: 164; *Diário de Notícias*, February 11<sup>th</sup> 1903; *O Século*, February 14<sup>th</sup> 1903).

The 8<sup>th</sup> Marquis' library on art of gardens is exceptional for Portuguese standards. Still extant at the palace of Fronteira, these books can be identified by his two *ex-libris*, one when he was still Count of Torre and the other already as marquis. Additionally, many show an entry date, revealing both his organizational skills and his up-to-date knowledge. The singularity of his library is revealed by its many books and journals of English authors, in their original English versions, contrary to most libraries in Portugal, where English authors are rare, and when they appear they are in their French translations (Rodrigues 2011, 2015b).<sup>3</sup>

A few illustrations corroborate our argument. The *Garden. Illustrated Weekly Journal* (1872, 1873) and *The Illus-*

<sup>2</sup> Documents dating from this period testify to this change.

<sup>3</sup> The importance and uniqueness of this library is clear for including books which one cannot find at the Portuguese National Library.

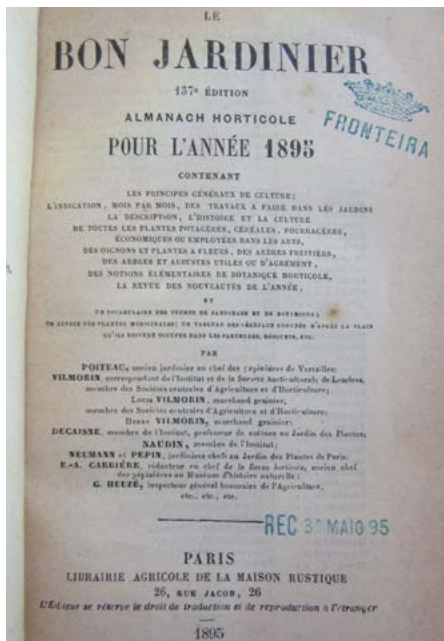


Fig. 8. *Le Bon jardinier*, 1895. Library of the FCFA. Photograph by Ana Duarte Rodrigues.

*trated London News* (1887) were journals published in England bought by catalogue, as many other products (such as seeds). The existence of publications by Loudon - *Arboretum et Fruticetum Britannicum* (1844) journal and *Encyclopedia of Gardening* (1850) - is especially suggestive for the kind of *gardenesque* garden the Marquis was creating. Loudon himself christened the *gardenesque* style. *The Century Book of Gardening* (1900) is a history of art of gardens which includes more than sixty pages covering various aspects of roses' cultivation. *Le Bon Jardinier* (1882, 1883 and 1895) is a French journal on horticultural garden. *Les Plantes a Feuillage Coloré* (1867) and *Les fleurs de Pleine Terre* (1894) are books specifically dedicated to flowers and decorative plants. And, finally, two reference dictionaries - *Dictionnaire Pratique d'Horticulture et de Jardinage* (1892-99) and the *Nouveau Dictionnaire de Botanique* (1870) – complemented the Marquis's knowledge and interests.

Despite transmitting aesthetical principles, history of gardens and designed landscapes, these books and journals are mainly on horticultural and botanical knowledge. Taken together, they reveal the exceptional theoretical background of the 8<sup>th</sup> marquis of Fronteira, and its clear English cultural framework.

Finally, the Marquis' interest and knowledge on horticulture explains why he became one of the founding members of the Real Sociedade Nacional de Horticultura em Portugal, and its director from 1898 to 1900 (*Boletim* 1903: 166; Letter of the Real Sociedade Nacional de Horticultura April 20<sup>th</sup> 1903). This was the institutional context in which he developed activities to promote horticulture expertise, including the creation of the *Boletim da Real Sociedade Nacional de Horticultura* and the promotion of exhibitions of roses and chrysanthemums.

## 1.2. Multiple currents of the English garden. The horticultural trend and the *gardenesque* style

The photographs discussed illustrate the transition of the garden of the Palace of Fronteira from one influenced by Italian and French formal gardens to one influenced by the English gardening cultural context. However, having in mind that the English style underwent different phases and currents, we should clarify what we mean.

What the 8<sup>th</sup> Marquis of Fronteira created in the great *parterre* is not the English landscape garden characterized by large lawns and artificial lakes, which mimic nature, where a strong manipulation of space in an outsized scale (when compared with the formal garden) took place. It is not the picturesque garden materializing a strong relationship between painting and landscape design as the garden of Fronteira was neither inspired by any painting nor aimed at enacting a typical seventeenth century composition (as it happened with many English gardens based in Claude Lorrain's paintings). It is not also the romanticist garden, as the parks of Pena and Monserrate in Sintra, Portugal are often described, as a result of intermingled influences of the English landscape garden with German concepts of landscape and beauty. In them, the sublime is connected with the scientific capacity to measure, data collecting and understanding the world, typical of the nineteenth century Humboldtian approach to nature (see the relationship between Humboldt and Eschwege, architect of the Pena palace and park in RODRIGUES 2015a).

Instead, we characterize the garden of Fronteira as a horticultural garden. We follow Vanessa Remington (2015) in separating the landscape garden, which resulted from a taste for the natural, from the horticultural garden, which privileges nurture rather than nature, and emerges in the nineteenth century as a new trend, in which



Fig. 9. Photograph of the 8th Marquis of Fronteira, ca. 1890. Photograph by Rui Castilho de Luna.



Fig. 10. 8th Marquis of Fronteira's visiting card. Photograph by Rui Castilho de Luna.

selection and display of plants and flowers from all over the world reveal horticultural expertise (REMINGTON 2015: 204). The valorization of gardening as an elite activity (gardening was taught to Queen Victoria's children) is also corroborated by newspaper and journal's articles which refer to the 8<sup>th</sup> Marquis as someone who did not only rely on gardeners, but practiced gardening himself.

Going a step further, we suggest to use another concept to describe and understand the garden of Fronteira. We refer to the *gardenesque* style as it was theorized by John Claudius Loudon (1783-1843): the value of trees that should grow wild to their full size; the value of exotic species; a garden as a collection of different species (even if not a botanic garden) (LOUDON 1850: 1167). Further developments in the *gardenesque* style became associated with circular shaped flowerbeds full of flowers of different colours, species (exotic preferably) and sizes.

Having in mind the specificities of the garden of Fronteira, we introduce the term “almost gardenesque” to characterize the modifications implemented by the 8<sup>th</sup> Marquis of Fronteira. He did not plant circular shaped flowerbeds because he did not destroy the seventeenth century garden, respected the previous design, although he added something totally new and wild to the former geometric pattern. While flowers, namely roses, were abundant in Fronteira's great *parterre*, the previous geometric-square pattern was covered by plants and trees but never completely destroyed. Nineteenth century photographs show some box hedges and even some topiary, but at the same time tall trees, palm trees and shrubs invade the *parterre*, as if different stratum of the family's memory were conveyed by the garden. This was probably the way chosen by the 8<sup>th</sup> Marquis of Fronteira to honor his family's ancestors.

## II – The cosmopolitanism of the family background and the English cultural framework of Pedro João de Morais Sarmiento

### 2.1. The rise of the family Morais Sarmiento and their cosmopolitan life

Cristóvão de Morais Sarmiento (1788-1851), father of the 8<sup>th</sup> Marquis of Fronteira was born in Bahia, Brazil. He was a natural son of Tomás Inácio de Morais Sarmiento, judge of the High Court in Bahia and wealthy sugar cane producer, and was later in life legitimized by his father, just as it happened with his brother<sup>4</sup> Alexandre Tomás

<sup>4</sup> IAN/TT, n<sup>o</sup> 320, modelo 14, estante 5. Letter from the Queen D. Maria I of Portugal to Cristóvão Pedro dated November 17<sup>th</sup>1806.

de Morais Sarmiento (1786-1840), future 1<sup>st</sup> Viscount do Banho. Although born in Brazil, both brothers were educated in England, then studied Law at the University of Coimbra in Portugal. Cristóvão de Morais Sarmiento became a diplomat in Copenhagen and London and served for about forty years as legate or Ambassador from the Kingdom of Portugal<sup>5</sup>. He was the leading personality behind the negotiation of the treaty of the “Quadruple Alliance” (1834). The last twenty-five years of his life were spent in the court of Queen Victoria of England (1819-1901; Queen since 1837)<sup>6</sup>. Cristóvão Morais de Sarmiento received from the Queen of Portugal the title of Baron of Torre de Moncorvo,<sup>7</sup> then of Viscount of Torre de Moncorvo,<sup>8</sup> and various Royal presents<sup>9</sup>. Therefore, the two natural born brothers owe their social ascension to their own merit, facilitated by their overseas provenance from the Atlantic area of the Portuguese empire. This family context set the ground for the next generation, in which many members held Portuguese and European nobility titles.

Pedro João de Morais Sarmiento was the eldest son of Cristóvão Pedro de Morais Sarmiento, and of his wife D. Carlota Guilhermina Jordan (1806-1842). He was born in Copenhagen on December 27<sup>th</sup>, 1829, and educated in London, where he lived probably since 1835, when he was six years old<sup>10</sup>, and most probably until he got married<sup>11</sup>. He had six brothers and sisters who reached high social status, receiving in most cases nobility titles<sup>12</sup>.

Pedro João de Morais Sarmiento received the title of Baron of Torre de Moncorvo on December 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1848<sup>13</sup>. He married with D. Maria de Mascarenhas Barreto (1823-1914), daughter of the 7<sup>th</sup> Marquis of Fronteira, in 1857. Being the only child, and heir of the House, when her father died in 1881, her husband Pedro João became the 8<sup>th</sup> Marquis of Fronteira<sup>14</sup>.

Having grown in England, Pedro João partook of a cultural context very different from that of other nobles of his age educated in Portugal. Furthermore, due to his father empowerment, he belonged to the social sub-

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5 The salary he disposed when delegate at Copenhagen in 1821 amounted to 4 *contos de reis* (thousand *reis*, ancient Portuguese currency unit) and later in 1828 it increased to 10 *contos de reis* (thousand *reis*) per year. This high value explains the wellbeing of his family, although in his 1846 will Cristóvão de Moraes Sarmiento considers his children will inherit the small amount of 1000 pounds (DOCUMENT 2: 4).

6 Pedro João recalled King Albert of England words in his 1852 Diary: “(...) saying that he had known him very well & respected him very much & altogether he was very kind & gracious to me.” (MORAIS SARMENTO 1852 January 1<sup>st</sup>).

7 Title created by Queen D. Maria II of Portugal in May 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1835.

8 Decree signed by the Queen D. Maria II of Portugal in July 13<sup>th</sup>, 1847

9 He received gifts from Prince Augusto Beauharnais (1810-1835) in 1835: “Diamonds & Emeralds Necklace, Earrings, Brooch and Ferronière; together with the Diamond head chain, containing in the center the ring given to me in 1835 by the Prince Dom Augusto” (DOCUMENT 2: 14). Prince August Beauharnais married Princess D. Maria II in January 1835, but passed away two months later, thus this present was given between January and March 1835.

10 Pedro João and his sister Maria Carlota Perpetua were both born in Copenhagen in 1829 and 1834, respectively. However, their third brother, Alexandre Tomás was born in 1835 in London and all their other brothers and sisters were born in London, except for Tomás Inácio, who was born in Lisbon in 1838. Thus, it is safe to assume that after Pedro João became six years of age he lived in London. This fact explains why he wrote his journals and all his personal documents and notes in English.

