

RESUMOS CONFERÊNCIA AS REVOLUÇÕES LIBERAIS
ABSTRACTS CONFERENCE THE LIBERAL REVOLUTIONS

14 JULHO 2022 / 14 JULY 2022

KEYNOTE 1 - Almeida Garrett e a revolução liberal: pedagogia, doutrinação e ação
Professor Fernando Machado (Universidade do Minho)

Logo a partir dos seus verdes anos, ergueu Garrett com arrojo a voz, em sonhos poéticos e proféticos, contra a tirania reinante na nação. Reposta a liberdade que muito lhe deveu em 24 de Agosto de 1820, continuou a içar com firmeza o seu estandarte em estratégias de pedagogia, doutrinação e ação com vista à sua sustentação e desenvolvimento. Os exílios, prisão e calvários de vida não fizeram esmorecer este seu combate nem obnubilar o fulgor da sua pena como poeta, jornalista, panfletário, ensaísta, dramaturgo, romancista, tribuno... Por isso, é tido como ideólogo incontornável do vintismo e do liberalismo português.

Almeida Garrett and the liberal revolution: pedagogy, indoctrination and action

Right from his early years, Almeida Garrett boldly raised up his voice, in poetic and prophetic dreams, against the tyranny that reigned in the nation. Having recovered the freedom that owed him a great deal on August 24, 1820, he continued to firmly hoist its standard in pedagogy, indoctrination and action strategies with a view to its sustenance and development. The periods of exile and imprisonment, as well as life's ordeals, did not slow down his struggle or cloud the glow of his pen as a poet, journalist, pamphleteer, essayist, dramatist, novelist, tribune... Therefore, Garrett is widely regarded as the unavoidable ideologue of Portuguese 'vintism' and liberalism.

A figura do General Gomes Freire de Andrade e a sua tradição literária
Enrico Martines (Universidade de Parma)

O General Gomes Freire de Andrade foi protagonista do episódio histórico da conspiração frustrada de 1817, que interpretava as aspirações liberais que precederam a Revolução de 1820. O processo sumário de Gomes Freire de Andrade e dos seus companheiros, que levou à prisão e à execução do General por enforcamento, constituiu a primeira manifestação violenta da contra-revolução. Decorridos três anos, o episódio iria ocupar um lugar destacado na construção da memória do novo regime liberal em Portugal, como exemplo da revolta contra a ação do poder repressor absolutista, que negava a liberdade de expressão e de reunião.

Pelo seu valor histórico e simbólico, os acontecimentos de 1817 e a própria figura do General foram posteriormente objeto de várias obras de carácter documental e literário. De entre elas, destacam-se o drama histórico *Gomes Freire*, escrito por Teófilo Braga em 1907; a obra documental *Vida e morte de Gomes Freire*, narrativa resultado da ampla revisão histórica levada a cabo por Raul Brandão, publicada em 1913; livro este que foi a possível base histórica para a criação da peça de Luís Sttau Monteiro, *Felizmente há luar!*, publicada em 1961 mas censurada pelo governo salazarista, sendo proibida a sua representação por convidar o leitor/espectador, a través da técnica do distanciamento, a uma análise crítica sobre o regime político ditatorial do seu tempo. Também merece alguma atenção o texto teatral intitulado *Gomes Freire: peça histórica em 4 actos e 6 quadros*, escrito, provavelmente, em 1919, pelo então Major do Exército Português Pedro Augusto de Sousa e Silva.

A comunicação que aqui se propõe pretende investigar as relações e o possível diálogo intertextual entre as obras citadas, com especial relevo para a análise do possível modelo brandoniano do drama de Sttau Monteiro, filiação essa que, de resto, nunca foi referida pelo autor da peça.

Camilo Castelo Branco: das invasões francesas ao fim do cabralismo

Paulo Motta Oliveira (Universidade de São Paulo)

É um período privilegiado da ficção camiliana o que vai das invasões francesas ao golpe que deu origem à Regeneração. Se, por vezes, os acontecimentos históricos narrados servem apenas de pano de fundo para a trama, em outros eles interferem de forma importante na trajetória das personagens. Começaremos a nossa reflexão por um romance lançado em 1864, *As três irmãs*, em que é traçado um vasto panorama da história portuguesa de fins do século XVII a meados do século seguinte. A partir desta obra poderemos alargar a nossa perspectiva, e trabalhar com outros romances em que o mesmo período histórico é, integral ou parcialmente, representado, até chegar a um dos últimos romances de Camilo, *A brasileira de Prazins*, publicado em 1882, obra que tem como um de seus núcleos narrativos as aventuras de um falso D, Miguel. Tentaremos, assim, verificar as constantes e particularidades de algumas das representações que o autor fez sob o conturbado período de implantação do liberalismo em Portugal.

Os conflitos liberais/de Portugal como rutura familiar: uma leitura política do *gothic mode* em *A Noite do Castelo*

Sofia Miguel da Rocha Campos (UMinho /CEHUM)

A Noite do Castelo, de A.F. de Castilho, foi uma das obras inaugurais da literatura gótica em língua portuguesa. Concluída em 1830 e publicada em 1836, permaneceu no esquecimento rotulada de “transição romântica falsa”, de “baixeza estética”, desvalorizações essas assinadas pela Geração de 70 e perpetuadas até hoje pela historiografia literária portuguesa. Dentro da nossa leitura pertinente ao *gothic mode*, surge uma possível leitura política deste romance em verso, ao explorar a sua afinidade com a linhagem do poema nacional romântico, como *Camões* (1825) de Garrett ou *Emilia e Leonido, ou Os Amantes Suevos* (1836) de Costa e Silva, títulos contemporâneos à obra. Tendo em mente os conceitos de *Leerstelle* (lacuna), das relações genealógicas e traumas sociais por resolver, as abordagens psicossociais do *gothic mode* sugerem para *A Noite do Castelo* uma transposição ficcionada da instabilidade no seio da família do poema para a instabilidade política em Portugal do início de século XIX, caracterizada pela instauração do Liberalismo. Ao mesmo tempo, essa transposição é apoiada pela correspondência entre a crueldade fictícia do enredo poético de Castilho para a factualidade das ‘atrocidades fratricidas’ da Guerra Civil (1832-1834), partindo de uma retórica da rutura, de *otherness* e de incerteza, culminando, assim, em lacuna interpretativa.

