

# THE PORTUGUESE ARMY OF THE NAPOLEONIC WARS (I)



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## INTRODUCTION

Private, 14th Infantry Regiment, c.1810-1815. Blue coat and pantaloons, white collar and cuffs, scarlet piping and turnbacks, blue shoulder straps piped scarlet (note characteristic Portuguese wing-like shape), brass buttons; black half-gaiters, black shako with brass plates and white plume. The 14th (Tavira) Infantry fought at Bussaco, Albuera, Salamanca, Vittoria and the Nivelle, in the 2nd Brigade commanded initially by Fonseca and later by Costa. (Print after Ribiero Arthur)

**S**OUTHERN FRANCE, May 1814: the emotionally moved Surgeon Walter Henry, of His Majesty's 66th of Foot, awaits with sadness the approaching moment when the Portuguese brigade would part from the Second British Division. For years, officers and men of both nations had seen and shared all the dangers, horrors, miseries and glories of war; now this most extraordinary period of their lives was about to end.

The Portuguese regiments, wrote Surgeon Henry, 'had secured the esteem and respect of the British soldiers by their gallantry in the field and general good conduct'. The evening before the separation the British officers gave 'a parting entertainment to the Portuguese officers' marked by 'a remarkable display of cordiality and brotherly affection', with British airs sung by the Portuguese and the British singing 'Portuguese in turn; whilst suitable toasts were cheered' by all. Early the next morning both armies were on the march; '... and when we came to the cross-roads where we were to separate, the old fellow-campaigners, officers and men, embraced and exchanged affectionate *adieux*: and as we moved in different directions, loud and prolonged cheers answered each other in peals and echoes, until they melted in the distance.'

Since that morning brought a remarkable military co-operation to a close, English-speaking historians have often defined 'Wellington's Army' as a British force; yet between one-third and one-half of it was actually Portuguese. It was really a dual army under a unified command.

Portugal's role in the ultimate defeat of Napoleon's armies in the Peninsula was singular. Geography was an important factor: overland access to Portugal from the east had always been difficult because of the rugged terrain of her border marches with Spain – Portugal's only (and usually hostile) neighbour. Portugal was thus a maritime country turned towards the Atlantic; her mariners had explored and exploited the oceans since the Middle Ages, reaching India and the Orient at the end of the 15th century. By the early 16th century the Portuguese had posts and settlements in Brazil, Africa, India, Ceylon and Indonesia, and her trade routes stretched as far as Japan.

Portugal's history was, for many centuries, largely a chronicle of her struggle to remain independent, first from the Moors and then from the Spanish. To counter the invaders medieval Portuguese kings forged alliances with another maritime nation to the north – England. As early as 1380 contingents of English soldiers led by the Duke of Lancaster were fighting alongside Portuguese men-at-arms against the Spanish. Simultaneously, Portugal's links with England became stronger as trade developed between these two outward-looking, sea-going nations. Because





of geopolitical and geostrategic common interests they found themselves allied in most wars, and tended not to hinder each other overseas as their colonial empires grew. The old saying that Portugal was 'England's oldest ally' is certainly true. The English – like everyone else since – found that although they shared the same peninsula with the Spaniards the Portuguese were very different. Many centuries later, French wit and author Michel Déon would observe that the Portuguese stood not so much face to face as back to back with their Spanish neighbour.

A deeply devout Roman Catholic country, Portugal was nevertheless largely pragmatic towards the Protestant reformation during the Renaissance. A major blow to its independence came when King Sebastian died in 1578 without issue, leaving the empty throne to be usurped by Philip II of Spain two years later. This most uneasy of unions lasted until 1640 when Joao, Duke of Braganza, raised the standard of independence, and was proclaimed King Joao IV. The Spanish were beaten in the ensuing war thanks to the extraordinary army raised by Portugal, and the kingdom was once again free. Portugal's naval power and colonial empire had been partly lost to the Dutch during the Spanish usurpation – Indonesia and Ceylon for good, but the Dutch enclave in Brazil was regained. Other posts in Africa, India and the Far East were preserved. Trade with Britain flourished, notably the wine trade, which led to British merchants establishing businesses at Porto.

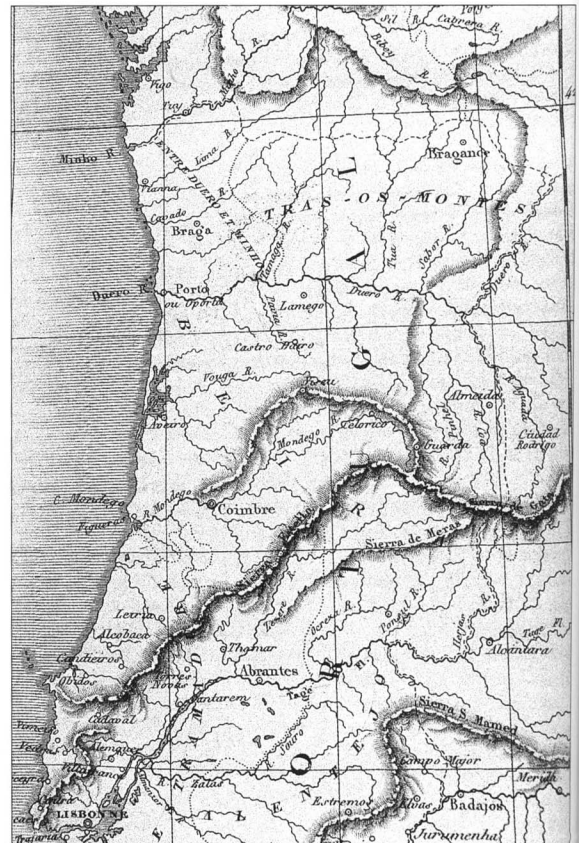
In the wars of the later 17th and early 18th centuries the Portuguese were often found with British troops fighting alongside them in the peninsula, especially during Queen Anne's War (1702-1713) and the last stages of the Seven Years' War in 1762-1763. There was more fighting against the Spanish in southern Brazil (or northern Argentina and Uruguay) during the American War of Independence.

In 1793, allied with most nations of Europe, Portugal went to war against the Republicans in revolutionary France. A contingent was sent with the Spanish army into Roussillon, and fought well; but the French eventually gained the advantage, and peace came in 1795. The Spanish switched sides a year later, but Portugal remained allied with Britain. With the enemy suddenly on Portugal's borders, Britain sent a corps of 6,000 men – mostly French *Émigré* units (see MAA 328 *Émigré and Foreign Troops in British Service (1) 1793-1801*) – to bolster Portuguese defences, but no invasion occurred immediately.

It was at sea that the Portuguese struck. In 1798 a Portuguese Navy squadron annoyed General Bonaparte so much during his Egyptian expedition that he vowed revenge: he would make the country 'pay with tears of blood ... for daring to offer an affront to the republic of France'.