11 He got married in 1857 and his 1856 Diary proves he is still in London by then.

12 Alexandre Tomás (15.11.1835-19.02.1871) became the 2<sup>nd</sup> Viscount da Torre de Moncorvo; Cristóvão Pedro (3.1.1837-?) was Comendator of the Orders of S. Estanislau of Russia; Tomás Inácio (2.11.1838-10.01.1875) was the 1<sup>st</sup> Viscount de Morais Sarmiento and married with the daughter of the Perfect of Marseille; Carlota Amália (2.2.1840-?) became Marquise of Oldoini, an Italian title acquired through her second marriage and Ana Maria Juliana became Countess of Anadia and Countess of Villar Seco, also following two successive marriages. Carlota Amália married first Albert Georg Sandeman (1833-1923) in London in 1857. He was the son of one of the three best friends mentioned in the Will by Cristóvão de Morais Sarmiento, Mr. George Sandeman of Highbury Place (Morais Sarmiento, 1846: 16). The Sandemans held an important company of Sherry and Porto wine. Albert George Sandeman was the chairman of G.G. Sandeman, Sons & Co. Ltd., the director of the Bank of England between 1895 and 1897, the president of the Chamber of Commerce in London in 1808 and in 1872 he was commissioner of Income Tax for the city of London. Albert Sandeman borrowed often money to Pedro João when there were delays in government’s payments (MORAIS SARMENTO 1852 January).

13 IAN/TT, Registo Geral de Mercês, D. Maria II, liv. 29, fl. 230-230v.

14 IAN/TT, Registo Geral de Mercês, D. Luís I, liv. 36, f. 190v.

group of the Portuguese nobility related to English circles and diplomacy<sup>15</sup>. By 1848, when he visited Portugal for three months, his close social network included members of the high aristocracy of Portugal,<sup>16</sup> many having sailed to England in the ship *Belfast* with Queen D. Maria II in 1828, and remaining in exile until the Liberals were able to fight back Absolutism. Examples include the dukes of Saldanha, Palmela, Terceira and his own father, the Viscount of Torre de Moncorvo. This elite of Portuguese nobles shared experiences and difficulties surpassed in England, and held strong connections with this country and English culture.

During his sojourn in Lisbon in 1848, Pedro João, his father and brothers stayed at the Hotel de l'Europe, at Rua Nova do Carmo. They always attended mass at the Church of S. Domingos (Document 1: fl. 16v.) and often went to the Cemetery of the Prazeres at Campo de Ourique. According to his Diary<sup>17</sup>, Pedro João visited *quintas* influenced by the English style of gardening, and participated in many social encounters such as meals, balls, parties, theatres, and operas, the various activities revealing English habits of modernity and cosmopolitanism. Furthermore, the Diary also gives many hints about the Lisbon's cityscape, its social, artistic and cultural life, reminiscent of the city described in the writer Eça de Queirós' *Maias*.

Pedro João's education in England and the network of nobles and diplomats holding strong relations with the British Empire set the ground for the novel gardening choices which were behind the transformation underwent by the garden of Fronteira into a horticultural garden, in a singular appropriation of one English style not very common in Portugal.

## 2.2. Gardens, villas and landscapes

The 8<sup>th</sup> Marquis of Fronteira's taste for gardening was developed since his youth through visits to gardens and villas in the English "natural" style. He brought from England the eye trained in the English style of gardens, and through his acquaintances he visited villas and parks in Portugal created or reshaped in the gardening English fashion, a minority in the Portuguese gardening context.

Regent Park<sup>18</sup>, Hyde Park, Kensington Gardens, especially the Serpentine<sup>19</sup> and St. James Place<sup>20</sup>, were part

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15 His social network included many diplomats: Julião Cortés was the Portuguese vice-consul in London in 1848; F. T. Van Zeller was general-consul of Portugal in mid-nineteenth-century; Mr. Paiva was secretary of the Brazilian diplomatic body in London; Lobo de Moira was secretary of the Portuguese diplomatic body in London; Mr. E. M. Rebello was vice-consul; Ferreira de Pinto Soveral was attaché of the Portuguese diplomatic body in London; Valdez was attaché of the Portuguese diplomatic body in London and Comendador Marques was a minister of Brazil (Document 1, 2 and 3).

16 The nobles of his close social network were: the Duke of Palmela, D. Pedro de Sousa Holstein (1781-1850) who lived for a long time in London where he was ambassador; the Duke of Saldanha, D. João Carlos Gregório Domingos Vicente Francisco de Saldanha Oliveira e Daun (1790-1876); the Duke of Terceira, D. António José Severim de Noronha (1792-1860); the 7<sup>th</sup> Marquis of Fronteira, D. José Trasmundo Mascarenhas Barreto (1802-1881); the Marquis of Vianna, D. João Paulo Manuel de Meneses (1810-1890); the 1<sup>st</sup> Count Farrobo, Joaquim Pedro Quintela (1801-1869); and the 1<sup>st</sup> Viscount Benagazil, D. Policarpo José Machado (1796-1875).

17 The 1848 Diary of Pedro João de Morais Sarmiento, held at the Palace of Fronteira's archive, was written when he was 17 years old during a visit of three months in Lisbon. The Diary published in this paper is the first of a series of diaries written by D. Pedro between 1848 and 1856, before he got married. The journals are written in English because it was his second language. What emerges in these journals is a sophisticated alertness concerning his social and cultural life, intertwined with descriptions of visits to gardens and boulevards. The 1848 Diary began when Pedro João was leaving England to Portugal by ship, in the ship called "Affonso", with his father and with his two brothers Alexander and Cristóvão. The diary describes the travel since Liverpool, through London, Antwerp, Bay of Biscay, Vigo, Oporto, until they arrived in Lisbon on October 12<sup>th</sup>, 1848 (DOCUMENT 1: fl. 11v.; fl. 14v.).

After the 1848 Diary, a modest notebook in his dates were written with his own handwriting, he bought proper diaries at the bookseller Letts, Son & Steer, 8, Royal Exchange (printed, inside the Diary 1856).

18 "After Luncheon went to Regent Park in search of Mr. Sampaio's house in Westbourne Terrace, there I found out that Mr. Sampaio had removed & that Westbourne I. was near Hyde Park. Went to Moira's who was much better. He is going to spend a few days at O. Sampaio's. J. Caffary & another person came & we took Moira to I. in a cab / then took a walk in the Park & Kensington Gardens." (MORAIS SARMENTO 1849 February 11<sup>th</sup>).

19 "About 3 ½ pm. I went out down Park St. to the Serpentine" (MORAIS SARMENTO 1851 February 16<sup>th</sup>)

20 "met Strode coming out, walked with him to Mr. Fortes in St. James Place, out of town. Then he accompanied me as far as the Union



of Pedro João daily routines in London. Following Alessandra Ponte's apt wording, they were places where one breathed not the "spirit of the Place" but the "Spirit of Civilization" (PONTE 1991: 373-386).

Kensington Gardens became a public park in 1841, and became famous for its Serpentine Lake, created in 1730, and the Summer House, projected by William Kent (ca. 1685-1748) in 1735. Pedro João often walked in the city<sup>21</sup>, a habit acquired in England<sup>22</sup>. He used to take a walk in the recently built Regent Street (DOCUMENT 1: fl. 8), then the most fashionable street in London, and the right place to experience a modern mobility of gaze.

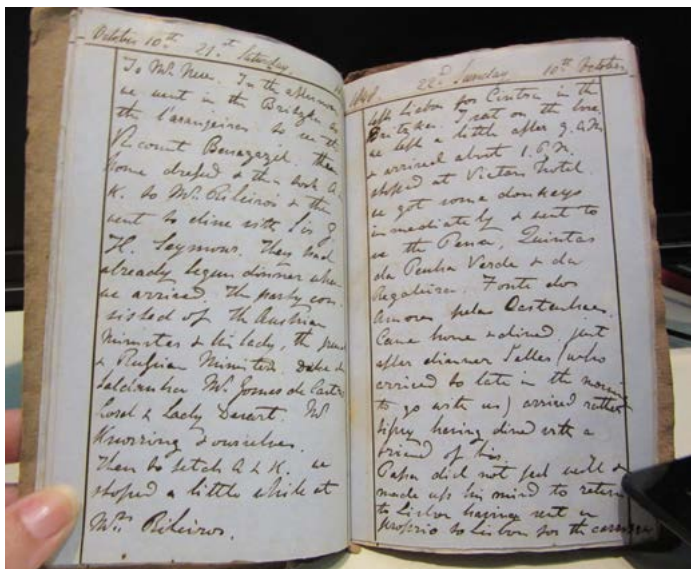


Fig. 11. Pedro João de Morais Sarmiento's Diary, October 10th 1848. Photograph by Ana Duarte Rodrigues.

The act of walking facilitated a detached manner of observation, which has been consistently explored in city context<sup>23</sup>, but seldom applied to gardens. We argue that it was through this practice that Pedro João was able to observe and to become acquainted with the English style of gardening, which he then brought with him to Portugal.

Visiting botanical and zoological gardens<sup>24</sup> was another new fashionable activity practiced by Pedro João while in England. He visited them frequently and not just on special occasions<sup>25</sup>. In the 1848 Diary, Pedro João

where I breakfasted & after walked down to Sandeman's Counting House & spoke to him about the Rose of Fundo belonging to Queen Maria 2<sup>a</sup> which is at the London & Westminster Bank in our

care & name having been left to by Papa. (...) and then took a turn in the park." (MORAIS SARMENTO 1851 March 13<sup>th</sup>).

21 "walked about the town to see the Lions" (DOCUMENT 1: fl. 1v); "walked about a little" (DOCUMENT 1: fl. 4v); "We walked home the rest going in the carriage" (DOCUMENT 1: fl. 5v); "Took a walk in Regent St." (DOCUMENT 1: fl. 8); "Took a walk early" (DOCUMENT 1: fl. 11v); "Went out with Papa to buy a hat & then walked about the town" (DOCUMENT 1: fl. 15v); "After Luncheon went with A & K & Salles to see the Aqueduct. We took a great walk" (DOCUMENT 1: fl. 16); "to see the D. of Palmella's Quinta at Lumiar & as we came back we walk through the fair of Campo Grande" (DOCUMENT 1: fl. 16v); "after walking about a great deal I went back to the Custom House" (DOCUMENT 1: fl. 17); "Walked about the place in the morning" (DOCUMENT 1: fl. 21v); "Took a walk went to see the cathedral & the church of St. Vicent de Fora" (DOCUMENT 1: fl. 24); "Took a little walk & then in a boat to Mr. V. Z. to dinner. Walked home in the evening." (DOCUMENT 1: fl. 26); "To Mr. V. Z. with Felix & Edward after walking about the town with them" (DOCUMENT 1: fl. 27v); "Then took a walk to Junqueira & back" (DOCUMENT 1: fl. 30); "Then we took a little walk in the Passeio Publico" (DOCUMENT 1: fl. 30v); "Went out late & took a walk having met Silva" (DOCUMENT 1: fl. 31); "took a walk with him to leave cards" (DOCUMENT 1: fl. 31v); "Took a little walk & then dined with Papa" (DOCUMENT 1: fl. 36); "Walked home to dinner" (DOCUMENT 1: fl. 40v); "took a little walk" (DOCUMENT 1: fl. 41v); "Hence I walked up to Rua de Pão de Bandeira with the girls" (DOCUMENT 1: fl. 42); "We walked to the Hotel de France (...) Walked back to the church" (DOCUMENT 1: fl. 42v); "took a little walk" (DOCUMENT 1: fl. 44v); "Walked with them to the Port Office" (DOCUMENT 1: fl. 49); "Took breakfast with the officers, landed & walked about with them" (DOCUMENT 1: fl. 49v); "Then we took a little walk in the Public Walk" (DOCUMENT 1: fl. 53).

