

**John Russell's Visits to Portugal in
1808-9, 1810, 1812 and 1814,
with a Fragment of a Journal of his Expedition in 1809***

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I think it [Lisbon] is the most disagreeable town I ever saw, and now agree with you that our journey to Portugal was a wild scheme.¹

(Russell 1809)

Despite Russell's first negative impression of Portugal and its capital, as the above lines suggest, after a closer contact with the country and its people, especially following a fleeting crush on a young nun he met at the Convent of Arouca in the summer of 1812, he began to revise his former opinions. While Lord Holland, his political mentor, who despite his affection for Portugal was never really qualify as a 'Lusophile', Russell, to say the least, published a short novel inspired on his Portuguese experiences.

* We are indebted to Henrique Smart, for kindly helping reviewing the text.

1 Russell to his father, Lisbon, 7 January 1809 (*apud* Walpole 1, 42).

Lord John Russell made four visits to Portugal: the first in 1808-9, accompanied by Lady and Lord Holland;² the second in 1810, on his way back from Spain to visit his brother William who was serving in the War;³ the third in 1812, as part of a planned tour through Spain, Sicily, Egypt and Syria, though only partially accomplished, and the fourth in 1814, on his way to Italy.

Spencer Walpole transcribed a few passages of Russell's Portuguese journals in his *Life of Lord John Russell*, but the present whereabouts of the original manuscripts is not known. In the correspondence we had with the late Conrad Russell (1937-2004), fifth Earl Russell, John Russell's great-grandson, he explained that Russell's papers had been dismembered and sold by his heirs. Similarly, John Prest, author of *Lord John Russell*, admits he has no idea of the manuscripts' whereabouts. Fortunately, Russell's impressions of his journeys through Portugal survived in *The Nun of Arrouca*, a novel published in 1822, while a small fragment of his diary written while in Évora in July 1809 is preserved at the Public Record Office, Kew, and will be transcribed below.

John Russell (1792-1878), later first Earl Russell, English Whig politician and author, and twice prime minister of Queen Victoria, was born at Hertford Street, Westminster, on 18 August 1792, the third son of Lord John Russell (1766-1839), sixth Duke of Bedford, and his first wife, Georgiana Elizabeth (1768-1801). After a short attendance at Westminster School in 1803, his stepmother, Lady Georgiana, daughter of Alexander Gordon, fourth Duke of Gordon, entrusted his education to the resident chaplain, Edmund Cartwright, inventor of

2 Henry Richard Vassall-Fox (1773-1840), 3rd Baron of Holland and Holland of Foxley, English Whig politician, statesman and hispanist. He was the grandson son of Henry Fox, 1st Lord Holland, and his wife Lady Caroline Lennox, the eldest daughter of Charles Lennox, 2nd Duke of Richmond, a grandson of Charles II. Holland was the nephew of Charles James Fox, the famous Whig politician, who was responsible for his education. In 1797, Holland married Elizabeth Vassall (1771-1845), whose marriage to Sir Godfrey Webster had just been dissolved. Elizabeth was the daughter of Richard Vassall (1732-1795), who had extensive estates in Jamaica, and Mary Clarke (1747-1835), known as Lady Affleck after her second marriage to Sir Gilbert Affleck (1740-1808), 2nd Baronet, of Dalham Hall.

3 George William Russell (1790-1846), British officer, politician and diplomat, son of John Russell (1766-1839), 6th Duke of Bedford, by his first wife, Georgiana Elizabeth (†1801). George Russell held the office of Minister to Lisbon in August 1833, a few days after the Liberal forces conquered the city to the Absolutists.

the power-loom. From 1805 to 1808, Russell was a living-in pupil of the Revd John Smith, the vicar of Woodnesborough, near Sandwich. Russell spent the summer of 1806 in Dublin with his father, who was the lord lieutenant, and in 1807 accompanied him on a tour through Scotland, where he was introduced to Sir Walter Scott. It was probably during their visit to Woburn House, Bedfordshire, in July 1808, that Lady and Lord Holland may have suggested to the Duke of Bedford that John Russell should accompany them on their forthcoming tour to the Peninsula. (Walpole 1, 38)