A sad event at this time was the deteriorating mental health of Queen Maria I of Portugal. She was much affected by the executions of Louis XVI,

**Contemporary French map of central and northern Portugal, where most of the fighting occurred. The population of Portugal at the time of the Napoleonic Wars was only 2,800,000 souls – a tenth that of France. The main gateways to and from Spain were at Almeida/Ciudad Rodrigo (centre right) and Elvas/Badajoz (bottom right) – though as Wellington remarked, 'the whole country was frontier', and its borders were not really defensible. Once inside, however, the mountains and rivers channelled invaders into only a few practical routes towards the important coastal cities. The whole Lisbon peninsula was fortified in 1810; note 'Vedras' (extreme bottom left) marking the outer extent of the famous defensive system.**





**Maria I, Queen of Portugal, c.1805. Crowned in 1777, she became increasingly distraught by the French Revolution, and in 1799 her son Joao was appointed Prince Regent. She went to Brazil in 1807 and died there in 1816. (Museu Militar do Porto)**

Marie-Antoinette and countless others by French revolutionaries during the Terror, and slowly slid into insanity. In 1799 her son became Prince Regent Joao VI. In a situation not unlike that faced simultaneously by Britain due to the madness of King George III, Portugal was ruled by the Prince Regent acting as king with all royal acts being made in his name.

The government consisted of three state secretariats or ministries: Foreign Affairs and War (Negocios Estrangeiros e Guerra), Navy and Colonies (Marinhna e Ultramar), and the internal affairs of the kingdom (Reino). There were also a number of councils including the equivalent to a supreme court. Military affairs were run by the powerful War Council (Conselho da Guerra), set up in 1641, which consisted of a board of general officers running the daily administration of land and sea forces, appointment of officers and review of court-martial findings. Army fiscal and supply matters were the responsibility of the Assembly of the Three Estates (Junta do Tres Estados). Another ancient department was the Board of Conscience and Orders (Mesa de la Conscienza e Ordens) which administered the religious and fiscal needs of the three knighthood orders of Avis, Christ and Sao Tiago (see forthcoming third volume, MAA 356).

The opening of the 19th century brought looming threats to Portugal. Napoleon resented bitterly her alliance with Britain, which he felt to be his arch-enemy. In 1801 he induced Spain to declare war on her neighbour, contributing a French corps to help the Spaniards. The Portuguese army was not in good fighting condition, and the British corps shipped to the Peninsula was much too small to achieve anything. This 'War of the Oranges' was lost, and Portugal was forced to cede her border territory of Olivenza in the ensuing peace treaty. As the early 1800s unfolded Portugal's political, diplomatic and strategic position was all but hopeless. The country's economic links were largely dependent on its colonial empire in Brazil, Africa and Asia and its considerable trade with Great Britain; its traditional alliances, diplomatic and military, were also with Britain. The 1802 Peace of Amiens was short-lived, and war between Britain and France was resumed in 1803. In late 1804 Spain also went to war against Britain, and it was only a matter of time before Portugal would be drawn into the conflict.

In 1806 the institution of Napoleon's 'Continental System', aimed at locking out all mainland European trade with Britain, created an enormous national dilemma for Portugal. If she adhered to the French emperor's policy her economy would be largely wiped out in the short term – and there was a risk that her colonial empire would immediately be occupied by Britain so as to deny its resources to the French or their allies. Whatever the many similarities between Britain's place in Europe and Portugal's, she was not an island, but a nation with a long and vulnerable land frontier. If Portugal chose to defy Napoleon and continue her overseas and British trade, she faced invasion by the French army with Spanish help, the loss of her independence and the fall of the throne. Attempts were made to find an accommodation, but Paris considered Portugal to be little more than an enormous loophole for strategic smuggling. In summer 1807 Napoleon issued his ultimatum: sever all trade links outside Europe, or be invaded.





**Joao VI, Prince Regent of Portugal, c.1806. Made Prince Regent in 1799, Joao proved a resilient leader during a most dramatic period in Portuguese history. His decision to move the court to Brazil in 1807 eventually brought that country recognition as a fully fledged kingdom in 1815, and Joao VI was crowned as King of Portugal and Brazil in 1816. His return to Portugal in 1822 prompted the independence of Brazil, proclaimed by his son who became Emperor Pedro I.**

## THE PORTUGUESE ARMY BEFORE 1807

The modern Portuguese army traced its origins to December 1640, when the country's military institutions were set up by King Joao IV. The next few years saw a number of very important ordinances, which were amongst the most innovative and sweeping measures of their time. The king aimed at mobilising all able-bodied men, and decreed that all aged from 15 to 60 years of age were liable to obligatory military service according to the country's ancient 'Ordenanzas' or ordinances. Faced by the powerful armies of imperial Spain, King Joao needed all the resources he could muster by setting up a large standing army. Local officials appointed from the gentry and nobility — who, in time, would become known as 'Ordenanza' officers — were instructed to list all able-bodied men. From these lists three classes of men were selected.

The first class gathered the unmarried younger sons of families, except for those necessary to work farms and the sons of widows. They were drafted into the royal service as 'soldados pagos' (paid soldiers) in the regular army. The infantry was organised into 'terzos' of 2,000 men each, the cavalry into companies of 100 troopers. These formed the first line troops.

The second class required all the exempted men and the married men able to bear arms to muster into auxiliary 'terzos' of 600 men each, organised in every district. This militia reserve formed the second line troops.

The third class consisted of 'Ordenanza' companies of 240 men each; made up of older men, these were largely responsible for the application of the recruiting system. In the event of emergencies they were to form the third line troops.

The militia and Ordenanza will be examined in detail in the forthcoming third title in this series, MAA 356. Suffice it to say here that the dual duties performed by these reserve units were usually much misunderstood by British and French observers during the Napoleonic Wars. Their role as reserves and even as a Portuguese equivalent to the Spanish 'guerrilleros' was much noted. However, the crucial part they played in the all-important draft system was largely ignored, possibly because there was nothing quite like it elsewhere.

King Joao IV's orders produced a regular army of 20,000 infantrymen and 4,000 cavalry, one of the largest standing armies in western Europe at the time. This extraordinary organisation, with its reserves, insured the independence of the country from Spain. After the war, Portugal maintained its standing army and continued its selective draft system.

It should be noted that Portugal, unlike nearly every other kingdom, did not have regiments of royal guards. The closest thing to a guard unit was the small company of largely ceremonial 'archers' armed with halberds which escorted the monarch at court (see forthcoming second volume, MAA 346). Ordinary guard duties at court and palaces in and around Lisbon were usually assumed by detachments of marines and of the 1st Artillery Regiment, which was consequently called the 'Corte' Regiment (see forthcoming MAA 356).



Princess Carlota Joaquina, wife of Prince Regent Joao VI, was a Spanish princess, the sister of King Fernando VII – who was also forced into exile by French invasion. Watercolour by Joao Baptista Ribiero. (Museu Militar do Porto)

Over the following decades the Portuguese army followed the evolution of other western European armies, with the adoption of standard arms, flintlock muskets, uniforms, linear tactics, etc. Marshal Vauban's advances in the art of fortification were applied to the improvement of the many forts and fortresses in the country. In 1707, during Queen Anne's War when Portuguese troops often served with British troops in Spain, the 'terzos' were redesignated as 'regiments'. The cavalry and artillery companies were grouped into regiments the following year.

During the long period of peace between 1715 and 1762 the army slid into considerable neglect, and was outclassed when Spain declared war in the latter year. Fortunately a strong contingent was sent from Britain to help defend Portugal, but reform of the ineffective army was clearly essential.

In times of national crisis the Portuguese always proved to be extremely practical, and to solve the problems at hand they sought expertise and innovations from any country where they could find them. In 1762 the Prussian army's reputation was at its zenith. The Count de Lippe, one of Frederick the Great's generals, was given the command as marshal-general of the Portuguese army, with a mandate to transform it into an effective force. De Lippe introduced massive changes, which arguably made it one of the best armies in Europe by the time he left in 1767. Regimental organisation was refined, regulations modernised, training given priority, and armament improved. Uniforms, which had been mostly white with cuffs of various colours, were changed to Prussian-style blue for all units with various distinctive facings.