22 "took a walk in Bond St." (MORAIS SARMENTO 1849 February 10<sup>th</sup>); "I walked with D. up to Harley St. He left some cards. Then took a Hansom in Beford St. & to Kensington Gardens. We met Strode who walked with us. Young D. Sampayo was also there & he talked to me for some time. We met Mr. Wilson who was walking with another woman (Miss French). Strode left us & then we met Mr. Grantley. Walked round by the Chrystal Palace & took a hansom in the road & so to Brompton Crescent to Mr. Hampden who is not very well. Mr. Grantley came home while we were there. Walked with A. to Hyde Park Corner & then home in a Hansom." (MORAIS SARMENTO 1851 January 19<sup>th</sup>); "walked across the Park to the end of Parliament St. & then left Strode & walked up to Goodyer, Chemist 31 Regent St Waterloo Place" (MORAIS SARMENTO 1851 January 20<sup>th</sup>); "after dinner I walked to Strodes" (MORAIS SARMENTO 1851 January 22<sup>nd</sup>); "all three up to Hyde Park, Cumberland Gate in a cab. Walked across to the Serpentine & up & down there. Slutfield left us & I remained there a short time with A. Walked with him up Piccadilly to Strode's to leave a Paper" (MORAIS SARMENTO 1851 February 17<sup>th</sup>).

23 The "art of walking the streets of London" is also an "art" of living in the modernity.

24 For example, he visited the Zoological Gardens in London on September 14<sup>th</sup>, 1848 (DOCUMENT 1: fl. 2). "After took an open vij. te & to fetch Maria & Helen Holmes & so to the Botanical Gardens to the concert, but left a storm came on." (MORAIS SARMENTO June 28<sup>th</sup> and again on July 11<sup>th</sup> 1853).

25 "In the evening to the zoological gardens" (MORAIS SARMENTO 1854 July 20<sup>th</sup>). The following evening he went again to the zoological gardens and paid an extra 5,0 for his aunts (MORAIS SARMENTO 1854 July 21<sup>st</sup>). The next year, he still registered some visits to the zoological gardens (MORAIS SARMENTO 1855 April 30<sup>th</sup>).

registered a visit with his brothers Alex and Cristóvão to observe the lions in Liverpool, and the zoological garden of London (DOCUMENT 1: fl. 2). In following years, some diaries' entries also registered the frequency and the money spent in zoological gardens' visits.

Pedro João's habit of garden walking is very unusual for Portuguese standards, because Portuguese gardens are conceived as gardens "to stay" instead of gardens to walk. The space in Portuguese gardens is highly compartmentalized under a certain unity, including different small cloistered and intimate areas. Among the most famous compositions of Portuguese gardens stand the walls made with "conversadeiras" or "namoradeiras" (seats to talk and to date) and "alegres" (flowerbeds implanted in the walls). Furthermore, "casas de fresco" (summer houses) are always present in Portuguese gardens. So, after



Fig. 12. Photograph of the 8th Marquis of Fronteira in Mondariz, 1896. Photograph by Rui Castilho de Luna.

a short walk under hot weather people would stop to rest and refresh. To walk in gardens and parks is a typical central and northern European habit materialized in long pathways and alleys.

Having practiced the art of walking the 8<sup>th</sup> Marquis of Fronteira visited and experienced gardens, *quintas* (farms), and villas in the English way. Additionally, the 1848 diary testifies to his frequent walks in the modern *Passeio Público*<sup>26</sup> (Public Promenade), a closed and public paid garden created by the Marquis of Pombal in 1764 for all Lisbon inhabitants, irrespective of social status, but which was never very popular (RODRIGUES 2014b).

Pedro João often visited the Quinta do Lumiar of the Duke of Palmela, D. Domingos de Sousa Holstein Beck (1818-1864). Located at Lumiar, the park was created in the eighteenth century by Domingos Vandelli (1735-1816) for the Marquis of Angeja (1716-1788), a great collector of Natural History. By 1793, the Quinta do Lumiar was already renowned as one of the three best botanic gardens in Lisbon. D. Mariana de Castelo Branco, a Marquis of Angeja's descendant, sold it to the 2<sup>nd</sup> Duke of Palmela in 1840. During the duke's lifetime, the Belgium botanist Rosenfeld, the Austrian botanist Friedrich Welwitsch (former gardener of the Botanic Garden of the Escola Politécnica), and the gardeners Jacob Weist and Otto worked in garden, and were behind the changes which gave the garden a new splendor, for which contributed the exotic species coming from overseas but bought in England.

Quinta das Laranjeiras owned by the 2<sup>nd</sup> Count of Farrobo, Joaquim Pedro Quintela (1801-1869), was also often visited by Pedro João (DOCUMENT 1: fl. 19v.; fl. 34). This villa was the most ambitious landscape gardening project of nineteenth century Lisbon, revealing not only its owner's wealth but also his megalomania: a worldly microcosm with neo-gothic towers, Egyptian sculptures, an obelisk, and greenhouses in the fashionable iron architecture co-existed with geometric parterres inhabited by stone statues of classic subject matter, including mythological gods and allegories. Besides walking in the Laranjeiras, Pedro João also attended a theatre performance at the neoclassic Theatre Thalia, in which the most famous artists and foreign opera singers were invited to act.

In Pedro João's travels to Sintra, close to Lisbon, he observed not only Romantic villas but the whole picturesque landscape, the *genius loci* of Sintra embodied in the qualities Uvedale Price (1747-1829) imprinted in his

26 He often visit the Public Garden *Passeio Público* (DOCUMENT 1: fl. 30v.). On 6<sup>th</sup> April 1856 we wrote "to then Passeio Público & met the Sampayo's there – to dined with them" (MORAIS SARMENTO 1856: s.p.). Some days after he mentioned again the "walk in the Passeio Público with Paulla Mello" (MORAIS SARMENTO April 14<sup>th</sup> 1856).

designed landscape. He visited the famous villa built by D. João de Castro (1500-1548) in Renaissance, much appreciated during the nineteenth century probably due to its biophysical conditions, including large lawns which recalled the English landscape gardens. He also visited two of the more emblematic Romantic villas in Portugal, Pena Park and Regaleira, although then different from today (the Pena Park was being built by King D. Fernando II and the neo-manueline palace of Regaleira was only be built by Monteiro dos Milhões c. 1900).

Although due to its scale the garden of Fronteira does not seem the perfect place to practice the art of walking, the wilderness Pedro João tried to recreate in the garden was inspired by the art of walking in natural style villas and in the countryside, and also practiced in his youth when he walked daily in Kensington gardens and Hyde Park. It is striking that there is not one single photograph of the 8<sup>th</sup> Marquis of Fronteira in a baroque garden, or a formal garden in the French style. He clearly preferred gardens mimicking the wilderness of the natural world or the countryside as the photograph where he is walking to the Castle of Pabroso in Mondariz countryside in June 1896 corroborates.

### III – The 8<sup>th</sup> Marquis of Fronteira’s creativity in gardening and music: the two sides of the same coin

Music played a very important role in Pedro João’s life. The taste for music was nurtured by his father since Pedro João was a child. Cristóvão de Morais Sarmiento sponsored many scores such as Madame F’s *The Lusitanian Garland. Twelve Portuguese Melodies, as Sung in Lisbon. Arranged with Portuguese & English words, and Accompaniment for the Piano Forte* (at FCFA archive). Pedro João was taught piano and became an excellent pianist. Probably due to his skills, the piano was moved in 1856 to a prominent place at the family’s home in London - the dining room (MORAIS SARMENTO, 1856, January 22<sup>nd</sup>). He also bought scores or books (DOCUMENT 1: fl. 24), of which many, such as G. Wehce’s *Theory of Music*<sup>27</sup>, have been recently discovered in Fronteira’s palace (LUNA 2014), showing that his musical practice continued in Portugal.

During the three months covered by the 1848 Diary, Pedro João went often to Lisbon Opera House at the Theatre of São Carlos to listen to the Italian composer Giuseppe Verdi’s (1813-1901) *Attila* (Venice, 1846) (DOCUMENT 1: fl. 23v.), to “Eran due et ora son tre” by the Italian Luigi Ricci (1805-1859) (DOCUMENT 1: fl. 36v.), and to see a charity show performing Verdi’s *I Lombardi alla Prima Crociata* (Milan, 1843) (DOCUMENT 1: fl. 44) (MOREAU 1999). Every two weeks he went to the opera, often seeing the same play. He kept this habit throughout all his life. Already sick with diabetes he went to São Carlos to listen to the Berlin’s orchestra directed by the Hungarian Artúr Nikisch (1855-1922), one of the best Tchaikovsky’s music interpreters (*A Novidade* 1903: s.p.).

He also went frequently to the Theatre D. Maria II where he listened to comedy, and to the theatre Gymnasio (DOCUMENT 1: fl. 38v.), located in the most bohemian area of Lisbon, Chiado, near the São Carlos. As it happened with his constant garden visits, he was a frequent spectator of “theatre”, “opera”, “concert(s)”, “cirque”, as corroborated by his Diaries’ accounts of expenses, including money spent in “repairing opera glasses” (MORAIS SARMENTO 1852 March). A significant part of his budget, they show how relevant gardening and music were for Pedro João.

With a group of friends, he often played music, sang and danced in balls. They usually organized parties at the Duke of Palmela’s palace in Calhariz, Lisbon, or at the duke’s palace in Lumiar, Lisbon (DOCUMENT 1: fl. 16v.); at the Duke of Saldanha’s palace in Lisbon; at the dukes of Terceira’s palace in Pedrouços, in the outskirts

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27 “paid my subscription for G. Welce’s Theory of Music” (MORAIS SARMENTO 1851 March 15<sup>th</sup>).

of Lisbon; at the Viscount of Benagazil's palace, a "small party with dancing" took place (DOCUMENT 1: fl. 36); and at the Marquis of Viana's palace a ball was organized on Pedro João's birthday (DOCUMENT 1: fl. 51).

Pedro João was also invited to the Royal balls which usually took place on the King and prince's birthdays at the Palace of Necessidades and at the recently furnished Palace of Ajuda, where some sporadic official events were already taking place.

Pedro João appreciated also music inside churches. He went to the Festival of Music held at the Church of the Mártires on November 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1848 (DOCUMENT 1: fl. 35v.) where the best musicians of the Royal orchestras played. This famous church located in Chiado was the seat of St Cecilia's brotherhood, famous by its festivals and music school.

Pedro João de Morais Sarmiento was an aesthete who revealed his sensibility specifically in the two main fields of gardening and music. In his obituaries, many journals presented him as a Kingdom's pair who opted not to intervene in politics to dedicate all his time to the cult of musical art and floriculture, putting special emphasis in his magnificent roses' collection<sup>28</sup>.

In fact, there is a striking parallelism between gardening and musical choices, as two main building blocks of the 8<sup>th</sup> Marquis of Fronteira creative options: his taste for gardening and for music was nurtured in his youth through continuous visits to gardens, villas, and parks, and to concerts, plays, and opera; he was interested in gardening and music beyond recreation, and in both cases his educated taste was accompanied by a theoretical education revealed both by his library on art of gardens and the multiple music scores he acquired; his avant-garde taste characterized both gardening and music choices, and was mirrored in his own almost *gardenesque* style, following the last trends in gardening, and his preference for contemporary musical shining stars and pieces (Verdi was an emerging star when he opted to listen repeatedly to his operas); he was both a founding member of the Real Sociedade Nacional de Horticultura de Portugal and a founding member and advisory board member of the Real Academia dos Amadores de Musica (*Boletim* 1903: 164, *Boletim* 1899: 1).

Garden visits and opera attendance acquired a value much beyond mere recreational activities, and became the springboard for his creative process in both gardening and music. After visiting and praising so many "natural" style gardens in Portugal and England, he opted to create his own "almost *gardenesque*" garden, above a previous baroque garden; likewise after listening to many plays he composed some musical scores (such as Waltz Bébé opus 3, 1875) and performed with the most renowned pianists of his time such as Rey Colaço at the Theatre of Trindade, and participated in many public performances at the Conservatório (*A Novidade* 1903), at time for charity (*Boletim* 1903: 164). In the Real Academia de Amadores de Musica's framework he also participated in many *soirées* and *matinées* held at the musical society in Barão de Quintela's square, now Largo da Alegria, where the palace of Count Farrobo-Quintela is located (*Diário de Notícias*, February 11<sup>th</sup> 1903).