“Iberia e Lysa Libertadas”: Visões do Triénio Liberal Espanhol na Poesia Portuguesa (1820-1823)

Gabriela Gândara Terenas (FCSH – Universidade Nova de Lisboa)

A presente comunicação integra-se, de certa forma, no Projecto Nacional *Poesia y Trienio: Textos Poeticos Ingleses, Alemanes, Italianos y Portugueses sobre la Revolucion Liberal Española (1820-1823)*/ FFI2015-68421-P e visa analisar a poesia portuguesa com referências a Espanha e aos espanhóis, publicada durante o Triénio Liberal, ou seja, entre 1820 e 1823. Assim, começar-se-á por uma breve reflexão sobre a poesia portuguesa coeva, seguida de uma caracterização de algumas das fontes mais recorrentes, como os periódicos, por exemplo. Por fim, passar-se-á à análise crítica dos poemas, sobretudo da perspectiva das imagens de Espanha e dos espanhóis veiculadas nos textos seleccionados – personagens e acontecimentos – com o propósito de avaliar em que medida o Triénio espanhol influenciou a Revolução Liberal lusa através da palavra poética.

Literary Imagology of the Liberal Uprisings in the Iberian Peninsula, through the Eyes of Garrett and Galdós. Hugo F. R. Machado (UMinho /CEHUM)

On August 24, 1820, the Porto-based troops rebelled against the Regency that ruled the country in the name of King João VI. It is important to remember that, by this time, the king resided in Brazil in exile, with his family and court, since 1807, the year of the first Napoleonic invasion led by General Junot.

The Portuguese troops and people demanded the return of the king to Portugal, “to entrust to a provisional governing body the mandate to prepare the calling of parliament to draft a Constitution” (Cardoso, 2019, p. 15). It can be said that the Portuguese Liberal Revolution of 1820 was based on its own values. These were peaceful ones though moved by unsatisfied troops, which were advised about the importance of a liberating rebellion by influential magistrates and businessmen from Porto (p. 18). Not only was the rebellion liberating, but it was also a pronouncement of an evolution of the country in terms of social and political organization, which would have an impact on the economic, institutional and cultural levels (p. 15).

On the other hand, Spain was marked by absolutism during this period. Spain’s monarch, King Ferdinand VII, had regained the throne after Napoleon’s defeat. Nevertheless, this conjuncture would change profoundly when, in 1820, a military contingent revolted in Cadiz, restoring the Constitution of 1812, transforming Spain into a more liberal nation for a few years (Pedreira; Costa, 2009, p 339). The Spanish Liberal Triennium (1820-23) would finish with the French invasion in 1823, and Absolutism was restored once again in the person of Ferdinand VII (Schmidt-Nowara, 2006, p. XV).

Within this Iberian context, this paper intends to analyze and compare the literary images and commentaries portrayed in *O Dia Vinte e Quatro de Agosto* (1821), by Almeida Garrett in Portugal; and those conducted, in the Spanish literary realm, by Benito Pérez Galdós with *La Fontana de Oro* (1870).

KEYNOTE 2 - 'Annus horribilis: England in 1820'

Professor Ian Haywood (University of Roehampton, U.K.)

The talk will draw on my work on Queen Caroline and the legitimization crisis of 1820, with special reference to caricatures and the *vox populi*.

A palestra irá basear-se no meu trabalho sobre a rainha Carolina e a crise de legitimação de 1820, com especial referência às caricaturas e à *vox populi*.

Transnational networks: (imagined) representations of the Portuguese liberal revolution by the British press

Elisabete Silva (ESE- IPB /CEAUL) e Pedro Couceiro (ESE-IPB / CITCEM)

The *Oxford Journal*, on 23 September 1820, subjoined part of the Proclamation of the Provisional Junta to the Portuguese nation citing “*The Extraordinary*” *Gazette of Lisbon*, news which had also been previously communicated by the *Moniteur de Paris*. Other newspapers, such as *The Morning Chronicle*, devoted more lines to the event as they published the complete Proclamation text. News of the revolution in Portugal only reached Britain a couple of weeks after the event via the European press, namely the abovementioned Portuguese periodical and the French papers. Liberal winds of change were spreading throughout Europe and Britain was not an exception. Despite its consolidated constitutional tradition, Britain still struggled with the political and social injustice of an underrepresented Parliament. It is no surprise then the promotion of a discourse sustaining Parliamentary Reform so to change the current political status quo. This discourse found also resonance in the British Press which, in 1820, enjoyed some reasonable freedom. However, it was not only exempt from the influence of “specific political conditions” (Bantman, 2018), which swayed the editorial line of the newspapers and periodicals, but it was also dependent on the political party the papers were associated with, either Tory or Whig supported, or adopting a more radical stance.