However, another lengthy period of peace, coupled with a certain apathy in government, saw the army slide once again into slovenly neglect. When the French Revolution broke out in 1789 the army was but a shadow of its former glory. With the elderly and conservative Marshal-General Duke of Lafoes in supreme command from 1791, things would not be much better for years to come. In 1793 a Portuguese contingent under Gen John Forbes-Skelater was attached to the Spanish army fighting the French Republic; this consisted of the 1st and 2nd Porto, 1st Olivenza, Freire, Cascais and Peniche infantry regiments, with field artillery. This Portuguese corps in fact fought well, but Spain sued for peace in 1795. Spain then became the ally of the all-conquering French in 1796, so the threat to Portugal moved from the Pyrenees to her border with Spain. Although a British force of 6,800 men

(4,300 émigrés and 2,500 British troops) was despatched to Portugal, the Franco-Spanish alliance made the defence of the country almost hopeless with the forces at hand. A German general was again sought to modernise the army; the Count de Waldeck arrived in 1795, but his reforms had little impact before he died in 1798. Marshal-General Lafoes and the commanders of the British force – Gens Stuart and La Rozière – all bickered with one another. In 1800 the Count von der Goltz arrived in Lisbon to become marshal, but Marshal-General Lafoes did not act on his proposals to modernise the army and would not even recognise his rank. In 1801 the

As Marshal Junot's French army approached Lisbon the royal family and the court left for Brazil on 27 November 1807. Note men of the Lisbon Police Guard at the left just behind the prince, and a back view of a mounted cavalry officer. (Museu Militar do Porto)





**The Bishop of Porto, leader of the resistance against the French in northern Portugal during 1808-1809. One of the most remarkable aspects of the Portuguese national rising in spring 1808 was the almost spontaneous re-assembly of the army regiments disbanded in December 1807. (Museu Militar do Porto)**

Portuguese forces, outmoded and with no clear leadership, were humbled in a two-week campaign by a powerful Hispano-French army which quickly captured four border cities with relative ease.

The defeat of 1801 convinced the government to make a complete review of the army. Prince Regent Joao VI appointed a Military Council, presided over by Gen Forbes-Skelater, to propose reforms. The Count von der Golz was unable to contribute much more, and left in 1803. Meanwhile the Military Council submitted a report containing proposals for structural changes in the army; printed in 1802, this was widely distributed among army officers and generally well received, but its implementation was cancelled when its leading proponent, Minister of War Joao de Almeida, was dismissed in 1803. The following year the Marquis de Alorna, an officer from the high nobility, continued to press for reforms with support from Gen Gomes Freire de Andrade. One of the more innovative officers of the army, Alorna had raised the Legion of Light Troops (see forthcoming MAA 346) during 1796 in an effort to modernise tactical doctrine.

The proposed reforms were generally accepted and, on 19 May 1806, a decree brought in sweeping changes to the organisation of the regular army and the reserves. The country was divided into three military regions: the Northern Division with HQ at Porto, comprising the provinces of Minho and Tras os Montes; the Central Division with HQ at Santarem, comprising the provinces of Estramadura, Beira, and the district of Porto; and the Southern Division with HQ at Abrantes, comprising the provinces of Algarve and Alentejo. All regular, militia and Ordenanza units were attached to one of these areas. The number of regular units remained the same at 24 infantry regiments, 12 of cavalry and four of artillery, but there would now be 48 instead of 43 militia regiments and 24 Ordenanza brigades. The regular line infantry, cavalry and artillery regiments were henceforth numbered. The reorganisation also touched generals, staff officers, and indeed just about every function of the army.

## **INVASION, OCCUPATION & REVOLT, 1807-08**

When, in autumn 1807, Napoleon decided to settle the Portuguese issue by direct invasion, he had good reason to believe that the Portuguese court and population were divided on the issues and that consequently his commanders would meet with feeble resistance. The Portuguese army was indeed deeply divided. Its most influential senior officer, the Marquis de Alorna, was openly pro-French, and believed that Portugal's long term salvation lay in becoming part of the pan-European empire planned by Napoleon. Nor was Alorna alone: senior officers such as Gomes Freire de Andrade and some intellectuals could see no other hope for their country. Even Britain, which had withdrawn its contingent in 1802, felt that the defence of Portugal against Napoleon's war machine, augmented by Spanish contingents, was impossible.

Thus, in November 1807, a French army of 30,000 men under Marshal Junot, assisted by Spanish troops, marched into Portugal. With



the Portuguese army still inefficient and its command deeply divided, the French crushed what little resistance they encountered and progressed rapidly towards the capital.

At the royal court in Lisbon it was clear to the Prince Regent that Junot would soon be at the gates. Some of his officers and courtiers were rallying to the French party, while others were in complete despair. In these conditions any fierce resistance would simply result in a needless bloodbath of ill-prepared and ill-led soldiers and civilians. Instead, Joao VI made a remarkable decision which saved the crown and, ultimately, saved Portugal. Instead of submitting to the French yoke he decided to leave for Brazil, with the royal family and any officers and court officials who wished to follow him. Many did; and on 27 November the prince, accompanied by some 15,000 people, embarked on a large fleet which sailed out of the river Tagus. On 30 November Marshal Junot entered Lisbon.

Napoleon and Junot were angry that Joao VI had escaped; his continued freedom in the colonies would provide a natural focus of loyalty to the legitimate government. French propaganda immediately cast him as a catspaw of the British who had abandoned his people instead of embracing the wise values of a Napoleonic Europe, but the mass of the Portuguese population were unconvinced. By going to Brazil the prince had taken the only alternative to becoming Napoleon's prisoner, even if in a gilded cage. And, as all Portuguese knew, Brazil was hardly a place of miserable exile, but a flourishing country of over four million souls, with large cities and its own armies.

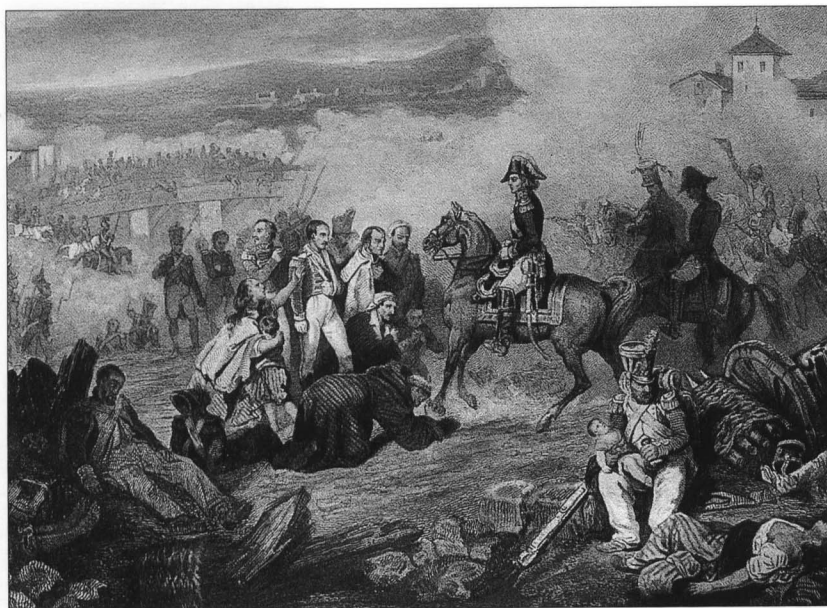
### **French occupation and the 1808 revolts**

For now, however, the Portuguese could only hope that the French occupation would turn out to be a relatively mild regime. It proved to be nothing of the sort. French generals in charge of major cities and provinces behaved like despots, treating the ordinary Portuguese with arrogant contempt. The Portuguese are an intensely proud people, but their pride is not manifested in open bravado. They are of a patient, orderly, quiet and industrious character; typically, they took the long view and bided their time.