Lord John Russell, from an engraving by F. C. Lewis after a drawing by J. Slater. (Walpole 1, [2])

John Russell's first visit to the Peninsula began on 9 October 1808, when the Hollands collected him near Andover on their way from Kensington to Falmouth, and ended on 12 August 1809, when they

arrived back at Holland House. On 30 October 1808, after waiting over a fortnight in Falmouth, the party embarked on HMS *Amazon*, a 38-gun frigate, reaching A Coruña at daybreak on 3 November after “a delightful passage of five days.” (BL, HHP, MSS Add. 51933, Lady Holland’s Journals, 1806-1808, f. 72^r)⁴ The excursion to the Peninsula included two journeys through Portugal: the first, from 16 December 1808, when they crossed the Minho, to 26 January 1809, when they left Elvas on their way to Seville; and the second, from 5 July, when they re-entered Portugal through Elvas, to 19 July, when they embarked back to England.

According to Lady Holland, the “party consisted of ourselves M^r A.[llen] Charles & L.^d John Russell (who overtook us near Andover) 2 maids & five men two carriages only being resolved to take as few persons & incumbrances as possible.” (*Ibidem*) The entourage was substantially enlarged after the decision to cross Portugal and travel overland to Seville, the Hollands’ ultimate destination. Russell explains:

Our whole regiment consists of the following animals: Lord Holland and Anne on horses; Lady Holland and nine men on mules; Mrs. Brown in a litter; thirteen muleteers and soldiers; ten mules carrying people; two in the litter; four mules with cargo; three without any load. (*Journal, apud* Walpole 1, 41)

The excursion was largely accidental and resulted from factors beyond the travellers’ control and, as Russell later admitted in a letter to his father, “our journey to Portugal was a wild scheme.” (Russell *apud* Walpole 1, 42) The initial plan had been to go to Madrid but, to Lord Holland’s regret, the increasingly dangerous situation in Spain made this impossible. Seville, capital of revolutionary Spain after the fall of Madrid in May 1808, seemed the only possible destination, but even then the French advance made a direct journey across Spain hazardous. There were only two reasonably safe ways of reaching

⁴ Sir William Parker (1781-1866), Admiral of the Fleet. Parker commanded the *Amazon* for eleven years. In 1844 he was created a Baronet for services in the Opium War.

Seville – either on a British ship around the coast to Cadiz or a land journey over Portugal’s notoriously bad roads. It was only when no suitable ship could be found that the Hollands reluctantly decided on the Portuguese route.⁵ As Admiral de Courcy explained to Lady Holland: “The roads must be open to Porto: – and if your Ladyship can reconcile such ragged travelling as your late journey attested, I know of no obstacle to your further proceeding.” (BL, HHP, MSS Add. 51624, Spanish Papers: 1806-1808, De Courcy to Lady Holland, ff. 154^r-155^v)

On 21 January 1809, the Hollands left Lisbon on their way to Seville, capital of revolutionary Spain and the party’s final destination. They embarked for Aldeia Galega, on the south bank of the Tagus (now Montijo), where they took the road to Elvas, the last Portuguese town before the frontier, where they spent the night with the Travassos family.⁶ In the morning of 26 January, the party left Elvas for Badajoz and from thence to Seville. The Hollands remained in Seville from 30 January to 7 April 1809, when they left for Cadiz, intending to proceed to Gibraltar to embark for England. However, unable to find a suitable ship, the Hollands decided to “proceed again to Lisbon by the way of Seville.” After an excursion to Puerto de Santa María and Jerez, they reached Seville on 24 June, staying until 30 June, when they set out for Portugal. (BL, HHP, MSS Add. 51937, Lady Holland’s Journals, 1809, f. 23^v, 18 June 1809; Sousa 35)

The Hollands arrived at Elvas in the evening of 5 July and from thence proceeded to Évora, where the party was kindly received by