The purpose of this paper is thus two-fold. On the one hand, we shall identify the type of discourse disseminated by the British newspapers concerning the Portuguese Liberal revolution, analysing the representations constructed around this specific event. On the other, we shall analyse the impact of transnational networks, discernible in the press field, in regards the accuracy of the news conveyed to reading communities and the circulation of liberal ideals.

‘Monuments without Inscriptions’: The Spanish 1820 Revolution in The Edinburgh Review and The Quarterly Review.

Eugenia Perojo Arronte (Universidade de Valladolid)

The British periodical press of the Romantic period contributed both to the dissemination of knowledge about Spanish literature among its readers and to the shaping of public opinion about it. The ideological agendas of the magazines were obviously partial to the controversies aroused on account of the changing and unstable European geopolitics of the time. Thus, the fascination for Spain experienced in Great Britain in the first stages of the Peninsular War was turned into bitter disappointment as the country evolved towards a reactionary government in the years after the Vienna Congress (1814). Nevertheless, the Spanish 1820 Revolution renewed the interest about Spanish matters as two of the leading periodicals—The Edinburgh Review and The Quarterly Review—clearly reflect. This paper explores the various reactions of both publications, first to the outbreak of the revolution, and then to contemporary debates on the vexed issue of the British position at the prospect of a French military intervention in the Spanish conflict towards the end of the so called Liberal Triennium. The reviews of books related to Spain and Spanish literature in these magazines tackle the problem either directly or indirectly, but a controversy between them can be clearly perceived through their publication of opposed reviews of the same works, and even in the choice of the books reviewed, by means of which, in Diego Saglia’s words, they offer disparate translations of Spain and its literature for their readers.

The Spanish liberal triennium in the British press: the use of the term ‘descamisado’

Silvia Gregorio-Sainz (Universidade de Oviedo)

At the beginning of 1820 a liberal revolution started in Spain after General Rafael del Riego’s military insurrection in Cadiz. The restoration of the 1812 Constitution, finally accepted by Ferdinand VII, unfolded a new period known as the Liberal Triennium. Spanish affairs were then closely followed by European powers that, gathered in the Quintuple Alliance, feared the impact of those revolutionary movements on their countries. Unlike in the Peninsular War, Great Britain agreed on a policy of non-interference in Spain. Events in the Peninsula were though very carefully followed in the British Isles by the Government, the press and their inhabitants. The latter, who had never really approved of Ferdinand’s policy, were greatly surprised by the Spanish liberal revolution British newspapers were echoing from the very first moment. Despite the political neutrality claimed, there was a growing support for the liberals among the press and its readers. From November 1820 onwards those newspapers used the term ‘descamisado’ on a regular basis to generally refer to radical liberals. The historical evolution of this term along the Nineteenth Century and its use without translation in British papers make it particularly interesting. This paper aims to analyze the Spanish events included in the British newspapers during the Liberal Triennium paying special attention to the introduction and use of the term ‘descamisado’, instead of its translation to ‘shirtless’. It focuses on that word meaning in those articles and also on its representation of the radical liberals. It draws mainly on the countless references found in British papers at that time (the Sun, the Morning Post, The Times, etc.). Critical revision of these sources provides more information on the paper the British press played during the liberal revolutions and also it might bring to light the importance of translation or the lack of it in journalistic texts.

From '¡Trágala, perro!' to 'Gulp it Down, Johnny!': British Representations of a Spanish Revolutionary Symbol (1820)

Alicia Laspra Rodríguez (Universidade de Oviedo)

On 1 January 1820, Rafael del Riego, a senior Spanish officer, rose in arms for the return of the liberal Cádiz Constitution. Three months later, King Ferdinand VII, an absolutist at heart, reluctantly pledged allegiance to it. This marks the start of the Liberal Triennium, a three-year period in the history of Spain identified with a liberal revolution that began in hope and ended in despair—intervention of a French army, execution of Riego, repression and exile. In Britain, a veritable downpour of political discussion, newspaper reporting and (much in the Romantic spirit) occasional poetry greeted the Spanish 'revolution' from its inception. Initial amazement turned into an all-out support that would continue unabated until the end. This paper focuses on the reception of the Spanish liberal revolution as portrayed in several British recreations of the Spanish song *¡Trágala, perro!* Hated by absolutists, to whom it was addressed, this unofficial liberal hymn translates 'gulp it down, dog', where 'it' refers to the liberal Constitution newly enforced, and 'dog' is a term of abuse for absolutists. Substituting 'John' for 'perro/dog', no less than four English recreations of the song were published in contemporary British liberal or radical newspapers, as well as in volume form. None of them has been re-published or analysed by modern academics. As the paper contends, these recreations shed light not only on the British reception of the Spanish liberal revolution, but also on the way in which it was appropriated by those who felt alienated in Regency Britain, so as to reinforce their own discourse of marginalised political identity—a phenomenon which was not restricted to Britain. By way of contrast, the paper also briefly analyses British contemporary translations and adaptations of the so-called *Himno de Riego* (*Riego's Hymn*), the national anthem of the Liberal Triennium—and, a century later, the II Spanish Republic.