As for the Portuguese army, it was simply disbanded, the regulars by an order of 22 December 1807, the militia and Ordenanza in January 1808. Soldiers having over eight years' service were sent home, leaving their arms behind but keeping their uniforms. The cavalry's horses were turned over to French dragoons as remounts. Only the Lisbon police were retained to maintain order in the capital. The younger men from the disbanded

**A near-contemporary impression of the French Gen Brenier surrendering to Sir Arthur Wellesley after the battle of Vimeiro, 21 August 1808. The future Duke of Wellington is illustrated – surely erroneously – in Portuguese general officer's uniform. (Museu Militar do Porto)**





**The capture of Porto (Oporto), the strategic harbour city at the mouth of the River Douro, on 29 March 1809 by the French 2nd Corps led by Marshal Soult. Six weeks later Wellesley would hustle him out again – in six hours, for the cost of only 123 casualties – and right back across the Spanish frontier. (Museu Militar do Porto)**

ancient wine trade with Britain. Instead of soothing local feelings by offering new opportunities the French embarked on a vicious cycle of repression. Those unfamiliar with the Napoleonic period may sometimes be seduced by its ‘costume drama’ glamour into ignoring the uglier aspects of Napoleon’s regime; in sober fact, the Nazi Gestapo had nothing to teach his police and counter-intelligence agents. At Porto, squads of French soldiers would raid private homes – during the night or in broad daylight – to drag away suspected patriots, whose subsequent fate was likely to be torture and death. General of Division Jean-Baptiste-Maurice Loison (nicknamed ‘Maneta’ since he had only one arm) presided over these cruel proceedings, and his notoriety spread throughout the country. To this day there is a popular saying in Portugal, ‘Foi para o Maneta’ — ‘to be brought before Maneta’, meaning that one faces a particularly grim ordeal.

Fortunately, the French occupation of Portugal was to be fairly short-lived. In May 1808 revolts broke out against the French at first in Madrid, and then all over Spain and Portugal. Officers and men of the army disbanded a few months earlier spontaneously gathered and re-formed, as best as they could, sometimes wearing their old uniforms and carrying whatever weapons they could get. On 6-7 June, after pitched battles against startled French soldiers, the citizens of Porto captured its garrison with the help of a Spanish ‘occupation’ contingent which also turned on the French. The revolts spread rapidly as surprised and under-strength French detachments retreated before being overwhelmed by angry mobs. The corps of students of the University of Coimbra occupied the forts of Figuera da Foz – where, in August, British troops led by LtGen Sir Arthur Wellesley, the future Duke of Wellington, landed once again.

At this point the whole course of the war changed for Portugal and its armed forces. In the months and years to come the nation would be devastated by the sacrifices required to repel French re-invasion; but its army would be transformed into a world-class fighting force.

regiments were formed into a Portuguese Legion from January 1808, and sent to France under the pro-French Marquis de Alorna with some of his officers (see forthcoming MAA 346).

Deep resentment was quickly brewing in the hearts and minds of the peoples of the Iberian Peninsula. The French occupation troops behaved deplorably towards all classes of society. In Porto and the north resentment of the French occupation was particularly bitter due to the ruin of the region’s

## THE REBIRTH OF THE ARMY

The Portuguese forces re-raised in 1808 were little more than an armed rabble who did not stand a chance against a well trained regular enemy. Britain sent money, arms and supplies at once. A new element to the Portuguese army appeared in autumn 1808 in the form of the Loyal Lusitanian Legion (see forthcoming MAA 346). Initially raised from among Portuguese refugees in Britain at the suggestion of the Portuguese ambassador, and commanded by the flamboyant Sir Robert Wilson, the cadre of the Legion arrived in Porto in autumn 1808 with some British officers. Hastily trained in light infantry tactics, the Legion marched deep into Spain in early 1809. Although it enjoyed good 'press coverage' for its daring, such a unit could not do much serious damage to the French.

If Portugal was to be held, it was clear that it would take much more to successfully defend the country than money, military adventurers such as Wilson, and shipments of weapons and supplies. A modern 'state of the art' Portuguese army would have to be built up; it was obvious that a small British expeditionary force could not hold out against the French alone. The evacuation of Sir John Moore's force from Corunna and Vigo in January 1809 following the collapse of the Spanish Armies of the Left and Estramadura was a conclusive lesson.

In Lisbon, a government Council of the Regency had been set up to act in the name of the Prince Regent. While the council's internal political bickering was deeply discouraging to British generals and statesmen, all its factions agreed on the necessity of having a functioning army. Accordingly, Ambassador Sousa in London asked that a competent and respected British senior officer be appointed to command, reorganise and modernise the Portuguese forces — a formidable task; but even to make such a request showed Portuguese strength of character in the interests of the common cause.

**The battle of Amarante bridge, a strategic crossing on the Douro east of Porto. From 18 April to 3 May 1809 a force of about 10,000 Portuguese – nearly all militiamen or Ordenanza, and mostly armed with pikes – led by Gen Silveira, Count of Amarante, managed to delay part of Soult's army. The French finally took the bridge, inflicting heavy losses on the badly armed peasants, but this delaying action diverted Soult's attention while Wellesley marched up from Coimbra. Painting attributed to Joao Baptista Ribiero. (Museu Militar do Porto)**





### **Marshal Beresford's reforms**

The officer chosen by the British government was the 41-year-old William Carr Beresford, a veteran of victories, defeats, captivity and escape in Europe, Africa and South America since he first distinguished himself at Toulon in 1793. The illegitimate son of an Irish peer, and a former commanding officer of the famous fighting 88th 'Connaught Rangers', he had experience as an independent formation commander and – unusually – spoke reasonably fluent Portuguese. Rifleman Harris of the 95th recalled him as 'a fine looking soldier and equal to his business', with a 'noble bearing', and uncompromising over order and discipline even in the most trying circumstances. Beresford was not a tactical genius; but he was a gifted military administrator and a man of great energy. His efforts were shrewd, tireless, and – above all – successful. Although keeping the regiments up to strength was always a problem, the size of the regular army rose considerably between 1809 and 1812, from about 25,000-30,000 men to 50,000-55,000. Meanwhile, its efficiency rose in proportion.

Among the many measures introduced by Beresford was the institution of printed daily general orders to keep the army well informed and under strict regulation. The spirit infused into the army by Beresford from his first orders, given just after the fall of Porto to the French, is worth quoting: 'Let the troops be subordinate to their officers. Let them observe strict discipline, and the country has nothing to fear..'

Beresford had genuine respect for Portugal's military potential, and a September 1809 letter to Gen Pereira Forjaz was full of conviction that the Portuguese soldier would become 'as good as the best soldiers in the world'. These proved to be prophetic words. Beresford's evident confidence in Portugal's soldiers, coupled with his energetic and effective programme to realise their potential, won him a reciprocal popularity and respect. When he passed through Coimbra in January 1810 crowds of people hurried to see him; according to Surgeon Boutflower, he was 'perfectly idolized by the Portuguese nation'.