5 By mid-November, faced with further French advance, a general retreat of the British forces appeared imminent. Although Admiral de Courcy had put two ships at the Hollands’ disposal, first *The Tomant* and then *The Champion*, they decided to attempt an over-land journey to Portugal. (BL, HHP, MSS Add. 51934, Lady Holland’s Journals, 1809-1810, ff. 21^y, 31^y, 14, 25 Nov. 1808)

6 José Bento Travassos da Silveira Araújo (1758-1836), a wealthy proprietor of Elvas and a Knight of the Order of Christ, married to his cousin, D. Antónia Eufrásia de Sousa Godinho Valdez, daughter of Luís Godinho Leitão and his wife Jerónima Teresa Forjaz Vahia de Sá Valdez. The couple had one daughter, Maria do Carmo Valdez (b. 1796), who later married Lieut.-General José Maria de Moura Henriques Sacoto; and five sons: Luís (b. 1781); Francisco Maximiano (1783-1821); António (1784-1838), married Gertrudes Amália Esteves Freire, a niece of the Minister Cipriano Freire; Joaquim (1789-1816); and José Lúcio Travassos Valdez (1787-1862), later 1st Barão and Conde de Bomfim, who held several important positions during the reign of D. Maria II. (See Valdez 1, 6-11; Torres 49-50; see also Sousa and Clarke 83)

the Archbishop Francisco Manuel do Cenáculo on 8-9 July.⁷ The following "Fragment of Lord John Russell's journal of an expedition in Portugal in 1808-9, with Lady and Lord Holland and Dr John Allen", a five folios manuscript preserved at the Public Record Office, Kew, (PRO 30/22/1A/13) was thus written in this period. It is perhaps worth noting that the following lines were written by a sixteen year old young man close to his seventeenth anniversary, though revealing a rather mature, educated and intelligent personality:

We left the Venda del Duque about ½ past seven in the morning, no one excepting Lord & L^d Holland having gone to bed at night in order to secure our getting off early – The road was very bad; rocky & uneven. About two leagues from the Venda we passed thro' a small & pretty village called Grijin or Grijina [Igreijinha] – Neither on one side or the other of this village did we meet with any cultivation but cork trees in abundance – at last when we approached Evora we found vineyards & afterwards experienced that the wine which comes from them is excellent – We entered at a narrow lane & saw Evora before us situated on the last of a range of low hills. The walls which surround the town are said to be Roman and there are parts built by the Romans but the greatest part has probably been renewed since – We went to the Arch Bishops palace & were received by him with great hospitality – He is 86 years old & reckoned a very learned man, simple & unaffected in his manners, & seems to labour a great deal – He gave us an excellent dinner in the Portuguese style – One of their principal dishes is rice, very well dressed. They certainly have the advantage of the Spaniards in the art of Cooking. After dinner we went to see a very fine Library of the Arch Bishops. The books seemed well chosen, & from the Library we went into the Cathedral, said to be built by the Goths tho' it has a no very ancient appearance – But there is an older

7 D. Francisco Manuel do Cenáculo (1724-1814), Archbishop of Évora, a Franciscan friar of humble origin and a protégé of Pombal, son of José Martins, a locksmith, by Antónia Maria. Cenáculo was Preceptor to the Infant D. José (1761-1788), first son of the Infanta D. Maria, later Queen Maria I. Following Pombal's disgrace in 1777, Cenáculo was forced to resign his public posts and returned to Beja to resume the bishopric, dedicating himself to public education and to archaeological activities. In 1802, twenty-five years after Pombal's dismissal, Cenáculo was appointed Archbishop of Évora, where he created a Museum and a Public Library. He was also responsible for the organisation of the Library of the Convent of Jesus in Lisbon – now the main collection of the Academy of Sciences – and also gave some of his own books to the Royal Public Library of Lisbon, now the National Library.

one underneath – is not very large or handsome, they shewed us a magnificent cross, crosier & chalice saved from the French. We then saw the Corinthian columns which originally formed the Temple of Diana, a *a* are all entire & seen both on the outside & inside except *a*'s which is not seen on the inside – of *b* no part is seen except the capital & architrave – the part of the capitals of *cc* are seen on the inside – *dd* are quite buried in the wall –

ao					do
ao					do
ao					co
ao					co
a'o	o	o	o	o	o
	a	a	a	b	d

From Évora the travellers proceed to Setúbal, where they arrived in the afternoon of the 11, spending the night at the *Quinta da Bacalhoa*, a Renaissance villa in Azeitão.⁸ The Hollands arrived in Lisbon on 12 July 1809, staying there until the evening of 19 July, when they embarked for England on HMS *Lively*, a 38-gun frigate.