The *Westminster Review* and Spanish Liberalism: Spanish History, Politics and Literature

Cristina Flores Moreno (Universidade de La Rioja)

This paper aims at analysing the image of Spain and Spanish literature displayed in the pages of the *Westminster Review* in the 1820s. This quarterly publication was founded by Jeremy Bentham in 1823, coinciding in time with the end of the Spanish Liberal Triennium (1820-1823), with the purpose of disseminating liberal ideas across national borders (Todd, Turner). Bentham was highly interested in the recent past events in Spain and was in contact with some Liberals in that country (Saglia 30). Likewise, the *Westminster's* editor, John Bowring, was a well-known advocate of liberal ideas as well as a relevant Hispanist of the period. Bowring, member of the Holland circle, forged important connections with Spanish liberals and made cause with them, even organising financial support in London for the Spanish exiles (Llorens, Moreno Alonso). His interest in Spain was not only political but also literary. He, who cultivated and translated many foreign literatures, authored *Observations on the State of Religion and Literature of Spain* (1820) and *Ancient Poetry and Romances of Spain* (1824), as well as some articles and reviews published in the *Retrospective Review* and *London Magazine* in the 1820s (Comellas, Perojo Arronte). Following Parker in that the analysis of literary magazines in the Romantic Period requires the study of context and politics, it is my contention that during these years, Bowring's ideological stance greatly determined the content of the articles and literary reviews featured in the periodical he edited; and that their study will show not only the impact of the liberal movement in the British literary culture, but also how it shaped a particular view of Spanish literature and national character.

“From Port the Knight to Braga Rides”: Of the 1823 Iberian Sally of Sir Robert Wilson, aka The Modern Quixote

Agustín Coletes Blanco (Universidade de Oviedo)

Sir Robert Thomas Wilson (1777-1849), a British soldier and radical politician, was called “an astonishing fellow” and “a very slippery fellow” by modern biographers. To his contemporaries he was “the modern Quixote”. And there was indeed something of the knight errant in him. The same as Don Quixote charged against the windmills, Sir Robert charged against the French, whom he hated. Conceited, unruly, and prone to wishful thinking, in his first Iberian sally --the Peninsular Campaign-- he commanded his own creature, the Loyal Lusitanian Legion, a flying corps which fought the enemy solo until disbanded in 1811. Back in Britain, he became a radical MP, and his showy participation in Queen Caroline’s funeral gave the Duke of York, who hated Sir Robert, the perfect excuse to dismiss him from the services. Now a true knight errant, he embarked on his second Iberian sally in order to practice what many in Britain were preaching –support the liberal revolutions in the Peninsula. This paper exhumes and analyses two English poems which represent early episodes in Sir Robert’s second and much ignored 1823 Peninsular sortie. The first is humorously entitled “The Modern Quixote” and was published on 21st July, 1823 in the liberal newspaper *New Times*. The second is optimistically entitled “Impromptu on reading the glorious news from Corunna” and saw the light of day in the conservative *Morning Post*, 5th August, 1823. These poems are very different from each other in style and perspective, but were written very close to the facts, and Sir Robert stands conspicuous in both. In light of these and other sources, this paper will reconstruct little-known episodes of Wilson’s 1823 Peninsular experience, and the peculiar ways in which they were represented to English readers at home.

‘Look the portraits of Camoens in the face’: British Perceptions of Portuguese Literary History in the Revolutionary 1820s

Christopher Stokes (University of Exeter, U.K.)

In the wake of its 1820 revolution, Portugal was persistently visible in the British media as Britain weighed its political and economic interests against the turbulent, unfolding situation of its long-standing ally. Yet this was also a decade when the English-speaking Lusophile reader could meet with several significant considerations of Portuguese literary history. These include translations of Bouterwek’s *History of Spanish and Portuguese Literature* and Sismondi’s *Historical View of the Literature of the South of Europe* (both 1823), a new translation of *The Lusads* by Thomas Musgrave (1826), and William Kinsey’s ‘Supplementary Letter’ on Portuguese literature, influenced by Almeida Garrett and included in the 1829 edition of *Portugal Illustrated: In a Series of Letters*.

Although all literary history of the era tended to theorise national character, the literature of Portugal appeared particularly national in its expression – most notably in the iconic status of Camões as the poet of ‘golden age’ imperial exploration. Yet if a retrospect of its literature revealed the essence of the nation, then how did Portugal’s literary condition in the 1820s relate to its political situation? How did the endpoints of these two histories intersect? This paper examines several British responses to these questions. These ranged from those, like Leigh Hunt, who saw the re-emergence of a liberal spirit which might recapture literary glory to those perceiving a culture bleakly imprisoned by social instability and political despotism. Of course, from the perspective of the imperial superpower of the day, the fate of a predecessor empire – and its literature – was an object of fascination. In the background, arguably, lay a perception that Portugal was historically outworn and that its nineteenth-century state marked but tragic spasms: its imperial age irrecoverable and its greatest writer firmly in the past.

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A Whig perspective on the Trienio Liberal: Thomas Colley Grattan's 'The Cagot's Hut' (1827) and (anti)revolutionary politics in Europe, 1820-1830.

Raphaël Ingelbien (Katholieke Univ. Leuven)

Now all but forgotten, Thomas Colley Grattan's series of travel tales *High-ways and By-ways* were one of the literary sensations of the 1820s. Beyond their appeal as exotic narratives set in (mostly) the South West of France and the Pyrénées, the tales and their prefatory material also gave Grattan the opportunity to reflect on the political vagaries of the decade. The third series published in 1827 includes 'The Cagot's Hut', which is situated in a remote region of the Pyrénées and records the events of 1823, when a French army crossed into Spain to defeat the Spanish liberals and restore the absolutist rule of King Ferdinand VII.