**Portuguese patriots, armed with a motley collection of weapons, fighting against the retreating French on the upper Douro, May 1809. Painting attributed to Joao Baptista Ribiero. (Museu Militar do Porto)**



Over the next five years countless improvements were daily ordered. Some of the most important measures included the creation of recruiting depots; the reopening of the military academy; the reorganisation of all units and service corps; the distribution of new weapons and equipment; the grouping of the line infantry regiments into brigades, and their dispersal among the divisions of Wellington's British army; and the creation of a more effective logistic organisation. On 1 February 1810 the soldiers' pay was raised and a campaign bonus was instituted. These measures had a most beneficial effect on morale – for the first time in living memory wages were actually being paid more or less on time, with less swindling by treasury officials.

Scores of British officers were detached to serve in integrated cadres; for instance, if the colonel of a Portuguese regiment was British his lieutenant-colonel would be Portuguese, and vice-versa. Drill and battalion manoeuvres were made as similar as possible to those in use in the British army. Words of command were given in English as well as Portuguese so that the men would understand both immediately; this was vital in battle, where Portuguese and British units were brigaded together. The British soldier of the day was not overly inclined to give the benefit of the doubt to foreign armies, but many were impressed by the response of the Portuguese to these reforms. At Thomar in December 1809 Surgeon Boutflower recorded that the 'soldier-like manner in which they went through their evolutions astonished the English officers'. They deployed in two ranks like the British troops, and their volley fire became just as murderous and steady as that of Wellington's redcoats. Years later, Baron Marbot of the French army wrote that firepower had been the greatest cause of the success of British troops in the Peninsula, adding that Portuguese troops were in no way inferior to the British.

Traditionally many Portuguese noblemen considered their officers' commissions as a birthright. Many were too elderly, vain, ignorant and conservative to be of any use to their country. The new measures which were instituted to improve their professionalism struck the officer corps like a whirlwind. Officers were now suddenly expected to give the utmost exertions in the field; to be continually educating themselves in their profession; to take good care of their men, not only ensuring that they were properly provided for but even seeing that they kept themselves clean and had their clothes mended. Negligent officers would be severely chastised. For example, in April 1811 the officers of the 3rd and 15th Infantry were humiliatingly reprimanded in general orders for imperfect discipline, and those of the 2nd Infantry for their men's unsatisfactory appearance. Predictably, a proportion of older officers resigned their commissions – and were quickly replaced by eager, energetic younger men.

Equally, rewards and honours were granted to raise the pride and esteem of officers and men when things went well. On 23 December



**Marshal William Carr Beresford (1768-1854), commander of the Portuguese army from 1809 to 1820. Born in Ireland the bastard son of the 1st Marquis of Waterford, he had entered the army as a youth and had served at Toulon (1793), in Egypt (1801), at the Cape of Good Hope and in the disastrous Buenos Aires expedition (1806) and, in alliance with the Portuguese, on Madeira (1807). There he had learned some Portuguese, which he improved when he came to the mainland with the British army in 1808. He was with Sir John Moore during the retreat to Corunna. He was a strongly built man of great physical courage and a hot temper; his irregular features have been somewhat flattered here, though the portrait hints at what was in fact a left eye ruined in a shooting accident. He wears the dress uniform of a marshal according to the 1806 regulations. (The Count of Amarante and Marquis of Chaves, Porto)**

13 December 1813, Henry Hardinge thereafter. Independent until attached to the 7th British Division on 5 March 1811 and the 2nd British Division from 8 June 1811 onwards.

*6th Brigade* 7th and 19th Line Infantry, 2nd Cazadores added from 21 September 1810. Commanded by Richard Blunt until 7 July 1810, Francis Colman until March 1811, Frederico Lecor until May 1811, Luiz Inacio Palmeirim until 12 August 1811, resumed by Colman until December 1811, Richard Collins from 27 February 1812 until he was killed on 17 February 1813, Frederico Lecor from March to October 1813, John Miller Doyle thereafter. Independent until attached to the 7th British Division on 5 March 1811, the 3rd British Division from 13 December 1811, reverting to the 7th British Division from February 1812 onwards.

*7th Brigade.* 8th Line Infantry and Loyal Lusitanian Legion in October 1810, the Legion replaced by the 12th Line Infantry in April 1811, 9th Cazadores added from 10 April 1812. Commanded by the Baron Eben until 30 April 1812, the Conde de Rezende D. Luiz until 4 October 1812, George Allen Madden until August 1813, James Douglas thereafter. Attached to the 6th British Division from 6 October 1810 onwards.

*8th Brigade* 9th and 21st Line Infantry, 12th Cazadores added from 8 April 1812 but replaced by 11th Cazadores from April 1813 onwards. Commanded by José Joaquim Champelimaud until June 1812, Manly Powers until July 1813, Charles Sutton thereafter. Attached to the 3rd British Division from 22 February 1810 onwards.

*9th Brigade* 11th and 23rd Line Infantry, 7th Cazadores added from 14 March 1811. Commanded by Robert Hugh McLeroth until 3 November, Francis Colman until 12 January 1810, William Munday Harvey until he was wounded on 6 April 1810, Thomas William Stubbs from June 1812 to August 1813, James Miller until November 1813, José de Vasconcelos e Sa thereafter. Attached to the 4th British Division from 17 May 1810 onwards.

*10th Brigade* 13th Line Infantry and 5th Cazadores brigaded from 20 July 1811, 24th Line Infantry added 22 August 1811. Commanded by Thomas McMahon (with some absences) until 20 January 1812, Thomas Bradford thereafter. Acted independently

The 1st and 3rd Cazadores became an integral part of the British Light Division from May 1810.

There were many other temporary brigades and formations, of which details can be found in S.G.P.Ward's article (see bibliography in forthcoming third volume, MAA 356). An artillery field battery, Portuguese or British, was attached to each division

The **cavalry** was not as fit to take the field, but some units did serve with Wellington's army. The 1st and 7th Portuguese Cavalry were attached to the British Light Cavalry Division. The 4th and 10th Portuguese Cavalry formed the 3rd Cavalry Brigade, attached to the British cavalry in 1811-1812. The 5th and 8th were brigaded with the Spanish army in Estramadura in 1811-1812. The 6th and 12th formed the Brigade of the North in 1809.

### **Recruitment and training**

The Portuguese army was recruited by conscription rather than by volunteers or recruiting parties as in England. Conscripts were to serve



1810, after being chastised the previous May, the 2nd and 14th Infantry were praised for their good order and discipline, and officers were recommended for promotion. Indeed, the army's reputation was increasing abroad:

'At a Common Council held at the Chamber of the Guild Hall of the City of London on Thursday 9th May 1811' it was 'resolved unanimously that the Court is truly sensible of and doth acknowledge the zeal, discipline and bravery so conspicuously displayed by the General, Officers, Non Commissioned Officers and Soldiers of the Portuguese Army under the immediate command of Field Marshal Sir William Carr Beresford which have so essentially contributed to the late military operations' (PRO, AO 16/54/1). Beresford's tireless efforts, ably backed by many other dedicated British and Portuguese officers, produced an admirably competent field force – the 'fighting cocks of the army', in Wellington's famous phrase.