In both cases, his originality expresses the freedom of thought of an autodidact aware of modern trends and eager to appropriate them in his own amateur practice. His almost *gardenesque* garden is an appropriation, in which he kept the memory of the Fronteira family, creating a new garden above the former undestroyed one. Likewise in music he broke the canon and created a waltz with five movements instead of one, which was the norm.

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28 Cf. "Como par do reino, o sr. Marquez de Fronteira nunca interviu acentuadamente na politica do paiz, pois, todos os seus momentos os entregava ao cultivo da arte musical e da floricultura, tendo tido grande nome a sua magnifica coleção de rosas." (*Diário de Notícias* February 11<sup>th</sup> 1903)

## Final Remarks

Despite considerable scholarly output on the Palace of Fronteira during the past decades, many periods of the garden's history have received no scholarly attention. In this paper, we focused on one of them, bringing to light the figure of the 8<sup>th</sup> Marquis of Fronteira and his English cultural background in order to show how it shaped his gardening and musical choices.

Based on the diaries he wrote from 1848 to 1856, which offer an open window to the nineteenth century Portuguese social and cultural milieu in its relation to the international arena, and especially on the 1848 Diary, written in English, and published for the first time as an appendix to this paper, we showed how they revealed the circulation of gardening trends encompassed by the English style and how they were appropriated in the modifications undergone by the garden of Fronteira in late nineteenth-century, from a baroque to an “almost gardenesque” style.

The family's recent social ascent and empowerment, its immersion in the English culture and diplomatic milieu, and its cosmopolitanism provided the ground for the modernity of the 8<sup>th</sup> Marquis of Fronteira's aesthetical sense and creative actions in both gardening and music. His cosmopolitanism and modernity is behind many aspects of his life which clearly contradict received historical knowledge on central aspects of Portuguese society and mores such as people's social mobility or the participation of women in recreational and amateur public activities, a topic which we did not address in this paper and which awaits further research.

Finally, this paper is a fresh contribution to gardening studies in Portugal by pointing and discussing an instance of the *gardenesque* style in a Portuguese garden for the first time, and by proposing a new classification based on the originality of its appropriation, which we opted to classify as “almost *gardenesque*”. By revealing the importance of circulation of gardening knowledge, the role of local contexts and backgrounds, and of comparative methodological approaches (in this case pointing to the contrast between gardening choices and music), as well as the creative achievements of amateur elite actors, often disregarded in these studies, our approach demonstrates the fruitfulness of new research lines and novel perspectives.

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## APPENDIX

**DOCUMENT 1** – Archive of the Fundação das Casas de Fronteira e Alorna, Diary by Pedro João de Morais de Sarmiento, 1848.

Diary 1848.

From Sep.r 12th

...de Moncorvo

[ff. 1] 1848 12 Tuesday 9th September

Left Seymour S.t at 8 a.m. & then Euston 12 Station at 9 a.m. by the express train for Liverpool. Mess.n, Ribeiro, Neves, Manchets, ses & c accompanied us to the station we changed carriage at Crew & the movement of the vehicle from that place to Warrington was dreadful & from thence to Liverpool it was very unpleasant. We arrived at Liverpool at little past 3 p.m. were met at the Station by Mafe.r Portas, Captain Lisboa I. P. Lisboa. Took a boat & went to the pier & then in a small steamer to Transmere, off which place the "Alffonso" was Lying.

[ff. 1v.] September 9<sup>th</sup> 13st Wednesday 1848

The "Affonso" ought to have left today but it was impossible, Captain Lisboa having still a great many little things to do. Went on thou with Papa A. & K. Walked about the town to see the Lions with Mr. Corte Real. In the evening I went with P. Lisboa & Parker to see the Chinese Exhibition & then we took tea at Stork's hotel & then returned on board.

[ff. 2] 1848 14<sup>th</sup> Thursday 9<sup>th</sup> September

Went on thou with P. Lisbon & Parker. We got on an mini bus [?] & went to see the Zoological gardens.

[fl. 2v.] September 9<sup>th</sup> 15<sup>th</sup> Friday 1848

Went on shore a little while with Papa A. & K. To bestood Julião da Cortés Portuguese vice consul & then went & bought some cheeses & returned on board.

[fl. 3] 1848 16<sup>th</sup> Saturday 9 September

We got the steam up & everything ready to start, when the Engineer came up & said that there was something the matter with one of the valves & to repair it, it was necessary to enter the dry clock, which we did, but as no light or fires were allowed on board [?] in clock & as Mr. John Van Zeller had offered us beds &, we accepted his offer, & got a cab & went to his house. We took tea with him & slept there. Papa, Allick & Kiki<sup>29</sup> in one room & Led & I in another.

[fl. 3v.] September 9 17<sup>th</sup> Sunday 1848

After breakfast we walked to the "Affonso" & learnt that a screw had been dropped into a [?] evidently on purpose by those Engineers who were sent away. I was all put to rights in half an hour, But the vessel could not leave the dock on account of another Steamer, that was in the same dock, not permitting us to admit the time he returned to Mr. Van Zeller's & then Mr. Corte came in a carriage to take us to his son in law Mr. Bach Son's house, which is on the north bank of the Mercey at the mouth of the river, opposite New Brighton. We dined there, it was quite a family party Viz Mr. & Mrs. Harmutte another son in law of Mr. Cortes, Mr. Chilton & Mr. C's two sons.

We returned in the evening with some coming with us. I went outside with the eldest to smoke.

[fl. 4] 1848 18<sup>th</sup> Monday 9 September

Breakfast with Mr. Van Zeller & then went on board. We left the Dock at 1 1/2pm & Liverpool at 4 pm. Admirable Grensell & reverend other persons were on board, & dined with us & then left us in a little steamer that accompanied us out of the river. They left us about 8. pm. Going on beautifully at the rate of from 11 to 12 knot an hour.

I went to bed on the [?] in the saloon, but awoke & got up at 11 1/2 from the noise made by porting the helm. The reason was that in getting out of the way of a large vessel we very smartly ran over a small Portuguese Ychat that was sailing without lights. The night was very dark. Some of her span & rigging couched us.

[fl. 4v.] September 9 19<sup>th</sup> Tuesday 1848

At a little before 2 a.m. Mr.

The Chief Engineer came & said that the season escaped some where & that it was necessary to go at half speed to see what was the matter. In about a 1/4 of an hour he said that we must stop the Engines and make for this nearest Port as there was something the matter & we could not go on. So we set some sails & made for Holghad which was the nearest. We arrived there at 9 pm having picked up a pilot. I went on shore with the officers & walked about a little.

[fl. 5] 1848 20<sup>th</sup> Wednesday 9 September

Lady Stanley of Aldesley, two of the daughters, & her two granddaughters, daughter of Lord & Lady Eddisbury visited us. They invited us to go & take lunch on with them tomorrow.

Captain Lisboa [?] received visits from the different authorities of the Port.

[fl. 5v.] September 9 21<sup>st</sup> Thursday 1848

Having made a pair of shear on board, we took out the hope of the starboard cylinder & also the piston & then we discovered that the bottom of the Cylinder was broken into six pieces consequently it was necessary to return to Liverpool. In the afternoon I & some of the officers went in a carriage with Captain Ladel & paid a visit to an old lady named Vickers & then to Lady Stanley's where we met the rest. We took luncheon & the young ladies showed us the place. We walked home the rest going in the carriage. Some of the officers dined with C. Lady on board his vessel & we went after to a ball we got up on the dock of his vessel. We left at midnight & all the way slept & was covered with men with blue clothes.

[fl. 6] 1848 22<sup>nd</sup> Friday 9<sup>th</sup> September

We got one of the large boats ready & in the afternoon we went in it to Lady Stanley's when young ladies were on the beach waiting for us. & I prevailed on Lady Stanley to allow them to take a little row in the boat. We rowed all over the bay. & c. In the evening we went to take tea & milk Punch with Mr. Vickers escorted by Captain Ladd. Which was the most stupid affair I was assisted at yet. When we returned it rained very hard.

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29 Brothers of Pedro João de Morais Sarmento. Allik is probably is brother Alexandre Tomás and Kiki might be his brother Cristóvão Pedro..



21<sup>st</sup>

Our Cousin Adelaide<sup>30</sup> birthday.

B. 1821 Died 13 Nov. 1835

Aged 14 years.

[ff. 6v.] September 9<sup>th</sup> 23<sup>rd</sup> Saturday 1848

Left Holyhead at 9 1/2 am & arrived at Liverpool at 8 1/4 pm performing the journey with one Engine & yet going at the rate of 7 or 8 knots an hour. One of the Government steamers from Holyhead accompanied us for fear of accident. It was commanded by Captain Wylde.

[ff. 7] 1848 24<sup>th</sup> Sunday 9<sup>th</sup> September

Stopped on board all day. M. Lisboa came from London & with Captain Wylde dined with us.

[ff. 7v.] September 9<sup>th</sup> 25<sup>th</sup> Monday 1848

Left Liverpool by the Express at 5 pm having left the Affonso at 3 pm & arrived at Euston lg at 10 3/4 pm & at Seymour St at 11 1/4 pm.

[ff. 8] 1848 26<sup>th</sup> Tuesday 9<sup>th</sup> September

Port day dined with Mr. Mwes. Took a walk in Regent St. Se.

[ff. 8v.] September 9<sup>th</sup> 27<sup>th</sup> Wednesday 1848

Went to see Mr. Moira.

Left for Brighton by the J. P. M. train, having left Seymour St. at 6 pm. We arrived at Brighton at 8 1/4 pm.

[ff. 9] 1848 28<sup>th</sup> Thursday 9<sup>th</sup> September

Brighton is very full. Miner is stopping at Warwick Manior. There was not room in that home so I, Allick, & Kiki where obliged to slept in the Hotel. Mr. Lisboa & Family is also staying at Warwick Mansion & also Mr. Penna.

[ff. 9v.] September 9<sup>th</sup> 29<sup>th</sup> Friday 1848

Walked about met Primislan Spirling. Very fine.

[ff. 10] 1848 30<sup>th</sup> Saturday 9<sup>th</sup> September

Us yesterday, this evening we changed Hotel & went to the Im & Hotel. Mr. Dick Heming is at Brighton as also the Dalyde. Beautiful weather.

[ff. 10v.] October 10<sup>th</sup> 1<sup>st</sup> Sunday 1848

Went to Mass at 11 am. Gained a great deal today.

[ff. 11] 1848 2<sup>nd</sup> Monday 10<sup>th</sup> October

Dined with Baron Goldsmith<sup>31</sup> at the Wick<sup>32</sup>.

[ff. 11v.] October 10<sup>th</sup> 3<sup>rd</sup> Tuesday 1848

Took a walk early. We left Brighton by the 11 1/2 am. Train & arrived at London at 1 1/2 pm. Sir Chapma Marchale came in the same train carriage with us. I went to see Moira. Came home to dinner. Found that P. Bellem had been to see me. Went to see him he is staying at the York hotel Gernym St & going to Antwerpt the day after tomorrow. Took a recome dinner with him & his Cousin.

[ff. 12] 1848 4<sup>th</sup> Wednesday 10<sup>th</sup> October

Today we dined with Mr. Peres. Took a walk as minch. Met Lord G. FitzGerald. Went to see P. Bellow but could not find him at home.

[ff. 12v.] October 10<sup>th</sup> 7<sup>th</sup> Saturday 1848

We left Seymour St.[street] at 10 am. for Waterloo Station when we met Mr. Ribeiro Oliveira Brito &c &c. Left the Waterloo St. at 11 am & arrived at Southampton at 2 pm. We went on board the Steamer immediately it is the "Montsore" Captain Brown. It is full of Passengers. Left Southampton Water at 3pm. The weather was beautiful.