Grattan's narrative mixes geographical and anthropological observation about the Cagots with a sentimental plot involving Spanish lovers whose families ended up on opposing sides in the conflict that pitted liberals against Ferdinand's supporters. As a moderate Whig of Anglo-Irish origins, Grattan wrote sympathetically about Spanish liberalism; 'The Cagot's Hut' further allowed him to distance himself from earlier texts where he had expressed support for the French Bourbons, drawing some criticism among British liberals. Grattan's praise of the Trienio Liberal illustrates a Whig position that welcomed and encouraged constitutional reform in the 1820s while rejecting the radical principles and legacy of the French Revolution. Steering a course between liberalism and anti-revolutionary politics, Grattan's treatment of Spanish liberalism followed a template that the Anglo-Irish author used and adapted to develop sometimes shifting positions on other liberation movements of the period, from Bolivarian nationalism to O'Connell's campaign for Catholic Emancipation and the Belgian revolution of 1830.

The Greek War of Independence in Cyprus and its perception in British 19th century travel accounts

Eroulla Demetriou (Univ. de Jaén) and José Ruiz Mas (Univ. de Granada)

On Easter Sunday 1821 the Greek Orthodox Archbishop of Constantinople Gregory V was publicly tortured, murdered and mutilated by the Ottoman Turks following the Greek uprising for the independence of Greece from the Ottoman Empire, an event that encouraged the philhelene sentiment all over Europe and America. The Greek War of Independence (or Greek Revolt, 1821-29) witnessed numerous massacres perpetrated by both the Ottoman forces and the Greek revolutionaries. The brutal Ottoman repression on the Greek population of Cyprus, the furthest island of the "Meghali Hellada" from the Greek mainland, was mostly exercised on ecclesiastical members of the Greek Orthodox Church (archbishops, bishops, abbots and monks) between July 1821 and October 1822. Dozens of Greek villages in Cyprus disappeared in the years that followed. However, whereas the pro-Greek feeling in Europe and the military support of Britain, France and Russia benefitted the construction of the new Hellenic nation, news of the Cypriot ordeal was only known in the west a few decades later thanks to the travel accounts written by English-speaking travellers in Cyprus throughout the rest of the 19th century, especially after the British takeover of the island in 1878. In this paper we endeavour to bring to the fore the historical events that took place in revolutionary Cyprus and their literary depiction in English travel literature and subsequent perception by the British readership. Special attention will be paid to relevant travel accounts such as those by the Prussian (but English-speaking) John Bramson, the Irishman R. W. Wilde, Lady Hester Stanhope and other post-1878 British travellers in Cyprus.

**Rafael del Riego bajo la pluma de sus partidarios: los casos de Francisco Brotóns y Félix Mejía
Javier Muñoz de Morales Galiana (Universidad de Cádiz)**

Rafael del Riego, por la capital importancia que tuvo durante el Trienio Liberal, se acabó convirtiendo en objeto de sucesivas mitificaciones a lo largo del siglo XIX. Sorprende, sin embargo, que ya en fechas muy tempranas hubiese claros testimonios literarios en los que se puede palpar una visión de ese general ya no solo como héroe, sino como símbolo y encarnación de los valores liberales. Cegados por el entusiasmo y la lealtad, sus contemporáneos acérrimos se prestaron a escribir obras fundamentalmente laudatorias, pero con una fuerte carga ideológica, en las que el elogio a Riego vendría a suponer romper una lanza en favor de la mentalidad liberal. A este respecto, merece especial mención la novela de Francisco Brotóns, *Rafael del Riego o la España libre* (1822), llena de entusiasmo ante el reciente triunfo de 1820. Al comienzo de la década ominosa aparecería un drama muy similar esa novela en todo salvo en el pesimismo que supuso escribir en 1824; hablamos de la obra de Félix Mejía, *No hay unión con los tiranos: morirá quien lo pretenda, o sea, la muerte de Riego y España entre cadenas*. El análisis de las obras de Brotóns y Mejía, en el que se centrará la comunicación, permite comprender que las referencias a la «España libre» y la «España de las cadenas» marcan en parte la concepción de Riego como símbolo de la libertad española, concepto clave para poder estudiar su más temprana mitificación.

KEYNOTE 3 - “The end of these things I shall not live to see”: Revolution and Robert Southey’s Anglo-Iberian Vision *circa* 1820

Professor Diego Saglia (Università degli Studi di Parma)

Developing throughout his career as a writer, Southey’s visions of Portugal and Spain regularly intersected with his reflections on England and Britain, resulting in a cumulative ‘Anglo-Iberian vision’ which took a variety of poetic and prose forms. Bearing in mind his engagements with Portugal and Spain in the period between 1808 and 1814-15, this paper specifically concentrates on his reactions to the Iberian revolutions of 1820, reading them in conjunction with his reflections (and actions) following the events of Peterloo (August 1819). In his timely odes collectively gathered as ‘The Warning Voice’ (1819-20), he weaves echoes of Peterloo into a disturbing pattern of ominous signs of the times to depict a deteriorating situation that could be solved only through reformist conservative measures. His equally concerned considerations about the outcomes of the liberal uprisings in Portugal and Spain led him to suggest a solution in the creation of a joint Iberian state (one that he had already expressed at the time of the Peninsular war). Mingling dystopia and utopia, Southey’s Anglo-Iberian imaginings and visions *circa* 1820 focus on Portugal and Spain as emblematic spaces that may illuminate the darker areas of present history in Britain and Europe.