### Brigades

The Portuguese line infantry and Cazadores (light infantry) units were organised in brigades from September 1809 to 1814, these usually being attached to British divisions of Wellington's army. The brigades generally bore their commander's names – although the 5th was also called the Porto Brigade – and were not actually numbered until 13 August 1813. They were, from September 1809:

*1st Brigade* 1st and 16th Line Infantry, 4th Cazadores added from 5 August 1810. Commanded by Denis Pack until 19 July 1813, John Wilson until 10 November 1813, Archibald Campbell from 23 November 1813. The brigade acted independently.

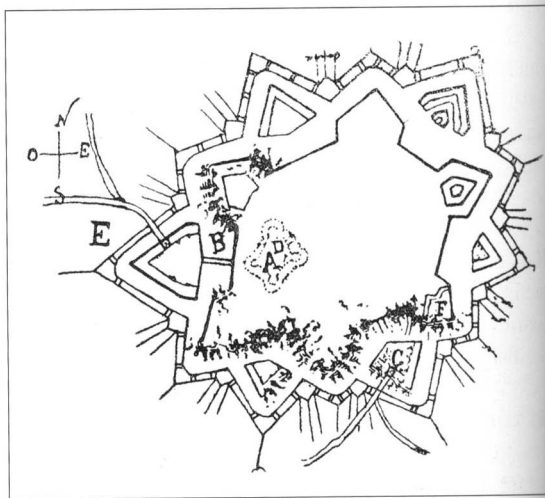
*2nd Brigade* 2nd and 14th Line Infantry. Commanded by Agostinho Luiz da Fonseca until about June 1811, Antonio Hipolito Costa thereafter. Formed part of the Portuguese Division with Wellington's army from 16 December 1809 onwards.

*3rd Brigade* 3rd and 15th Line Infantry, 6th Cazadores from 25 October to 20 December 1810, 8th Cazadores from 14 March 1811. Commanded by W.H.Campbell until 29 September 1809, Charles Miller until the end of January 1810, Thomas McMahon until July 1810, W.F.Spry until about October 1813, Luiz do Rego Barreto thereafter. Attached to the 4th British Division from 28 April to 7 May 1810 and to the 5th British Division from 6 October 1810 onwards.

*4th Brigade* 4th and 10th Line Infantry, 10th Cazadores added from 8 April 1812. Commanded by Archibald Campbell until 3 September 1813, John Buchan from November 1813 onwards. Formed part of the Portuguese Division with Wellington's army from 16 December 1809 onwards.

*5th Brigade* 6th and 18th Line Infantry, 6th Cazadores added from 5 August 1810. Commanded by W.H.Campbell from 29 September 1809 until he was killed in action on 2 January 1811, Manuel Pamplona Rangel until 14 March 1811, Charles Ashworth until

**Sketch plan of the north-eastern fortress city of Almeida after the catastrophic explosion during the French siege of August 1810. Some 70 guns were bombarding Almeida when, on the evening of the 26th, a lucky shell 'exploded in the powder magazine', in the words of a French dragoon. 'Not only the magazine blew up but almost the whole city; houses, churches, towers and palaces, everything collapsed! The earth was crevassed up to our camp. I never heard such an awful noise. This magazine, situated at the centre of city, contained about 100,000 pounds of powder'. Some 5,000 surviving men of the garrison surrendered the next day. The letter 'A' indicates the old castle, and 'D' the site of the magazine; the walls were destroyed on the south and west sides, rendering the place indefensible.**



six years in the regular army. The province was the general area for recruiting the conscripts, who were first drafted by the Ordenanza and then trained by the affiliated militia regiment (see forthcoming MAA 356 for more details). From 1806 the recruiting system was refined according to the three newly created military divisions of the country

When the army was re-raised in 1808 the same recruiting system was employed, the Ordenanza brigades and militia regiments being recreated. On 15 December 1809, in order to complete the regiments, it was decreed that every man able to bear arms between 18 and 35 years of age (reduced to 30 from 1813) was to be drafted, with one tenth of them kept at the provincial depots in reserve. Initially the recruits were sent at once to their different regular regiments with very little or no basic training. What they learned with their regiments was better than nothing, but insufficient to create steady, well drilled and disciplined units.

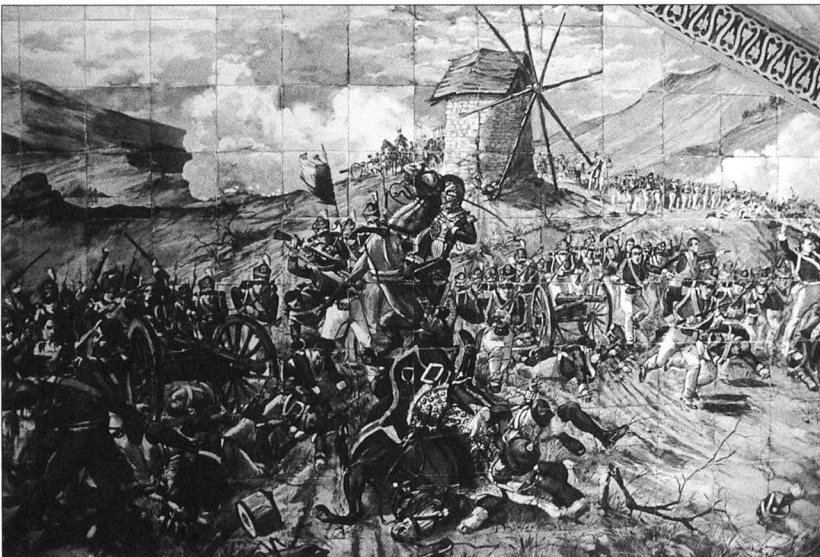
Beresford therefore created, in May 1810, a central recruit depot for the line infantry and Cazadores. The great coastal fortress of Peniche was selected and Col Blunt, seconded from the British 3rd Foot (The Buffs), was appointed inspector-general of the recruiting service. Officers and NCOs detached from the various regiments were posted to Peniche to drill and organise their men prior to sending them on to their units in the field. At Peniche they were clothed, fed and given basic training; this was important as these men, described on their arrival there as 'depressed, half-starved, and ill-treated peasants', would be expected to serve in concert with British units when they reached their regiments. The manual and words of command for the platoon exercise were now given in English and Portuguese together to ensure comprehension of orders throughout the united army. The results of the training regime were outstanding; but Peniche proved to be swampy and unhealthy for the recruits, and in 1811 the depot was moved to Mafra near Lisbon.

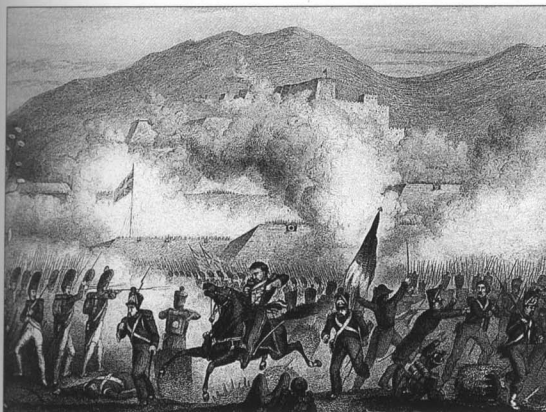
In early 1812 'the success of the Depot for infantry recruits at Mafra' persuaded Beresford to organise a similar establishment for the cavalry at Salvatera, under the command of Col John Brown, formerly of the 5th Cavalry. The Portuguese cavalry could never be completed as

a totally mounted force, but this depot trained the recruits and their young horses for those regiments which were 'mounted in an efficient state' with the army in the field.