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30 Cousin of D. Pedro João de Morais Sarmento, daughter of his oncle Visconde do Banho, D. Alexandre de Morais Sarmento.

31 The Baron Goldsmith will play music with D. Pedro João de Morais Sarmento and he is very wealthy.

32 A very famous hotel of the same level as Ritz.

[ff. 13] 1848 8<sup>th</sup> September 10<sup>th</sup> October

The weather was pretty good. We entered the Bay of Biscay about 8 pm having passed the Ushent light. I did not feel very well & got sick after dinner, strong eating plumch-pudding & drinking Champagne.

[ff. 13v.] October 10<sup>th</sup> 9<sup>th</sup> Monday 1848

The sea was very rough today, & very bad weather. I did not feel very well.

[ff. 14] 1848 10<sup>th</sup> Tuesday 10<sup>th</sup> October

Very nasty weather but I felt a great deal better.

[ff. 14v.] October 10<sup>th</sup> 11<sup>th</sup> Wednesday 1848

We saw land at break of day & anchored at Vigo at 10 am. Took the Jupiter, just as we were going in the Captain came on board of us. Left Vigo at noon. It was beautiful weather & I felt myself quite well. We arrived off Oporto at 8 ½ pm & having made signals with Blue lights rockets & sautly firing a cannon & boat came out & took the passengers &c. It was an amusing sight to see how they were knockt about. We remained there about an hour. It was a beautiful moonlight night.

[ff. 15] 1848 12<sup>th</sup> Thursday 10<sup>th</sup> October

Very fine weather & we went on famously. Arrived at Lisbon between 5 & 6 pm. Mr. Van Zeller came on board, & we went on shore almost immediately here we met Mr. G. Ribeiro. We went to the Hotel de l'Europe where we intend staying. It is situated in Rua Nova do Carmo. Papa went immediately to Pedrouços to see Mr. Gomes de Castro & after tea I took a little walk in the Rocio &c.

[ff. 15v.] October 10<sup>th</sup> 13<sup>th</sup> Friday 1848

Went out with Papa to buy a hat & then walked about the town with A. & K. came home to Luncheon & then we went with Sales to Mr. G. Ribeiro's house in S. Pedro d'Alcantara. It is a very pretty house.

[ff. 16] 1848 14<sup>th</sup> Saturday 10<sup>th</sup> October

After Luncheon went with A. & K. & Salles to see the Aqueduct. We took a great walk. In the evening went all to the theatre of D. Maria 2. Saw O'Neil there.

[ff. 16v.] October 10<sup>th</sup> 15<sup>th</sup> Sunday 1848

We went to Mass at the Church of S. Domingos at 11 am. & then to visit the Mr. Amarals in Rua da Condeça. They live in the home where my grandfather<sup>33</sup> died.

After luncheon we went Mr. G. Ribeiro to see the D. of Palmella's Quinta at Lumiar & as we came back we walk through the fair of Campo Grande. We went in an English Breakfast.

[ff. 17] 1848 16<sup>th</sup> Monday 10<sup>th</sup> October

Went out in March of Mr. Oliveira's house & after walking about a great deal I went back to the Custom House & there they directed me to Rua Nova d'Alegria where I went but he was not at home. Home to luncheon & then went there again, found Mr. Silva at home. Stop with him upwards of an hour. After dinner to Mr. O'Neil. The guard that is near her door challenged us & we were some time before we knew what to do, not being accustomed to that.

[ff. 17v.] October 10 17<sup>th</sup> Thursday 1848

In the morning with Papa in a Sege to the Duke of Saldanha's & Count of Thomaz. In the afternoon to see Madame Ribeiro with A & K. we went out with Mr. Ribeiro who took us across the Campo d'Ourique to the Cymetry of the Prazeres where we spent some time looking at the D. of Palmella's family tomb & intry to find one of Cousin's graves in which we were not successful. As we came back we passed by Mr. Meres house & spoke to his sons who were at the window.

[ff. 18] 1848 18<sup>th</sup> Wednesday 10 October

Wrote to Mary & Pinto.

Went to Mr. V. Z. Counting house<sup>34</sup> to see A. V. Z. & in the afternoon to Mr. Meres where spent most part of the afternoon.

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33 His grandfather was D. Tomás Inácio de Morais Sarmento.

34 Probably a "Casa de Câmbios".

17<sup>th</sup> Thursday

Cecila Van Zeller Born = 1827<sup>35</sup>

= 21

[ff. 18v.] October 10 19<sup>th</sup> Thursday 1848

In the morning to C. Farrobo not in town. Afterwards to Mr. Ribeiro who lent me his horse to go to Bemfica. I got half way there when I remembered that I had forgot a letter from Faustina to Emilia. Went to catch it & then to Bemfica by Rua de S. Jozé. Dined with Mr. Merés family at Bemfica came back to leave the house at Mr. Ribeiro's & then went to take tea with Mr. Meres to St. Isabel with the other part of his family.

[ff. 19] 1848 20<sup>th</sup> Friday 10 October

To & Mr. Almeida in the morning, he is very unwell. Took A & K to Mr. Merés. Came home & waited until Augustus Meres came. Went visit him into the church of the Martyrs & then in to St. Isabel to catch A & K. In the evening to the D. of Palmella.

[ff. 19v.] October 10 21<sup>st</sup> Saturday 1848

To Mr. Meres. In the afternoon we went in the Britzton to the Laranjeiras to see the Viscount Benagazil<sup>36</sup>. Then home dressed & then took A. & K. to Mr. Ribeiro's & then went to dine with Sir G. H. Seymour. They had already begun dinner when we arrived. The party consisted of the Austrian Ministers & his lady, the friend & Russian Ministers. Duke de Saldanha Mr. Gomes de Castro Lord & Lady Desart. Mr Knorring & ourselves.

When to catch A. & K. We stoped a little while at Mr. Ribeiros.

[ff. 20] 1848 22<sup>nd</sup> Sunday 10 October

Left Lisbon for Cintra in the Britzken. I sat on the house. We left a little after 9.am & arrived about 1.pm. Stoped at Victor Hotel. We got some donkeys immediately & went to see the Pena, Quintas da Penha Verde & da Regaleira. Fonte dos Amores pelos Castanhaes. Come home & dined. Just after dinner Salles (who arrived to late in the morning to go with us) arrived rather [?] having dined with a friend of his.

Papa did not feel well & made up his mind to return to Lisbon having sent a [?] to Lisbon for the carriage.

[ff. 20v.] October 10 23<sup>rd</sup> Monday 1848

Got up early & Papa having changed his mind & the carriage not having returned (Papa felt much better) he got all of us that in P. myself A & K & Sales on horses mules & donkeys & one mule for the baggage.

Accompanied by a man & a boy we left Cintra at 8.am & arrived at Mafra at 11.am. We stoped there 2 hours but saw nothing. It had been a beautiful morning but now it got very over craft. Left Mafra at 1.1/2 pm lz not a very good road & arrived at Varatojo<sup>37</sup> at P. M. made our supper with the Batchelor seakettle & went to bed in the library.

(to go any further)

[ff. 21] 1848 24<sup>th</sup> Tuesday 10 October

The Cazeiro is called Manoel, his wife Joaquina & his little girl Engracia. This morning we had very bad weather with a good deal of rain which lasted all day. We dined off a turkey we bought on the road. Our dinner being made by Joaquina who did it exceedingly well, considering.

We received a visit from some neighbours.

Joaquina's Father arrived from ... to say that Mr. G. Ribeiro who intended paying us a visit had got as far as that place but that the weather & the road were so bad that he could not make up his mind.

[ff. 21v.] October 10<sup>th</sup> 25<sup>th</sup> Wednesday 1848

Much finer weather. Walked about the place in the morning. In the afternoon we all went to Torres Vedras. Mr. Ribeiro sent one of the Duke of Palmella's servants with the money which Papa forgot at Lisbon. We arrived today.

[ff. 22] 1848 26<sup>th</sup> Thursday 10<sup>th</sup> October

We left Varatojo at 9 1/2 am. The men not having brought the mules &c at 7 1/2 as they promised. The fact was the animals had just arrived with a loud of Bacalhau from Ericeira. We met the most horrible road I have ever been upon yet & beginning to rain in the af-

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35 Daughter of Mr Van Zeller, owner of the Counting House. She had more or less the same age as D. Pedro João de Morais Sarmento.

36 Friend of Pedro João de Morais de Sarmento. A great patron of music and had a palace with garden in Benfica, Lisbon.

37 The Convent of Santo António do Varatojo belonged to the family. It was bought by Pedro João de Morais de Sarmento's father.

ternoon at 3 ½ pm we stoped at Aruda<sup>38</sup> for the night.

The Arrieros made all the opposition they could for they wanted to get on to Alhandra tonight & with some night go on to Villa Franca to return to Torres Vedras Amoreiras with a board of French hitch.

[ff. 22v.] October 10<sup>th</sup> 27<sup>th</sup> Friday 1848

Got up at 6 ¼ am. Beautiful day. We left at 7 am the road from this Place (Aruda) to Alhandra is a beautiful Macadamina one quite as good as an English one. We arrived at Alhandra a little before 9 am. Got on board the steamer at 2 pm arriving at Lisbon at 4 pm. We were met at the Quay by Mr. G. Ribeiro & Mr. Antonio Ribeiro & went home to the Hotel immediately.

[ff. 23] 1848 29<sup>th</sup> Saturday 10<sup>th</sup> October

Went to have my hair cut & then to look for Mr. Van Zeller's home. Found it at last in Rua do Pao da Bandeira. I did not recognize Cecilia<sup>39</sup> & Baby but they are both grown in so fine and pretty girls. Went from thence to Mr. Ribeira who arrived from London with his family. In the evening August & Meres came.

[ff. 23v.] October 10<sup>th</sup> 29<sup>th</sup> Sunday 1848

Went to the Beija Mão<sup>40</sup> at 12 ½ morning. In the afternoon to Mr. Ribeiro & in the evening to the Opera.

It was the King's Birthday & consequently a dia de Grande Gala. I went behind the scenes with Felix V. Z.<sup>41</sup> The Opera was Verdi Attila.

[ff. 24] 1848 29<sup>th</sup> Monday 10<sup>th</sup> October

Took a walk went to see the cathedral & the church of St. Vincent de Fora. In the afternoon I went to Mr. Meres's at St. Isabel to buy some music. Henriques alone was at home. I met Antonio & Augusto as I went home. We all dined at Mr, Van Zeller's today.

[ff. 24v.] October 10<sup>th</sup> 31<sup>st</sup> Tuesday 1848

To the Palace with Papa it being the Infante's Luis birthday.

Evening to Mr. Meres.

[ff. 25] 1848 31<sup>st</sup> Wednesday 10<sup>th</sup> October

To mass at S. Domingos.

Afterwards to Mr. Van Zeller, where we dined & stoped the evening.

[ff. 25v.] November 11<sup>th</sup> 1<sup>st</sup> Thursday 1848

Jommy's Birthday. B. 1838-10

To Mr. V. Z. Counting Home. Then took a boat at the Caes –Sodrés I went to Mr. Van Zeller. In the evening to Mr. Gomes de Castro where I met J. Castro.

[ff. 26] 1848 3<sup>rd</sup> Friday 11<sup>th</sup> November

To the hair dresser with A. & K. to have their hair cut. Took a little walk & then in a boat to Mr. V. Z. to dinner. Walked home in the evening.

[ff. 26v.] November 11<sup>th</sup> 4<sup>th</sup> Saturday 1848

Met Felix & Edward Van Zeller. Went to Mr. Meres Henriques at home. With Papa in a sege to the Duke of Terceira at Pedroços to dinner.