‘Singing the Constitution: Poetry, Translation and the Transmission of Revolutionary Ideas’

Rosa Mucignat (King’s College, London)

In ‘Ode to Naples’, P.B. Shelley calls the Cadiz Constitution ‘Spain’s thrilling pean’. The Italians of 1820 were starting to hear it, and dance to its tune – Shelley wrote the poem in response to the insurrection in Naples, where the King was forced to accept the Spanish Constitution of 1812. Both in Naples and Piedmont, which followed suit the following year, these short-lived revolutionary experiences generated an enormous interest in the constitution. Multiple translations of the Spanish text were circulating, with over 20,000 printed in Turin alone, as well as catechisms and adaptations into dialect. Santorre di Santarosa, leader of the Piedmontese liberals, wrote in his account of the events of 1821 that calls for constitution began to echo spontaneously among the crowd: “Soon the word ‘Spanish constitution’ is uttered by one citizen, then the people repeat it, and it’s in their heart” (*De la revolution piémontaise*). This paper will attempt to recapture the transnational circulation of revolutionary texts and ideas through the voices of those who participated in or witnessed the wave of revolutions of 1820-21. It will pay particular attention to how the translation of constitutional

language is framed in political and literary discourse, and to the significance of aural imagery (songs, sounds, voices) as metaphors for how ideas travel.

The Influence of the Spanish Liberal Revolution in the Political Thought and Literature of the Goethezeit
Ingrid Cáceres Würsig (Universidade de Alcalá)

In 1820 the Spanish General Rafael del Riego called for the return of the Constitution of Cádiz, awakening thereby the aspirations held by German liberals, who wished for more freedom and democracy in the period of the Restoration. The conservatives, in turn, considered the Spanish revolution, which soon reached Italy, Portugal and Greece, a big menace and tried to avoid its spread to central Europe. In spite of the fact that censorship had been decreed in German speaking territories, the liberals managed to disseminate their political stance in the press, whereas the conservatives presented arguments against the constitutional model. Many intellectuals felt called to a profound philosophical-political debate about the different governing models and wrote essays. In this way more than twenty publications about the Spanish Liberal Revolution were issued as a projection of the changes that could be also undertaken (or not) in the German speaking territories. To a lesser extent, the political point of view was also present in the literature of that period, the so-called *Goethezeit*, which coincides in its final stage with the Restoration. In this paper we will analyse the influence of the Spanish Liberal Revolution on the *Goethezeit* through literary examples from authors such as Adelbert von Chamisso, Heinrich Heine, Wilhelm Müller and Karl Immermann.

Italian Brutii: the Liberal Revolutions in the Mirror of Italy's Romantic Historical Culture
Asker Pelgrom (Royal Netherlands Institute, Rome)

An interesting way of looking at the larger cultural impact of the liberal revolutions of 1820-21 and 1830-31 is by studying their reflection in romantic *historical* culture. This paper intends to do so in the case of Italy of the 1820s and 1830s, by investigating representations of historical conspiracies, particularly from the Renaissance, in history writing, historical literature and in particular in history painting. Such representations of (in)famous conspiracies of the Pazzi, Fieschi, Lampugnani and the likes, as well as their reception by the audience and contemporary criticism, prove to be a fascinating mirror of contemporary beliefs. They reveal both sympathy and disapproval, both subversive and law-abiding points of view, and in some cases show direct personal connections between the artistic representation of the past and the arena of contemporary politics and action.

Nathaniel Hawthorne's Fictional Exile: Fetishizing the "Young Portuguese Lady of Rank" and the Origin of His "Dark Ladies"

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Within the context of the Liberal Revolutions of 1820 in Europe – especially in Portugal – and their impact on literary culture, this essay aims at revisiting one of Nathaniel Hawthorne's (1804-64) lesser-known short stories, "Drowne's Wooden Image," published in 1846. While I aim at underscoring its importance in what concerns this author's craft of fiction, I also wish to wrestle with the enigmas represented by this fictional "young Portuguese lady of rank" in this story. Of all places, would one actually expect to encounter a fictional aristocratic refugee and/or exile in New England in the 1840s? From a gender point of view, what does she represent for the author and in which ways has she fueled the author's imagination? My contention is that the importance of this story has been underestimated mostly because of the historical and political contexts Hawthorne alludes to, but which he never explains; because of this, the story has never been fully understood, either. Although this story is set in the eighteenth-century, in Shem Drowne's (1683-1774) workshop, the Azorean political background Hawthorne alludes to is from the nineteenth-century. In "Drowne's Wooden Image," Hawthorne blends transatlantic episodes, a process Anna Brickhouse refers to as "transamerican

literary relations,” but my goal is to separate these occurrences from both centuries and analyze them at length. Not only is it a pivotal story for a number of reasons, its relevance must be brought to the fore.

This essay will first endeavor to distinguish between the story’s eighteenth-century setting; this will be followed up by an explanation of the historical, political, and social conditions in nineteenth-century Portugal, which forced Hawthorne’s “young Portuguese lady of rank, on some occasion of political or domestic disquietude” to flee from Fayal (Faial), in the Azores, to New England – a statement Hawthorne makes in the story’s very last paragraph without any further reference. With current scholarship on Hawthorne’s treatment of the ethnic Other in his fiction as a backdrop, my aim is to ascertain the ways in which this story voices his ambivalence towards minorities and his fear of racial hybridity. In Hawthorne’s imagination, the couple in this story belongs to different races – a white Anglo male, Captain Hunnewell, and a “dark” lady from Fayal. This analysis will culminate with my assertion that Hawthorne may have also utilized this story to eroticize the ethnic Other so as to sublimate his sexual longings. Luther S. Luedtke has pointed out in *Nathaniel Hawthorne and the Romance of the Orient* that this story inaugurates the gallery of “dark ladies” (to paraphrase Leslie Fiedler), which appear in most of Hawthorne’s fiction. George Monteiro also concurs with this view, but both scholars are at a loss to identify a possible source for Hawthorne’s “dark ladies.” In my view, Hawthorne’s reading of *A Winter in the Azores* (1841), by the Bullar brothers, fueled his imagination, especially when reading their portrayals of the “dark” women in Fayal – as well as on some of the other islands they had visited. Briefly, the two volumes composing *A Winter in the Azores* contain an account of the Bullar brothers’ eight-month stay in the Azores, for health reasons, and their visits to a few of the nine islands composing the archipelago – as well as to the Lisbon region on the Continent – between December of 1838 and August of 1839.