The efficiency of this recruiting system was proved by the fact that in barely two years the regular army effectively doubled to an establishment of some 55,000 men, the largest in Portugal's history. Of this total some 30,000-35,000 were providing about a third to a half of Wellington's field army.

**Portuguese infantry overcome  
French guns at Bussaco,  
27 September 1810. Azujelo by  
Jorge Colaco, made at the end of  
the last century.  
(Bussaco Palace)**





Marshal Masséna's troops are stopped at the lines of Torres Vedras in October 1810.

## Discipline

The system of discipline was according to the Portuguese Articles of War, a code dating from as long ago as 1643 but which was still considered quite efficient during the Napoleonic Wars. Regimental courts-martial were preceded by courts of enquiry to gather evidence. A varying number of officers sat at the court-martial, their ranks and numbers depending on the rank of the individual on trial. For the trial of even a private for a major offence a field officer was to preside over a board consisting of three captains, three lieutenants, three ensigns, and – revolutionary to British eyes – three sergeants, three corporals,

three lance-corporals and three privates. A key officer at the court-martial was the regimental 'auditor', the equivalent to the British judge-advocate, who ensured that legal procedure was followed. The findings of all courts-martial were reviewed, until 1809, by the Council of War; thereafter Marshal Beresford ordered that they be referred to the auditor-general (judge-advocate-general), who transmitted dubious cases to the commander-in-chief.

Major crimes such as conspiracy, theft, wanton neglect of equipment and disobedience were liable to the death penalty. This was carried out by firing squad or by the Iberian specialty of strangulation by garrote. Disrespect to superiors could condemn a man to hard labour on the fortifications. Feigning illness could get him banished to an African garrison for life. A host of other minor offences were to be 'severely punished', which could mean imprisonment with labour, or the 'pancada'. The 'Pancadas de espada de Prancha' consisted of striking the bare back with the flat of a sword; a maximum of 50 blows was allowed, given five at a time by corporals taking turns. While this punishment did not tear the flesh as did the British cat-o'-nine-tails, Dr Halliday, who served with the Portuguese army, knew of 'more than two or three instances where the poor sufferer had dropped down dead from a rupture of the aorta, immediately after receiving thirty of these pancadas'.

Marshal Beresford forbade the use of the sword, which was replaced by a cane. Another practice which he forbade was the habit of some officers and NCOs of 'kicking and buffeting the poor soldiers on every occasion', which quickly disappeared under the new system.

## BRIEF CHRONOLOGY OF OPERATIONS

These notes list the Portuguese units which served in the main battles of the war:

### 1808

*1-4 August* British troops led by LtGen Sir Arthur Wellesley arrive in Portugal. *17 August* Combat of Roliça; French withdraw (12th, 21st, 24th Inf; 6th Cazad; 6th, 11th, 12th Cav dets.: Lisbon Police Guard det.; 4th Artillery det.). *21 August* Battle of Vimiero; French under Marshal



Junot defeated by Anglo-Portuguese force. Convention of Sintra (or Cintra) allows evacuation of the French from Portugal; Wellesley, though not responsible, recalled to Britain for enquiry.

*December* Fort Oyapock in French Guyana taken by Portuguese force from Brazil. Portuguese and British ships blockade the French colony.

### 1809

*January* Mixed force of Portuguese colonial infantry and artillery from Brazil take Cayenne with Royal Navy help, and occupy French Guyana until 1817.

*17 January* Battle of Corunna; Sir John Moore killed, British army evacuates northern Spain.

*March (early)* Gen Beresford arrives at Lisbon to take command of the Portuguese army. *10-30 March* Marshal Soult invades northern Portugal, takes Porto (6th, 9th, 18th, 21st Inf, Loyal Lusitanian Legion det.; 12th Cav det.; 1st and 4th Arty dets; Guarda Real da Policia, volunteers, militias, Ordenanza).

*18 April-3 May* Portuguese forces delay French at Amarante bridge on the upper River Douro (12th Inf, 4th Arty det., militias, Ordenanza).

*22 April* Wellesley arrives in Lisbon as supreme commander of Anglo-Portuguese forces. *11 May* Combat of Grijo (16th Inf). *12 May* Wellesley retakes Porto (10th and 16th Inf). Soult retreats into Spain. *14 May* Combat of Alcantara (Loyal Lusitanian Legion, Idanha Militia, cavalry det.). (*28 July* Battle of Talavera – no Portuguese presence; Wellesley's British force, with Spanish Army of Estramadura, defeats Marshal Victor.)

*August* Sir Robert Wilson's force (Loyal Lusitanian Legion det., 2nd, 3rd Cazad, and Spanish troops) goes deep into Spain as far as vicinity of Madrid, but is scattered by Marshal Ney at Banos.

(*September* Wellesley created Viscount Wellington of Talavera.)

### 1810

*24 July* Combat on River Coa (1st, 3rd Cazad). *10 August* Combat at Puebla de Sanabria (12th Cav; Tras os Monte Militia units). *15-27 August* Siege and fall of Almeida (24th Inf; 11th Cav det.; Viseu, Arganil, Troncoso Militia; artillery).

*September* French army under Marshal Masséna advances into northern Portugal. *15 September* Combat of Fuente de Cantos (3rd det., 5th, 8th Cav). *27 September* Battle of Bussaco; Wellington's Anglo-Portuguese field army defeats pursuing Masséna; Portuguese troops behave well in first major battle of new army (1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th, 11th, 14th, 15th, 18th, 19th, 21st, 23rd Inf; 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 6th Cazad; Loyal Lusitanian Legion, artillery, Tomar Militia).

*1-9 October* Wellington's army retires within the Lines of Torres Vedras. Masséna fails to break the lines, and retires to Santarem on 14 November.

### 1811

*5 March* Masséna withdraws from Santarem towards Spain. *12-22 March* Defence of Campo

**During the defence of the lines of Torres Vedras in winter 1810/1811 Wellington lodged and had his HQ at this mansion in the village of Pero Negro.**



Maior (det. 3rd Arty, det. Portalegre Militia, Ordenanza). 29 March Allies take Guarda. 3 April Masséna and his army leave Portugal, but quickly re-invade to raise siege of Almeida.

5 May Battle of Fuentes de Onoro; Wellington drives off Masséna's army (3rd, 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th, 12th, 15th, 18th, 19th, 21st Inf; 1st, 2nd, 6th, 8th Cazad; 4th and 10th Cav; four artillery batteries).

16 May Battle of Albuera; Beresford, bungling his detached command of an Anglo-Portuguese corps operating with the Spanish, wins an unnecessarily costly victory over Marshal Soult (2nd, 4th, 5th, 10th, 11th, 14th, 23rd Inf; 5th Cazad, Loyal Lusitanian Legion, 1st and 7th Cav; artillery with 12 guns).