[ff. 27] 1848 5<sup>th</sup> Sunday 11<sup>th</sup> November.

To mass at S. Domingos at 12 o'clock. After to M. Oliveira's. Diner with Mr. O'Neil.

[ff. 27v.] November 11<sup>th</sup> 6<sup>th</sup> Monday 1848

To Mr. V. Z. with Felix & Edward after walking about the town with them. Dined with the Duke of Palmella.

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38 "Aruda" is probably Arruda dos Vinhos.

39 I tis probably Cecília Sofia van Zeller (17.10.1827-4.4.1908).

40 The "Beijá-Mão" was at the Palace of Ajuda.

41 It is probably Félix van Zeller born in London on the 17<sup>th</sup> December 1823 and died in Lisbon on 28<sup>th</sup> February 1866.

[ff. 28] 1848 7<sup>th</sup> Tuesday 11<sup>th</sup> November

To the Convent of the Carmo. Don Carlos showed me over the building which is the Barrack for the Municipal Guard & then we went to the Music room to hear the Bem Play. D. Manoel de Souza Coutinho came.

To Mr. V. Z. dined at home. In the evening to Mr. Gomez de Castro.

Mr. Almeida Ribeiro died.

[ff. 28v.] November 11<sup>th</sup> 8<sup>th</sup> Wednesday 1848

Wrote to London & to Seraphim<sup>42</sup>. Stopped at home all day. Dine at Mr. Paiva's & went with them to the Opera. They have a house there now & then. M. Almeida was buried in the "Prazeres"<sup>43</sup> today.

[ff. 29] 1848 9<sup>th</sup> Thursday 11<sup>th</sup> November

Wrote to Mr. Blyth. Went to see Mr. Meres, but not at home. Dined at home. In the evening to Mr. V. Z.

[ff. 29v.] November 11<sup>th</sup> 10<sup>th</sup> Friday 1848

Mr. Ribeiro came, with him to the Rocio to buy some lottery tickets & then to see the [?].

To Mr. V. Z. with A. & K. where we dined & stopped the evening.

[ff. 30] 1848 11<sup>th</sup> Saturday 11<sup>th</sup> November

To Mr. V. Z. office. Then took a walk to Junqueira & back. Dined at home & then went to St. Isabel but when I got to the Largo das duas igrejas<sup>44</sup> I remembered that it was Mr Meres birth day & that consequently all the family would be at Bemfica.

Came back & stopped at home.

[ff. 30v.] November 11<sup>th</sup> 12<sup>th</sup> Sunday 1848

To mass at St. Domingos at 11 o'clock with Mr. Alves & A. & K. stopped also during the 12 o'clock mass, which was attended by the municipal guard. Then we took a little walk in the Passeio Publico. Dined at Viscount Benagazil.

[ff. 31] 1848 13<sup>th</sup> Monday 11<sup>th</sup> November

Did not feel very well & having taken some pills last night I remained at home nearly all day. Went out late & took a walk having met Silva. Dined at home, & in the evening to Mr. V. Z. where I stopped until midnight.

Cousin Luiza Adelaide<sup>45</sup> died 1835 aged 14. Born 21<sup>st</sup> September 1821.

[ff. 31v.] November 11<sup>th</sup> 14<sup>th</sup> Tuesday 1848

Went to Mr. V. Z. office, met Edward took a walk with him to leave cards at Viscount Fonte Nova's. Then we went to the Hotel & had some luncheon & then L. showed a new way to go to Mr. V. Z. by the Calçada dos Paulistas. Stopped a letter while at Mr. V. Z. & then home to dinner. In the evening to Mr. Gomes de Castro.

15<sup>th</sup> Cousin Maria Magdalena

Born 1824 – 24.

[ff. 32] 1848 15<sup>th</sup> Wednesday 11<sup>th</sup> November

Mr. V. Z. & Allicks birthday.

Allick was born in 1835-13<sup>46</sup>. Went to Mr. V. Z. Office had a crust & glass of wine.

Then to see Silva, went out a little way with him & then to Mr. V. Z. We dined there Papa dined at the Palace. We had a little dinner party & after dinner the Fonte Nova's & others came & we had some dancing & singing &c which I did not enjoy having a hard headache.

[ff. 32v.] November 11<sup>th</sup> 16<sup>th</sup> Thursday 1848

To Mr. V. Z.

Dined & passed the evening at Mr. Menezes. After dinner the Fonte Nova's & some other girls came & we had a little singing &

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42 Serafim de Morais Sarmiento, Viscount of Banho, is his cousin and he is living in Rio de Moinhos.

43 "Prazeres" is a cemetery in Lisbon.

44 This is the square at Chiado in Lisbon.

45 Cousin Luísa Adelaide de Morais Sarmiento is Serafim's sister.

46 This is the date of birth of his brother Alexandre Thomaz, 2nd Viscount da Torre de Moncorvo.

dancing.

[fl. 33] 1848 17<sup>th</sup> Friday 11<sup>th</sup> November

Augusto Neves came with him to see the result of the lottery tickets. Took a boat & went to Mr. V. Z.

[fl. 33v.] November 11<sup>th</sup> 18<sup>th</sup> Saturday 1848

To Bemfica on Mr. Ribeiro now. Dined with Mr. Meres. He took us to the Quinta do Pastor.

[fl. 34] 1848 19<sup>th</sup> Sunday 11<sup>th</sup> November

With Mr. Alves & A. & K. in the Bus to Bemfica to see Count Farrobo's Quinta of the Laranjeiras. Then mass there & then went all over the Palace. We went also to see the Marquis of Fronteira's & Countess Farrobo's niters quintas. Back in the Bus & then took a boat & went to Mr. V. Z. to dinner.

[fl. 34v.] November 11<sup>th</sup> 20<sup>th</sup> Monday 1848

To see Mr. Penna, then to Mr. V. Z. office, then took a boat & went to Mr. V. Z. then to Mr. Alves & then to dinner. In the evening to Duke of Palmella.

[fl. 35] 1848 21<sup>st</sup> Tuesday 11<sup>th</sup> November

Went to see H. Sampaio but he was not at home, then to Mr. Penna, & to the Sa Vianna, then to Mr. V. Z. came away with Alexandre & dined home. to Mr. V. Z. again in the evening.

[fl. 35v.] November 11<sup>th</sup> 22<sup>nd</sup> Wednesday 1848

Went to the Festival of St Cecilia in the Church of the Martyres.

Dined at Mr. V. Z. they went to the theatre afterwards. I walked down & went there also.

[fl. 36] 1848 23<sup>rd</sup> Thursday 11<sup>th</sup> November

Went out in the afternoon to go & meet Papa to see the Duke of Saldanha, but he was not at the Secretaria so we went to Mr. V. Z. office to see of the Packet had arrived. Then to Mr. Paiva, & then Papa went to pay another visit & I went home. Took a little walk & then dined with Papa; Allick & Kiki went to dine at the Duke of Palmella's.

In the Evening to the Viscount Benagazil & then to Pedrouços to the Duke of Terceira who had a small party with dancing.

[fl. 36v.] November 11<sup>th</sup> 24<sup>th</sup> Friday 1848

Edward V. Z. came; with him to the Sampaio's & went out with them. To meet Papa then together to the Sec. do Reino to thank the Duke de Saldanha, home & luncheon.

To Mr. V. Z. home to dinner.

To San Carlos.

Received my letters Patent of Baron<sup>47</sup>.

[fl. 37] 1848 25<sup>th</sup> Saturday 11<sup>th</sup> November

To the Sampaio's To Mr. V. Z.

With Alexandre harling by Mr. V. Z. office to leave a newspaper. Stopped & dined there with them.

[fl. 37v.] November 11<sup>th</sup> 26<sup>th</sup> Sunday 1848

To the Palace with Papa to thank the Queen & king. Then to Mr. Almeida (commonly called Almeidão) who was at home, Marques das Minas (not home) Marques de Vianna (at home) & then to see Mr. Meres at Bemfica.

Home & then to dinner at Viscount Benagazil. After diner with one of my nephews to Tia Rita's where I met Paiva Araujo. Then Back & went home.

[fl. 38] 1848 27<sup>th</sup> Monday 11<sup>th</sup> November

Augusto Neves came in the morning. I went after lunch to Mr. V. Z. office & then to see Mr. Penna. Papa dined at Mr. Drummond & young O.Neil with us three.

After diner I went to Mr. V. Z. A Sampaio was there.

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47 Pedro João de Morais Sarmiento receives the title of Baron da Torre de Moncorvo while his father was still alive.

[ff. 38v.] November 11<sup>th</sup> 30<sup>th</sup> Thursday 1848

Mr. Ribeiro came I went with him to the hairdresser Baroes to have his hair cut & then in a sege to his house.

He lent me his horse. Rode to the Sa Viana's they were not at home. When I went to the end of Pedroiços & then back to Belem over Monte Santo to Bemfica where I met the Meres going back to St. Isabel. I went to Mr. Ribeiro's by St.<sup>a</sup> Cruz das Almas &c where I met another part of Mr. Meres family. Left the horse at Mr. Ribeiro's & then home to dinner. In the evening to the Gymnasio<sup>48</sup>.

[ff. 39] 1848 1<sup>st</sup> Friday 12<sup>th</sup> December

Papa married Mamma 1828

To the Sampaio's but with them. Dined at home & went to the Opera. At the expel of "Erão dois e agora são tres" I went to Mr. Gomes de Castro.

[ff. 39v.] December 12<sup>th</sup> 2<sup>nd</sup> Saturday 1848

To Mr. V. Z. went by a new way by the Estrella. Came home to dinner & then to the Sampaio's.

[ff. 40] 1848 3<sup>rd</sup> Sunday 12<sup>th</sup> December

To mass at St. Domingos at 12. To Mr. V. Z. Dined at home & in the evening to Mr. Souza Azevedo.

[ff. 40v.] December 12<sup>th</sup> 4<sup>th</sup> Monday 1848

To Mr. Ribeiro's on his horse To Mr. V. Z. out on horse back with Edward but it rained so hard that we were obliged to get under Welter at the English Tarring. Near the Calçada do Marques d'Abrantes. But wing there was no chance of its leaving off Edward went home & I took the horse back by Rua de St. Bento. Walked home to dinner. In the evening to the Marquez da Fronteira.

[ff. 41] 1848 3<sup>th</sup> Friday 12<sup>th</sup> December

Mr. Ribeiro Came with two horses & we both rode to Lumiar Allick & Kiki came after on donkey with Sales. I rode back as I had to dine with M. Van Zeller. Stopped all the evening there & came home with A. Sampaio.

[ff. 41v.] December 12<sup>th</sup> 6<sup>th</sup> Wednesday 1848

In the morning to Sampaio took luncheon with them & then took a little walk. I & Papa dined at the Nuncio's & then went to Mr. V. Z.

[ff. 42] 1848 7<sup>th</sup> Thursday 12<sup>th</sup> December

To Mr. Sa Vianna with one of Allick shirt & rain coat for D. Maria Sophia. Met Amelia V. Z. & Miss Maguire there. We sent out after salivary luncheon. I went to Mr. Pena's at about 2 o'clock. Then home to get my umbrella & then to Mr. V. Z.'s office. Hence I walked up to Rua de Páo de Bandeira with the girls & Felix home & dined then to Mr. Menezes & Sampaio where I learnt from Serra Gomes that Mr. Penna died at 4 pm.

[ff. 42v.] December 12<sup>th</sup> 8<sup>th</sup> Friday 1848

Mr. Penna was buried today.

I went to the Church of the Martyres in a sege where I met knorring the Russian Secretary. We walked to the Hotel de France, where Mr. Penna was staying & were the only two who helped to carry the office down stairs. Walked back to the church & after the service I got in my sege & accompanied with the rest to to the cymetry dos Prazeres. However he could not be buried today as the 24 hours had not yet passed.