As a representative piece of literature where Portuguese and American cultures and values clash, this essay analyzes the impact of an unusual pattern of Portuguese emigration to New England between about 1820-34 (a period in Portuguese history marked by political disputes between the absolutists and liberals), while providing an understanding of how this fictional Portuguese aristocratic immigrant/political refugee/exile was received – and stereotyped as a loose woman – in America.

Spanish novels and British periodicals: Reviewing the Spanish Revolution of 1820 in Exile

Sara Medina Calzada (Universidade de Valladolid)

With the establishment of a constitutional government in 1820 and, especially, with the collapse of the new liberal order hastened by intervention of the Holy Alliance and the French invasion of 1823, Spain was again in the British spotlight. The intense activity of the Spanish liberal exiles who took refuge in London contributed to keep the debate on Spanish liberalism alive in the mid-1820s, as illustrated by the reactions to Valentín de Llanos’s novels *Don Esteban; Or, Memoirs of a Spaniard* (London, 1825) and *Sandoval; Or, The Freemason* (London, 1826), both set in contemporary Spain and describing Rafael de Riego’s military coup and the re-enactment of the Constitution of 1812. The two novels aroused the interest of British readers and attracted a considerable degree of critical attention, being reviewed, among others, by José María Blanco White in *The Quarterly Review*. Blanco’s scathing attacks on the novels and on the conduct of Spanish liberals from 1820 to 1823 drew responses from Antonio Alcalá Galiano, who also reviewed the novels in *The Westminster Review*, and from Llanos himself, who published a public letter to the editor of *The Quarterly Review*. My purpose is to examine how these three Spanish exiles represent the liberal experiment of 1820-1823 and face its failure. In both the novels and the reviews, fact and fiction are intermingled with the authors’ ideologies, personal experiences and a mixture of resentment and regret that affects their interpretation of the events. The three of them regard themselves as legitimate commentators of Spain and Spanish affairs and try to create a valid narrative of the revolution and its failure to be spread among the British readership.

Imaginative Representations of the Portuguese Liberal and Civil Wars in Late Romantic and Early Victorian Poetry

Paula Alexandra Guimarães (UMinho / CEHUM)

Though contradictory concepts, History and Imagination often ‘walk hand in hand’, in ways that can be mutually illuminating or suggestive. Bicentennial celebrations in 2020 should recall the shattering and decisive events that took place in the Iberian Peninsula two hundred years ago. Their particular succession – a French invasion, guerrilla warfare, English rule and popular uprisings – did not only radically change the course of Portuguese and European history, and of political thought itself, but also produced a significant body of imaginative literature that refashioned cultural identities and the different arts. The particular focus of this paper will thus be on the transitional period between the liberal uprisings and the civil wars in Southern Europe (from 1820 to 1840), with an emphasis on the Peninsula and, particularly, on Portugal. It will analyse how the respective conflicts and their varied political, geographical and human scenarios affected the literature of the British Isles at this time. The paper will explore later Romantic (and early Victorian) texts, by poets such as Byron, Percy B. Shelley, Felicia Hemans, Charlotte E. Tonna and the Brontës, in order to explain these authors’ specific interest and engagement in those scenarios, as well as to trace the evolution of their political and intercultural thought, and respective literary representations of these foreign events. With a support on Political History, (Inter)cultural Studies, and Literary Imagology, conclusions will be reached as to how this ‘encounter’ with the Iberian/Portuguese Other radically reshaped those artists’ thought, identity and respective writing.

Pro Populo Anglicano: Proto-liberalism and Emotional Ambivalence in John Milton’s Prose and Poetry

Ana Catarina Monteiro (UMinho / CEHUM)

While the term ‘liberalism’ as applied to political thought did not appear in England until the late eighteenth century, an embryonic liberal ideology began to take shape in the writings of several English intellectuals during the seventeenth century. Chief among them was John Locke, who put forward a set of liberal guiding principles, including the notions of consent from the governed, the social contract, and every citizen’s right to life, liberty and property — the dissemination of these ideas culminated in the Glorious Revolution of 1688. Locke’s influence on British political thought is canonical, but these radical views were occasioned by and gained force with the civil war and, in particular, John Milton’s prose works and poetry (especially the sonnets and *Paradise Lost*). Furthermore, Milton’s works and ideas exerted considerable influence upon the major figures of British Romanticism. Growing dissatisfaction with Charles I’s abuses of power which, in turn, raised questions about the divine right of kings, constituted catalysts for the conflict which opposed Royalists and Parliamentarians. Milton, a staunch advocate of individual freedom and equality, freedom of speech and of the press, and the separation of church and state, sided with the republicans, and his political works brought him the recognition that had thus far eluded him, as well as a position as Secretary for Foreign Tongues, serving under Oliver Cromwell in the Commonwealth of England. Cromwell’s rise to Lord Protector saw him succumb to monarchical tendencies, and Milton became disillusioned with the Protectorate government’s failure to uphold the principles of the Revolution and with the rapidly changing political conditions. This paper brings into focus Milton’s loyalty to the republican cause and how he continued to write in defense of the Protectorate and the Protector despite great ambivalence about the direction the regime took, and it also investigates how Milton renegotiated his allegiances and adjusted to the post-Restoration political order.