Russell returned to the Peninsula on 30 August 1810 to visit his brother William, who was then serving in Cadiz as aide-de-camp to Sir Thomas Graham. While at Cadiz, Russell had the opportunity to witness the *Cortes* in session, “the only moving creatures here at present”, to which establishment the Hollands had so much contributed one year earlier. (Russell to his father, October 6, 1810, *apud* Walpole 1, 54) On his way back to England, Russell travelled to Faro,

8 The *Quinta da Bacalhoa*, the name by which the villa was known from 1730 during the administration of D. Francisca de Noronha, is a Renaissance Palace built in the 15th century. The villa owned by the Prince D. João, one of the sons of D. João I and Philippa of Lancaster, passed to his daughter, D. Beatriz, widow of the Duque de Viseu, D. Manuel I's parents. The villa was afterwards inherited by D. Beatriz's grandson, D. Afonso, married to D. Joana de Noronha. The couple had one daughter, D. Brites, who married D. Pedro de Menezes, 3rd Marquês de Vila Real. In 1528, the Palace was sold to D. Brás de Albuquerque, first son of D. Afonso de Albuquerque, Vice-Roy of India, who was responsible for the tile panels, pleasure house and pavilions. Towards the end of the 18th century, the Quinta was acquired by D. José Francisco da Costa de Sousa e Albuquerque (1740-1802), 2nd Visconde de Mesquitela. When John Russell was there, the property was owned by D. Luís da Costa de Sousa de Macedo e Albuquerque (1780-1853), 1st Conde de Mesquitela.

Algarve, on a British gun-brig, in the company of Captains Stanhope and Walpole, and thence:

The next day we got mules, and had a pleasant and amusing journey of some days towards Lisbon. (...) On the day following our arrival at Lisbon, we continued our ride to General Hill's headquarters. A high and precipitous range of cliffs, reaching nearly to the Tagus, was furnished with batteries and protected this part of the lines, which have since been known by the name of Torres Vedras. General Hill was on the extreme right, as Torres Vedras was near the extreme left, of the position. The village of Alhandra lay immediately below the cliffs I have mentioned, and it had been intended that the village should be left to the French. But, as it was completely commanded by the guns of our batteries, General Hill thought it best to retain possession of the village and to throw up abattis on the high road immediately beyond it. I rode into the village with General Hill on the morning after our arrival at his headquarters. On the same day we pursued our road along the tops of mountains and through deep valleys to the headquarters of the Commander-in-Chief, Sir Arthur Wellesley. These were situated in a small village at some distance from the great fort of Sobral, which formed the centre of the position. I had never before seen our great commander, and I was much struck with his piercing eyes and eagle countenance, which gave assurance of vigour and capacity. He welcomed us all, and told us that he was hand and glove with the French. (...) I was furnished with a room and with a bedstead, but with no bedclothes, so I slept in my cloak and did not pass the night very comfortably; but, at all events, the night was not long, for at four in the morning we breakfasted, and immediately after set out (...) to ride to Sobral, where Sir Arthur went every morning to observe the enemy, and where he generally passed the greater part of the day. Leaving the general and his staff to their occupations, my companion and I rode for some miles along the left of the position (...). We returned to headquarters to a late dinner; and, if I recollect right, after one day more of stay with our general, I went alone to Lisbon and embarked in the packet for England. In less than a fortnight afterwards, dining at Holland House, I had the pleasure of telling Lord Grey, who thought the French were in Alhandra, that I had traversed that village in company with General Hill. (Russell, *Memoir* dictated to Lady Russell in 1869, *apud* Walpole 1, 55-6)