[ff. 43] 1848 9<sup>th</sup> Saturday 12<sup>th</sup> December

To tohe tailor & hair cuttes.

To Mr. V. Z. dined there.

[ff. 43v.] December 12<sup>th</sup> 10<sup>th</sup> Sunday 1848

To Mr. V. Z. to dine. K. came there on their donkey. A. couldn't come having hurt his foot walking with Sir. Il. Seymour's children the other day. Came away about 11pm.

[ff. 44] 1848 11<sup>th</sup> Monday 12<sup>th</sup> December

To Mr. V. Z. office with Felix to Mr. V. Z. & then home to dinner. After to San Carlos having Moreno's Benefit.

Pedro took a Bore. In the middle of the Opera (I Lombardi) a new woman came into Mr. Sampaio's bore which was empty & her appearance caused some confusion in the theatre but she was soon removed.

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48 This was a theatre in Lisbon.

[fl. 44v.] December 12<sup>th</sup> 12<sup>th</sup> Tuesday 1848

To the Sé to the Prazeres for the Pope, then out & took a little walk. Dined at home & in the evening to the Marquis Fronteira & then to the Sampaio's it being Francisco's birthday.

[fl. 45] 1848 13<sup>th</sup> Wednesday 12<sup>th</sup> December

My grandfather (Paternal) born 1750. To leave cards at Mr. Gomes d'Oliveira, Pato<sup>49</sup>, Almeida Garrete<sup>50</sup>. To Mr. Meres, dined there & home about 7 pm & to Mr. Castro's it being his birthday he completed his 54 year.

[fl. 45v.] December 12<sup>th</sup> 14<sup>th</sup> Thursday 1848

Rained very hard. To leave cards at Mr. Cruz; Menezes & Serra Gomes. To Mr. V. Z. dined there & came home with Sampaio.

[fl. 46] 1848 15<sup>th</sup> Friday 12<sup>th</sup> December

To the Rocio about some lottery tickets. Then to Mr. V. Z. home to dinner & then to Mr. Meres.

[fl. 46v.] December 12<sup>th</sup> 16<sup>th</sup> Saturday 1848

The mist came in the "Pacha"

To Mr. V. Z.'s office to get some news. Went with Edward up to this home. Took luncheon there & then to leave a card at the Belgian minister. Dined & stoped at home in the Evening.

[fl. 47] 1848 17<sup>th</sup> Sunday 12<sup>th</sup> December

To Sampaio's stoped there the greater part of the morning & then went to dine at Mr. V. Z. it being Felixe's birthday. He complete his 25<sup>th</sup> year.

[fl. 47v.] December 12<sup>th</sup> 18<sup>th</sup> Monday 1848

Rained very hard all day stoped at home. Dined at the Sweedich Minister & went to Sampaio's in the evening it being Henriques Birthday.

[fl. 48] 1848 19<sup>th</sup> Tuesday 12<sup>th</sup> December

To General Pyres at the Braganza<sup>51</sup> where I met Admiral Sartorian & c. Some American officer who happened to come in asked us to go & see there steaner which in on a new plan. I left & met his Fleury & the Admiral a little later & then we took a boat at the Caes Sodres at about 8 pm & went to see the vessel. Dined with Sir V. at the Braganza. Then home & dressed for the Ball at the Club where I got my hat stolen.

[fl. 48v.] December 12<sup>th</sup> 20<sup>th</sup> Wednesday 1848

Bought a hat.

To Mr. V. Z.

Dined at home & then to San Carlos after to Mr. Sampayo.

[fl. 49] 1848 21<sup>st</sup> Thursday 12<sup>th</sup> December

The Affonso arrived.

To I was going down Rua d'Alecrim with the intention of going to Paiva's I met several of the officer's & V. Silva. Walked with them to the Port Office, hairdresser &c &c.

Dined at Mr. V. Z. came home with A. Sampayo.

[fl. 49v.] December 12<sup>th</sup> 22<sup>nd</sup> Friday 1848

Got up at 7 ½ am & went on board the Affonso. Took breakfast with the officers, landed & walked about with them, then to Mr. Ribeiro's to catch A & K, to go & dined at Mr. Meres who gave us a very good rich dinner; we spent a very pleasant evening.

[fl. 50] 1848 25<sup>th</sup> Saturday 12<sup>th</sup> December

O' Neil came in. I went to Mr. V. Z., on Mr. Ribeiro's horse, Edward having promised to take a ride with me, however he had gone out coating. Went along up the Banks of the river, met Mr. Menezes & Mr. Carr. Then to the Penha da França & Senhora do Monte.

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49 This is Bulhão Pato.

50 Almeida Garrette was a very importante Portuguese writer.

51 This was a famous hotel in Lisbon where the famous writer Eça de Queirós, author of the Maias, used to stay.



Accompanied Mr. C. to the Braganza & then took the horse back.

Dined at home & afterwards to the Infanta's Ball being her birthday.

[ff. 50v.] December 12 24<sup>th</sup> Tuesday 1848

Dined at Mr. Walick.

It rained in torrents as we were going there.

[ff. 50] 1848 25<sup>th</sup> Monday 12 December

Dined at Mr. Van Zeller Christmas day.

[ff. 50v.] December 12 26<sup>th</sup> Tuesday 1848

To the Vianna's but they were not at home. To V. Z. home & dined & then to the D. Maria 2 Theatre with the officer of the Affonso.

[ff. 51] 1848 27<sup>th</sup> Wednesday 12 December

My Birthday. Received Bandeja of cakes from Mr. Ribeiro. Went to lunch at Mr. V. Z. Brought Felix & Edward home with me to dine. P. & V. Silva dined with me. Afterward we dressed & went to the Marques de Vianna ball.

[ff. 51v.] December 12 28<sup>th</sup> Saturday 1848

~~Wrote to London~~

To leave Condes at the Marquis Velada. To Mr. V. Z. office; with Felix & Edward up to Buenos Ayres but did not go in to this home came home by the Calçada de Estrella.

Dined at Mr. Sampaio's & after dinner with Alexandre to Mr. Paiva when we met the V. Z. & several other people had a dance. &c &c.

[ff. 52] 1848 29<sup>th</sup> Friday 12 December

Went board the Affonso.

Lunched & dined there

Then on shore with the Immediato, Corte & V. Silva. To Tia Rita!

I & Vicente left & came home & then to the Opera. After to Marrare with A. Sampaio.

[ff. 52v.] December 12 30<sup>th</sup> Saturday 1848

Amelia V. Z. birthday. Born in 1830-18. V. Lisboa came with him to Rita's. Then to Sampaio's where I stop until 3 1/2pm when I & A. Sampaio went to Mr. V. Z. where we dined. A & K dined there also but went away after dinner with Marrara. I came home with Sampaio.

[ff. 53] 1848 31<sup>st</sup> Sunday 12 December

V. Lisboa came, went to quitter to Rita's (Maria Luiza) he had another.

Then we took a little walk in the Public Walk met Francisco Sampaio & José Figueira there we went together to the Liga at the Dona Maria Theatre. Walked a little with him went home & then to dinner at Viscount Benagzil.

To San Carlos.

## **DOCUMENT 2** – Testament by Cristóvão Pedro de Moraes de Sarmiento, 1846

Pedro de Moraes Sarmiento, Barão da Torre de Moncorvo e depois Visconde do mesmo.

Testamento em inglês datado de Londres 14 de Janeiro de 1846 e apensos dois códices um de 4 de Setembro de 1850 e outro do mesmo dia e mês e não se percebe se ano.

IAN/TT, Casa Fronteira e Alorna n° 320, pp. 1-18.

I Christopher Peter de Moraes Sarmiento Baron da Torre de Moncorvo in Portugal, having resolved to dispose of all my property both Personal and Real, by my will and testament; from various motives, which I did not mention here, but particularly in order to benefit, as much as it is in my former, my dear beloved children; and taking moreover into my earnest consideration that, with neither of my two wives did I receive the smallest income or improvement to the property that I possessed at the time of making either of the two marriages I contracted, in consequence then of all this circumstances; I have resolved to make my will according to the laws and eyes of England; following the practice established in the country where I am residing at present. But being a Portuguese subject, and holding

at the time of making this will

Page 2

the important and honourable situation of Her Most Faithful Majesty's Minister (Page 2) at this Court; doubles Crossed my mind, whether a will made under such circumstances by me, would be valid and legal after my death.

To be a wise jure of what I was going to do, I consulted first one of the judges of this Kingdom, who is a gentleman well learned both in Civil and in Common Law; and his opinion, after mature and due consideration was given to me, what such a Will, by me made according to the Laws of this Country, where I was residing at the time of making it, would be valid and legal to all intents and purposes.

Having then declared my motives for adopting this manner of making my will, I most solemnly declare this to be my mast will

Page 3

And Testament, and accordingly I proved to dispose of all my property in the following manner.

Although I have here stated I (Page 3) received no property of any description on marrying my first wife, my devout and ever lamented Charlosse Amalia Jordan; get as a mark of my great regard for her many virtues, and for the love and attachment I had for her, and which she reattributed to be in the highest degree; it was my intention should she have survived me to leave to her half of all my property, for her own special use, during her lifetime; the said property to revert after her death to the children born out of our marriage. Following now these intentions; I order that out of all my property of any description, but in presence from the

Page 4

funds I may have, whether English or Foreign, my Executors shall immediately set apart, and before any other disposition contained in this will is put into execution the sum of Six thousand Pounds which sum shall be kept under the name of Trustees, worn (Page 4) I shall name here after to all my property, the said 6000£, on to belong immediately after my death to my six children namely (Christopher), I mean today, Peter John, Mary Charlotte Perpetua; Alexander Thomas; Christopher Peter, Thomas Ignatius; and Charlotte Amalia Mary de Moraes Sarmento. The interest of these £6,000 shall be paid to the Guardian of the said children for their maintenance, and the Capital divided into six equal parts, shall they receive on coming of age or completing 21 years of age.

This sum my above rasped six children are to receive as a sort of portion from their mother; as at the time

Page 5

Of her death all the property I owned, of every description, could not exceed twelve thousand pounds.

Wills respect to the disposition of the jewels belonging to my first wife, I fully confirm here, what on (Page 5) this subject I have declared in the Codicil I made on the 13<sup>th</sup> May 1842; which Codicil will be also in force, except on those points about which I have now disposed otherwise in this my last will; and in consequence of the changes that have taken place, I have cancelled and destroyed the will by me made on the 7<sup>th</sup> March 1839.

Should any of my above named four sons and two daughters die instead, or before they are twenty one years of age; the portion of £1,000, belonging either to him, or to her, shall be equally divided among the surviving brothers and sisters out of my first marriage.

Page 6

If by a most awful visitation and calamity the said my four sons and two daughters were all to die before the age of 21 years; in that case the property is to be equally divided among my other children born out of my second marriage; and in default of them; half of the property (Page 6) thus left is to go to my present wife, and after her death to her sister Julianne, both of them however, to have only a life interest; as after their deaths it is to go to the sons and daughters or their descendants, of my beloved brother Alexander the 1<sup>st</sup> Viscount de Banho; his said sons and daughters and their descendants to inherit the other half in full, as also this one, if it should come to them. Out of the will of my property (after taking the £6,000, already disposed of) my Executors are to secure

Page 7

A net annuity of one hundred and twenty Pounds for my present beloved wife, Caroline Whillelmine Baroness da Torre de Moncorvo, which annuity I settled on her before my marriage. But with this express condition, that if she marries a second time the annuity is to cease immediately; and the capital to revert to the benefit (Page 7) of my children of both marriages, and to be equally divided among them. If my present wife continues to live in widowhood; then after her death my children born out of my marriage with her, are each to receive one thousand Pounds Sterling out of the capital assigned for their mothers annuity, and whatever may remain of that capital is then to be divided among all my children.