Liberalismo e comparatismo na crítica acadêmica paulista do século XIX

Natália Gonçalves de Souza Santos (Univ. Federal de Viçosa, Minas Gerais)

A Faculdade de Direito de São Paulo está imbuída do espírito liberal, desde seus primórdios. A ideia de sua criação perpassa o desejo dos políticos do Sul do Império de construir uma “república de sábios”, no dizer de José Bonifácio, contrapondo-se ao que reputavam como sendo o velho Norte agroexportador. Essa ideia circulou desde a participação dos deputados paulistas nas Cortes de Lisboa, mas só veio a se consolidar após a Assembleia Constituinte brasileira, no pós-independência. Tendo em vista essa tradição liberal que permeia a ideologia bacharelesca oitocentista, a proposta deste trabalho é discutir a recepção acadêmica aos primeiros estudos comparatistas que começaram a circular na Faculdade, via imprensa e traduções, em meados do século XIX. Provenientes sobretudo da França e desenvolvidos no seio das cátedras de literaturas estrangeiras, criadas em Paris, em 1830, esses estudos têm como pano de fundo tendências liberais, uma vez que se baseiam no cosmopolitismo, nas interações sem fronteiras, na impossibilidade do isolamento e da pureza de uma dada literatura, idealizando uma espécie de espírito comum europeu. A pertinência de se analisar como tal pensamento foi apropriado pelos jovens acadêmicos deve-se ao fato de que esse ideário foi utilizado como contra-argumento ao forte e centralizador discurso nacionalista, financiado pelo próprio Imperador D. Pedro II, por meio de instrumentos como o Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro. Embora menos numerosos em meio às discussões mais protecionistas de uma suposta identidade eminentemente brasileira, os artigos críticos redigidos pelos acadêmicos e estampados em seus periódicos evidenciam outra faceta da crítica literária brasileira oitocentista, preocupada, em sua maioria, com a consolidação de uma literatura pátria alicerçada em elementos autóctones. Ao mesclar comparatismo e liberalismo e valendo-se da margem de liberdade propiciada pela condição estudantil e mesmo, geográfica, os críticosestudantes procuraram pluralizar o debate em torno da constituição da literatura brasileira.

A Literatura histórica de Castro Alves para representar a cultura liberal brasileira do século XIX de Dom Pedro II

Marcelo Cheche Galves (Univ. Estadual do Maranhão)

As literaturas refletem seu meio e época de produção forjadas por teorias de caráter indiscutíveis que complementam a própria história. O que transparecer nos folhetins de um período pós-independência brasileira que ainda mantinha amarras na tradição colonial com uma elite escravocrata, portanto tradicional? À geração que fez a independência tangia o início da estruturação das instituições dos sistemas representativos do Brasil, sem qualquer experiência e com a presença constante da Corte no Brasil (PAIM, 1998), tal sistema pouco se transformou desde a Constituição de 1824, referência política renovada periodicamente por um Senado vitalício. A Independência brasileira bradada por D. Pedro I não alcançou o liberalismo previsto, fato que fora renovado com a chegada de Dom Pedro II, entretanto o liberalismo esbarrou na ideologia de modernização conservadora, mas precisamente entre 1844 - 1860. Ideologicamente opostas, a modernização conservadora não aceitava a interferência na monocultura, latifúndio e escravidão, enquanto o liberalismo previa o fim de tais práticas e, mesmo que lentamente, seus ideais foram sendo implantados a partir de 1850, com diferentes avanços liberais claros, principalmente ao que tange a liberdade dos escravos. O estímulo do imperador a produção literária brasileira permitiu a escrita sobre coisas locais; nasce o movimento do nacionalismo, da busca pela identidade e do sentimento pelo país. O Romantismo encontra uma maneira mais acessível de personificar ideologias em constante atrito, Castro Alves, poeta liberal do período, além de uma ampla visão social, era dotado de inspiração e improvisação. Construiu sua fama pautada no ânimo libertário de movimentos abolicionistas, na poética humanitária e no cuidado com os sentimentos de um povo que almejava seus direitos.

Notas sobre imprensa e literatura constitucional na província do Maranhão

Kelly Alves Coelho e Rodrigo Alcântara Gaspar (Instituição de Ensino Colégio Amorim - São Paulo)

Em 17 de novembro de 1821, Francisco José Nunes Corte Real apresentava-se no jornal *O Conciliador do Maranhão* como Compositor de Letras da primeira tipografia da província, inaugurada naqueles dias e responsável pela impressão do jornal. Na oportunidade, informou ter para vender algumas novidades, impressas em Lisboa no mesmo ano: *Memorial Patriótico, dirigido aos Illustres Deputados; Jornal dos Debates, sobre a Revolução de Portugal para a Constituição Portuguesa; Destroço em ataque do Cordão da peste Periodiqueira, com a ordem do dia do Corcunda de má fé; O Acolyto contra o Exorcista; A Jornada pelo Juramento a Constituição Portuguesa; Contrariedade, Razão e nada mais*. Nesse extrato do jornal fundem-se três novidades possibilitadas pelas liberdades instituídas com a Revolução Liberal de 1820: a primeira tipografia, o primeiro jornal e a difusão de uma literatura constitucional, aspecto a ser priorizado nesta comunicação. Tal difusão também será apreendida a partir de registros da Real Mesa Censória sobre remessas de impressos para o Maranhão e de periódicos agora impressos na província, que anunciavam as novidades constitucionais à venda nos estabelecimentos comerciais da capital, São Luís. O objetivo é analisar certa diversificação dos gostos literários, em convívio com literaturas que caracterizaram as remessas desde o início dos Oitocentos e que também podem ser visualizadas nos periódicos em questão.