In August 1812, Russell went back to the Peninsula, this time accompanied by his friends George Bridgeman, later second Earl of Bradford,⁹ and Robert Clive, the son of the Earl of Powis.¹⁰ While Clive travelled on the *Buzzard*, Russell and Bridgeman embarked on the frigate *La Pique* to Cadiz, with "intention of travelling for my amusement through Sicily, Greece, and perhaps Egypt and Syria." (Russell, Journal *apud* Walpole 1, 62) Yet, on 24 August, while off the northern coast of Portugal, the party transferred to the schooner *Alert* bound for Oporto, determined to proceed from thence to Madrid. (Bradford 1-4) They landed at Oporto on 25 August and found their lodgings in an inn kept by an Englishman, described by Bridgeman in a letter to his mother dated 27 August, as "a palace for this country." (6) On the evening of the 26, General Trant, then governor of Oporto, invited them to dine with several Portuguese and British officers. In the same letter, Bridgeman reported that after dinner,

He [Trant] asked several Portuguese families from San Juan to meet us – there were some pretty girls amongst them. The society is formal enough among strangers; some danced a little, but we who were just come from England found it much too hot to join that party. During dinner (as is the Portuguese custom) several people came in, among others the prior of a large convent on the south of the Douro, opposite the town, most romantically and beautifully situated on a rock, with hanging gardens and pine woods. This prior is a pleasing young man; he asked the Governor and his staff, and us, to dine at the convent on Friday (to-morrow), and we shall all go. (11)

On 28 August, while still at Oporto, Trant accompanied the party in a visit to a convent of nuns, where they met two sisters called Russell who claimed to be distantly related to the Duke of Bedford, although, as Bridgeman remarked, "they do not know a word of anything but Portuguese." (13)

9 George Augustus Frederick Henry Bridgeman (1789-1865), afterwards 2nd Earl of Bradford, British Peer, the eldest son of Orlando Bridgeman, 1st Earl of Bradford, and Lucy Elizabeth Byng.

10 Robert Henry Clive (1789-1854), British conservative politician, son of Edward Clive, 1st Earl of Powis, and Henrietta Antonia Clive, Countess of Powis, née Lady Henrietta Antonia Herbert.

On 29 August, Russell and his friends decided on making a short journey through the centre of Portugal, travelling southwards to Aveiro and Coimbra, where they visited the University and the *Quinta das Lágrimas*, and thence north-eastwards to Buçaco, São Pedro do Sul and Arouca, where they spent the night:

After a long descent the town of Arouca and its large convent burst immediately upon us, and we arrived there and delivered to a monk belonging to a monastery opposite our letter to the Abbess. In a short time we had notice that she would see us; and we were taken to the grate and seated. She soon appeared – an old lady (not less, I should think, than eighty) of good manners and great apparent authority. [The next morning] we breakfasted with the Lady Abbess, and I formed an acquaintance with a nun who had been handsome, and not so long ago as many of the others. Her eyes and hair were still good. After breakfast we went to see the church, which is very magnificent (...). A very pretty nun, twenty-five years of age, but seemingly very ill, was brought down by the one I have before mentioned. Her dark eyes were very fine, and her complexion pretty, but her mouth and teeth did not correspond. Her manners were pretty and graceful, and we learned she had been eight years in the convent. She had on a white veil well put on. (Russell, Journal *apud* Walpole 1, 64)

The impression that the young nun made on John Russell was so powerful, that she inspired him to write the novel *The Nun of Arouca*, published ten years later. Here, through the mouth of Edward Pembroke, the fictional character of his novel and the author's alter ego, Russell described a nineteen years old nun, named Catherine:

Her shape was perfect, her step and every movement of her arms graceful and noble. Her face was not regularly beautiful, excepting that her lips were of the rosiest, and her mouth of the prettiest, that nature ever formed. Her eyes were not of any certain colour, and were chiefly remarkable for an expression of combined modesty, resignation, and intelligence. Her complexion was fair, and indicated delicacy; her hands were singularly small, and her fingers slender. (11)