To my eldest son, or to whom may succeed me in the Title of Baron da Torre de Moncorvo, I give the estate or property of Varatojo

Page 8

in Portugal; and one thousand Pounds St in money (if any should still remain) besides what he may be entitled to, by any other dispositions contained in this will.

If after all the above dispositions contained in this will, anymore property should still be left, after also paying the few legacies (Page 8) further on named; whatever may then remain is to be equally divided among my children born of both my marriages. I leave entirely to the friendship and to the good judgement of my executors so to manage the property I may leave, in the manner that may appeal to them most advantageous to the interests of my family. I would nevertheless advise them to sell my pictures, my most valuable plate, my best China and glass, and the finest wines

Page 9

In my cellar, and the Dresden table linen. Out of the plate my wife will be allowed to keep for her own use and of the children that portion of plate of the daily and common use; as also the silver Tea vessel, a coffee pot and the silver tea pot and milk, sugar and sugar bowl I bought last in London.

(Page 9) My wife will also be allowed to keep all the linen she may think proper, except the very large table cloths, with their respective napkins, which are only four or five table cloths. She may also keep for the use of the family the six silver candlesticks known as Lord Modens, to whom they have belonged, of which four are large and two small. The same may she do with the Bed Silver Candlesticks, and with the French table and tea spoons, forks and soup ladle.

These and every other disposition

(Page 10)

I make in favour of my wife is always to be understood to subsist as long as she does not marry again; otherwise my children are alone to have every benefit from their fathers property.

As my three eldest sons have all their watches and chains which I bought for them, my watch (Page 10) and chain is to go to my son Thomas Ignatius.

My son Peter John is to have my Kist studs of Onix and diamonds with the hair of his dear mother and brothers; as also my finger ring and pencil case with my arms and name. All my other studs or Kist buttons; waist coat buttons of gold and stones, and my own rings are to be equally divided among all my sons, as my daughters will have the jewels of their mothers. I do here confirm to my present wife

Page 11

The gift of all the Jewels I have bought for her, which I hope she will not be under the painful necessity of disposing of in her lifetime; and that her children will inherit them from her.

I give to my sister in law Miss Julianne Marie Jordan £ 50, say fifty pounds, five from legacy duty; and to her love and (Page 11) to her render affection, her nephews and nieces I do recommend. It is my sincere wish and the most earnest prayer I address to my beloved wife and to my dear children, that they will all continue to live together as members of one only family; showing ever towards each other that love and friendship which I have had for them all in my whole life.

Because by so doing they will honour and revere the memory of a tender and a most affectionate husband and father.

Page 12

Besides that, by living together they may have a certain extent of comfort and of respectability, with the means that I leave to them. What they certainly cannot obtain if living separate

As the property I leave is by far too small to afford to any of them to live decently with such scanty means.

I am with a creditor in my accounts with my late and dear brother Alexander Viscount do Banho. It is now my wish that a receipt in full, for whatever may be owing to me, and shall be given to his (Page 12) widow and heirs.

I appoint and name as guardians to all my children, my present and beloved wife; together with my sister in law the Viscountess do Banho, for whom

Page 13

I entertain the highest respect and esteem; and whose opinion in all that concerns the welfare of my children I request to be always attended to; as far as it may be possible and convenient. When my eldest son Peter John, will he twenty one years of age, he is also to be a guardian to his brothers and sisters. Having written so far this my will, I think proper to change my mind and to destroy the Codicil made: on the 13<sup>th</sup> May 1842; and the only part of the said Codicil that I wish to be kept, are the following, which I here insert as part of the present.

With regard to my first wife's jewels and trinkets, it was her declared wish often conveyed to me in conversation during her lifetime, that they should (Page 13) pass after her death, only to the daughters she might leave. Such being

Page 14

Also my wish I have then divided them between my daughters Mary and Charlotte, and there is a paper in my handwriting and signed by me, among my papers, containing a list of the said jewels and trinkets and to whom they now belong. An exception however was made

to the above rule, by an agreements between my first wife and myself. Which agreement was, that the Diamonds & Emeralds Necklace, Earrings, Brooch and Ferronière; together with the Diamond head chain, containing in the center the ring given to me in 1835 by the Prince Dom Augusto, were to be kept for the wife of our eldest son, who should inherit my title, and to pass on in succession as an heir loom.

“A similar disposition I wish to be kept with regard to four

Page 15

Large silver candlesticks; two of which were (Page 14) given to me in 1822 by my dear lamented brother Alexander; and the other two I had made by Mr. Stou and Mortimer after the same pattern. They are then to pass to my successors in the title and as an heir loom. My bank for the last ten years have been the branch Bank of London and Westminster Bank, at present at St. James' Square there I keep my money, as also a box with the various bonds and other papers referring to my property in the foreign funds. In my pocket books are other papers where can be ascertained the property I have altogether.

In a tin box with a patent lock, kept at my residence, are all my valuable papers and documents I appoint and name trustees to whatever Property I may now

Page 16

Possess, and I may leave at my death, my three good and worthy friends, Mr. George Sandeman of Highbury Place, Mr. Francis Ignatius Van Zeller and Mr. Adrian Ribeiro Neves. Should any of these gentlemen decline or die; my sister in law the Viscountess do Banho shall name a person among our best and tried friends to replace the vacancy; which must immediately be filled. My beloved wife with the assistance of the above named gentleman shall be the executors of this my will; and to those friends I recommend my wife and my children. A similar favor I request from all the living numbers of my late dear brother's family; to whom I have always shown the sincerest love and affection.

To them I also recommend my wife and children. I request

Page 17

My funeral to be as private as possible, and free from ostentation and avoiding useless expenses. Professing most sincerely and devoutly the (Page 16) Roman Catholic and Apostolical Religion. I bay most humbly that Masses and prayers may be offered for the repose of my soul.

To my wife and children I recommend to keep in good repair the grave and the monument of their dear sister, mother and aunt; and ever to pray for the repose of her soul.

This will is all written in my own handwriting, in four sheets of long paper, containing sixteen pages, all numbered by me.

In conclusion I recommend my soul to the Divine Mercy

Page 18

Of Our Lord and Redeemer.

London, 14<sup>th</sup> January 1846.

Signed Baron da Torre de Moncorvo

Luiiz Augusto Pinto de Soveral

George Menders

**DOCUMENT 3** – Addition to the Testament by Cristóvão Pedro de Morais de Sarmento, 1850, IAN/TT, Casa Fronteira e Alorna, nº 320, páginas 1-9 (f.; vº)

Codicil Page 1

Having made a Will and Testament signed by me on the 14th January 1846; after mature consideration brought on by the time that has clasped since the making of that will and various changes of circumstances, which it is useless to refer, I have thought proper to make his Codicil as additional to that Will and Testament; confirming the same on all those points that are not now expressly altered by me in the present Codicil. I appoint my dear beloved wife Carline Viscountess da Torre de Moncorvo, my eldest son Peter John Baron da Torre de Moncorvo with my good and trusty friend Mr. George Iglaes Sandeman, of 15 Hyde Park Gardens to be my sole joint Executors; and as with I also name them Trustees to my properly should my friend Mr. George Sandeman decline the charge; which I hope he will not do; in that case I appoint in his place

Page 2

My friend His Excellency Senhor Ildefonso, Leopoldo Bayar; from whom (Page 2) I have always received the most uninterrupted proofs of sincere friendship and affection.

Should death or any other cause prevent Mr. Bayar from occupying this charge, I then appoint my good and tried friend the present Viscount Benagazil Polycarpo Jozé Machado.

My object in these nominations being only with a view of securing a friend of myself and family to guide and advise my reexperienced wife and my young son.

I most earnestly recommend to my beloved wife, to my eldest son and in general to all my children always to ask for and then to follow the sound and good advice from those three above mentioned friends of mine;

Page 3

No matter or not they are one of any executors. To the one of those three gentlemen who will accept out of regard for my memory, the troublesome task of being (Page 3) one of my executors it is my will and determination that a mourning ring of the value of £25 will be offered.

Considering that my property is not sufficient large to give great legacies, and that all my children equally deserve from me the same love the same affection and the same interest I declare to be null and to leave no effect to legacies contained in my will on behalf of my eldest son for the sum of the thousand Pounds in money, and for the property or estate I possess at Varatojo.

This said property shall pass into the possession of any of my sons or daughters, who will choose to take it by auction as past

Page 4

Of his portion. Beginning with the eldest son, and after my four sons, with my three daughters should however none of my children be disposed to keep the Varatojo property; my wife has the liberty to have it in her portion. If not my executors will dispose of it in the best way they may think the most useful for my heirs. (Page 5) I confirm the gift to my eldest son of my Canteen, with all its appurtenances; and I also give to him my fine dressing case which was given to me as a present. With respect to the Jewels of my first wife that are to pass as heir looms to the wife of my eldest son; I have here to add an express condition that the said my eldest son and heir to my Will does make a decent and irreproachable marriage,

Page 5

With the full approbation of his step mother and aunt, and of my sister in law the Viscountess do Banho. Should he do the contrary; he is to forfeit that gift, and those jewels are to pass to my next son, in succession of their age, and in default of none of them marrying or complying with that express conditions, to my daughters, also in succession of their ages, and on obtaining the due approbation (Page 6) of their respective marriages from my wife and from my sister in law.

This same disposition about the jewels is also to be enforced with regard to the four large silver candlesticks, which are equally to pass as heir looms.

Should any difficulty arise from my having given preference to the English Law in the making of my Will and

Page 6

Testament, I here most positively declare that I give up that point sooner than to have a law suit, or any disputes in my family, whom I wish and bay to live united, as I always was with my dear lamented brother Alexander. Yet then in that case the Law of Portugal regulate my Will. But on the most express condition that my six children by my first wife are to receive their respective portions of the Thousand Pounds each, as the natural and legitimate heirs of their mother who died intestate.

Let me further add that though (Page 7) out this delicate transaction of deciding what ought to be my children's portions from their mother already declared, I have acted most conscientiously. As on no account I wanted willingly to as them the least wrong.

Page 7

My dear beloved wife is to have an absolute choice of the place, China, linen and wines, the many kirk proper to select for her own use and for that of the children. As I am convinced the will act with great discussion in this respect. Because her circumstances being materially changed the will see the prudence – of allowing those articles to be disposed of that will not be immediately wanted.

Among my pictures there is a very rare specimen by a famous Portuguese painter called Oliveira. It is a friar of the reformed Augustines in his cell. I wish and determine this picture to be sent to Portugal, there to be most respectfully and humbly offered to His Majesty the King (Page 8). Should his Mahesty decline to accept this very humble offer; it will then be disposed of by

Page 8

Sale. But so as to remain in Portugal.

I advise any dear beloved wife to sale her most costly jewels. I mean the Diamond earrings & the five Diamond flowers that form the head dress, and to employ the amount in English Hands. Should the be disposed to do that, I recommend them to have them sold in this

county and not in Portugal where Jewels, never fetch any reasonable price.

Having written so far, I believe I did not dispose of my Raillery Canteen in my will. Consequently the word confirm about that legacy is quite useless. But I do most positively declare that I dispose of the Canteen on behalf of my eldest son, or of him that will succeed to my will of Baron or Viscount among my children.

Page 9

(Page 9.) Once more and for the last time let me most earnestly pray, bay and be such my dear beloved wife, sons and daughters to continue to live together and united. This is the only means of living respectably with the short means that I leave them.

Let them beware of false and deceitful friends; who will buy from envy and from rumour to introduce discord among them!

On moments of disagreement let each of them remember what they owe to my memory and to me who loved them most tenderly!

This recollection must be powerful in aped heart and must soothe many moments of ill feeling. At heart such is the hope I carry to the grave.

London September 4<sup>th</sup> 1850

Signed, Viscount da Torre de Moncorvo.

Luiz Augusto Pinto de Soveral

George Menders.