From Arouca, the party travel northwards to Lamego and Peso da Régua “and thence down the Douro in a boat to Oporto”, where they arrived on the night of 10 September. (Bridgeman 11, [15]-19) On the following evening, they were introduced to Lord Beresford at the Theatre:

The playhouse is a very pretty one, a much prettier one than there is in London. The play was a miserable translation from Kotzebue,¹¹ and there followed three very long addresses to the Marshal, praising his valour in prose and verse. (Russell, Journal *apud* Walpole 1, 64)

On the 12 September, Russell dined with Beresford, “who gave us a very good dinner, at the expense of his host, with Portuguese profusion and English taste.” (*Ibidem* 1, 64) On the 13, Russell dined at Mr. Croft’s¹² “with a large party invited to meet the Marshal, and went afterwards to a ball at Senor Pamplona’s.” (*Ibidem*)¹³ On the 14, they dined with General Trant, and went to a ball at the English factory house.

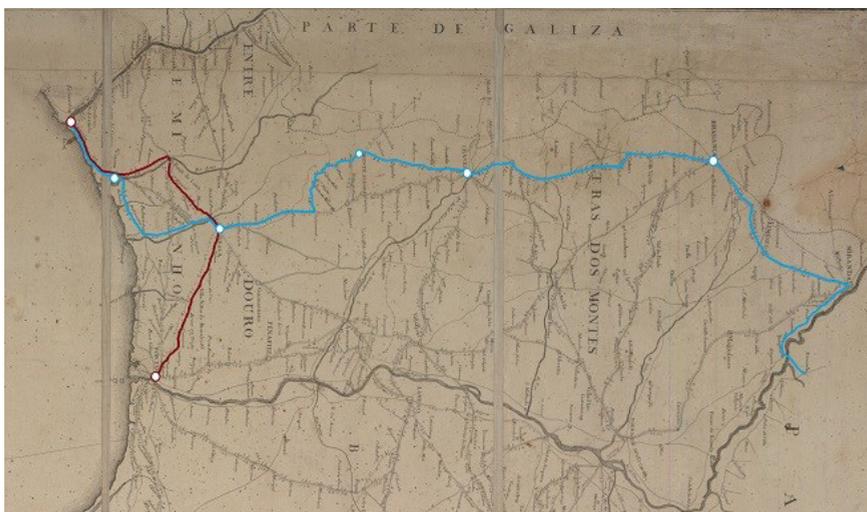
On 16 September, instead of taking the usual direct route for Madrid along the Douro, Lord John Russell and his friends decided to make a final tour in the north of Portugal before leaving for Spain, visiting Braga, Ponte de Lima, Caminha, Viana do Castelo, then moved

11 August Friedrich Ferdinand von Kotzebue (1761-1819), German playwright and lawyer, he worked as a consul in Russia and Germany.

12 John Croft (1732-1820), wine merchant and antiquary of Oporto, married to Henrietta Maria, daughter of Rev. James Tunstall, or perhaps their eldest son, John Croft Jr. (1778-1862), later Bart. (1818), K.C.T., D.C.L., &c., Knight of the Portuguese Order of Torre e Espada (1814) and Barão da Serra da Estrela in the Portuguese Peerage (1854). The Crofts belonged to a long-established landed family in Yorkshire. John Croft had come to Oporto at an early age to work in the firm of Tilden, Thompson & Croft, owned by some relative and remained for several years. During the French Invasions of Portugal, John Croft Jr. played an active role in intelligence work on the behalf of the British and Portuguese armies. With the end of the hostilities, he was commissioned by the British Government to administer relief funds granted to Portugal by Parliament. On Canning’s resignation as Ambassador to Portugal on 8 August 1815, Croft was left as Chargé d’Affaires to Lisbon, a position held from 10 October 1815 (or earlier) to 23 March 1816, when he was replaced by Edward Ward (see Sellers 81, 88, [135]; 137-38; Clarke 1 (A-C), 746; Foster 2 [alias 3], [106]; Delaforce 109; Capt. Irby to Mr Croft, in Napier 4, 483 (Coruña, May 6, 1810); Bindoff; Malcolm Smith and Webster 91-92; *Gazeta de Lisboa* 265, 9 Nov. 1815, [4]; Courtney and Martin.

13 Probably Manuel Inácio Martins Pamplona Corte Real (1760-1832), Portuguese army officer and statesman, 1st baron de Pamplona in the French nobility and later 1st Conde de Subsera, son of André Diogo Martins Pamplona Corte Real and his wife Josefa Jacinta Merens de Távora.

back to Braga by the coast, and thence Montalegre, Chaves, Bragança and Miranda do Douro. (Walpole 1, 65; Bridgeman 24)



Simulation of the itinerary followed by John Russell during his excursion in the north of Portugal, edited by the authors upon *Carta militar das principaes estradas de Portugal*. Lisboa, 1808. BN CC-1226-R.

The party crossed the Spanish border at Villarino dos Ares to arrive at Salamanca on 8 October, Valladolid on 14 and Wellington's headquarters at Villatoro, near Burgos, on 19. Finally, on 31 October, Russell and his friends reached San Idelfonso, the royal site about 62 miles north from the capital. However, on learning of the French advance on Madrid, the travellers thought advisable to move to Salamanca and then take the great road by Ciudad Rodrigo, Alcántara and Badajoz, and from thence to proceed south-eastwards to Seville and Cadiz, the only safe place in Spain.

John Russell and his friends remained at Cadiz from the middle of December to the end of January 1813. On 27 January, still determined to resume the original plan of a grand tour in Sicily, Egypt and Syria, the party left Cadiz for Gibraltar. On 27 February, after two excursions to Ceuta and Tetuan, Russell and his friends left the Rock,

intending to travel through South-eastern Spain to Malaga, Granada, Cordova, Cartagena, and Alicante, where they expected to embark for Sicily. While at Cordova, where they arrived on 20 March, brighter news from the army induced them to change plans and restart for Madrid. When they reached Almadén in early April, less favourable news from the front led Bridgeman and Clive to return to Granada with the intention of making way to Alicante, while Russell decided to take a different route:

Sunday, April 4. – Clive and Bridgeman went off with the servants and mules towards Cordova, intending to proceed by Granada to Alicante. I separated from them, and took the road towards the English army, because I particularly wished to see my brother William, whom I supposed to be at this time arrived at headquarters. It were unnatural had I not felt it a severe blow to separate from friends with whom I had been so long. (Russell, *Journal apud* Walpole 1, 70)

Reunited at Madrid in the beginning of the Summer 1813, the three friends remained at the Spanish capital until 17 July, when they left for Valencia to embark on a fish vessel to Palma de Majorca on 9 September. After nine days at Majorca, the party crossed from Alcúdia to Minorca, and reached Port Mahon on 23 September. There, again, the three friends decided to split: while Bridgeman and Clive resumed their original plan to reach Sicily, Russell, for unknown reasons, found his way back to England across Spain, sailing from Coruña on 27 October, in time to make his debut as an MP for the family borough of Tavistock and to attend the Parliament opening on 4 November. Three months after the separation, on 4 February 1814, Bridgeman admitted in a letter to his mother:

I was astonished to see John's arrival in England about three weeks after he left us at Mahon – he *flew* home, on what wings I know not, but I suppose on those of political ambition. (185-6)

Russell touched Lisbon in October 1814, on his way to Italy, embarking for Nice on 29 October and from thence to Rome, having a private audience with Napoleon in Elba on Christmas Eve. This was the last time Russell was in Portugal ever again.

While Lord John Russell can hardly be described as a Lusophile, his journeys in Portugal certainly provided the necessary knowledge and experience that later allowed him to deal with the Portuguese affairs, first in the opposition as a MP, then as Paymaster of the Forces in Grey's Government (1830-34), and finally as Prime Minister of Queen Victoria (1846-1852; 1865-1866) and Foreign Secretary in the governments of Aberdeen (1852) and Palmerston (1859-1865). One should bear in mind that Russell had been adopted by Lord Holland as his political heir, arguably the English politician who devoted himself more earnestly to Portugal, with the exception of John of Gaunt and George Canning.

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