25 September Combat of El Bodon (21st Inf; artillery).

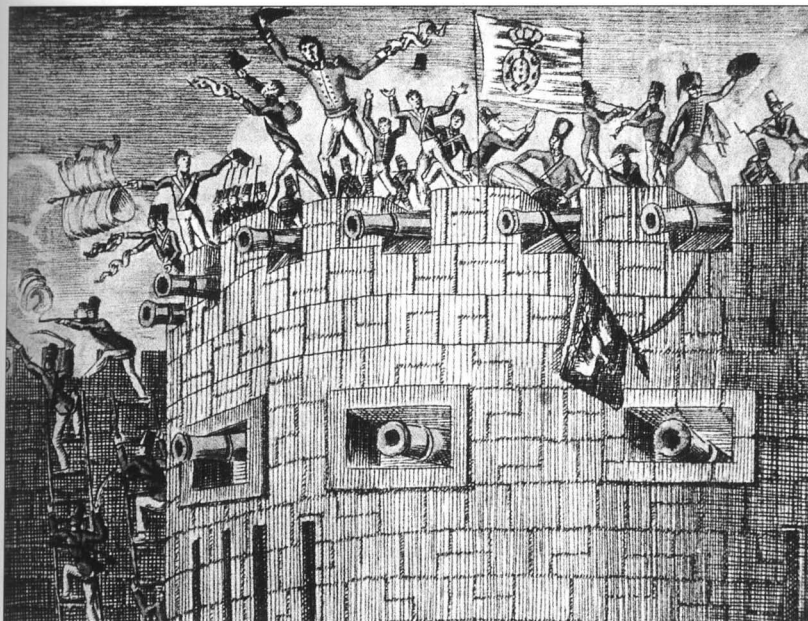
## 1812

8-19 January Siege and capture of Ciudad Rodrigo (1st, 9th, 16th, 21st Inf; 1st, 3rd, 4th Cazad; artillery).

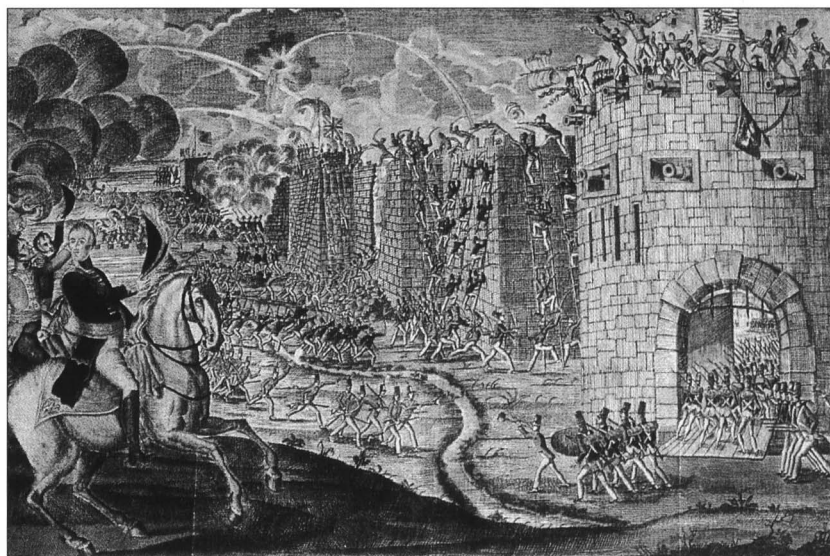
17 March-6 April Siege and capture of Badajoz (9th, 11th, 21st, 23rd Inf; 1st, 3rd, 7th Cazad; artillery).

19 May Combat at Almaraz bridge (6th, 18th Inf; 6th Cazad; artillery).

22 July Battle of Salamanca (or Arapiles); Wellington routs Marshal Marmont's army and French temporarily abandon Madrid (1st, 3rd, 7th, 8th, 9th, 11th, 12th, 13th, 14th, 15th, 16th, 19th, 21st, 23rd



A naive but spirited contemporary Portuguese print of the storming of Badajoz on 6 April 1812. Wellington cheerfully waves his hat (left) as red-coated British and blue-coated Portuguese infantrymen swarm up the scaling ladders, and Portuguese soldiers plant their national flag – or a regimental second colour – on a tower. Some of the Portuguese are shown with black accoutrements. (Museu Militar do Porto)



Inf; 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th, 7th, 8th, 9th, 12th Cazad; 1st and 11th Cav; artillery with 6 guns).

*12 August* Allies enter Madrid; capture of Fort Retiro (7th, 15th, 19th Inf; 2nd Cazad).

*September* Blockade of Burgos and assault on Fort San Miguel (1st, 16th Inf; 4th Cazad). Siege fails and Wellington forced to retreat into Portugal once more.

### 1813

*21 June* Battle of Vittoria; Wellington decisively defeats King Joseph Bonaparte and Marshal Jourdan (1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th, 11th, 13th, 14th, 15th, 16th, 17th, 18th, 19th, 21st, 23rd, 24th Inf; 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th, 10th, 11th Cazad; 1st, 6th, 11th, 12th Cav; artillery with 12 guns). *31 July* Combat of Pirineus (or Pamplona) (2nd, 4th, 10th, 14th Inf; 4th, 10th Cazad).

*25 July – 31 August* Siege and storming of San Sebastian (3rd, 11th, 13th, 15th, 17th, 23rd, 24th Inf; 1st, 3rd, 5th, 7th, 8th Cazad; artillery).

*31 August-1 September* Combat on the Bidassoa river; Marshal Soult forced back to French border (8th, 11th, 12th, 23rd Inf; 2nd, 7th, 9th Cazad).

*7 October* The Allied army crosses into France; all its remaining actions force Soult steadily back.

*10 November* Battle of the Nivelle (1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th, 11th, 12th, 13th, 14th, 15th, 16th, 17th, 18th, 19th, 21st, 23rd, 24th Inf; 1st, 2nd, 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th, 11th Cazad; artillery).

*9-13 December* Battle of the Nive (or Bayonne) (same units as at Nivelle).

**The battle of Vittoria, 21 June 1813, as presented in a contemporary Portuguese print. (Museu Militar do Porto)**



### 1814

*23 February* Combat of the Adour (13th, 24th Inf; 5th Cazad) and Hastingue (7th, 19th Inf; 2nd Cazad). *27 February* Battle of Orthez (2nd, 4th, 8th, 9th, 10th, 11th, 12th, 21st, 23rd Inf; 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 7th, 9th, 10th, 11th Cazad; artillery).

*13 March* Combat of Viella (4th Cav).

*10 April* Capture of Toulouse (8th, 9th, 11th, 12th, 17th, 21st, 23rd Inf; 1st, 3rd, 7th, 9th, 11th Cazad; artillery).

News of Napoleon's abdication arrives the following day.

## UNIFORMS AND EQUIPMENT

### British material aid

Britain had supplied Portugal with arms at various dates. Between 1796 and 1801 these shipments totalled some 32,500 muskets, 17,000 carbines (including 8,000 sergeants'), 6,300 pistols and 16,500 swords (including 3,500 for infantry and drummers), and 20 brass 12-pounder field guns, with ammunition, accoutrements and equipments (PRO, WO 1/223). However, it was from 1808 that this British government aid became extraordinary; money, arms of all sorts, clothing, and equipments of all types were sent in great quantity

To that end, in November 1808 Britain agreed to provide not only the



money to pay 10,000 men, but also all arms, clothing and equipment for that number. This was doubled to 20,000 men in 1809, and increased yet again to 30,000 by January 1810 – in addition to providing the £130,000 necessary to increase the abysmal pay of Portuguese officers. It was, to quote the House of Commons papers, ‘a great and generous effort’ from an already much indebted British Treasury.

It was an extraordinarily expensive policy for a government already deep in debt whose spending was practically out of control due to military operations and support to other countries. It is therefore hardly surprising that in February 1809 the wisdom of further aid to Portugal was questioned in the House of Lords, raising the possibility of ‘the positive refusal’ of such aid ‘however visionary the project of defending Portugal by English money and English troops against the united forces of the whole Continent’. When it came to a vote the policy for further aid was carried by 124 to 94, which shows there were substantial reservations on the issue. Nevertheless, the aid to Portugal rose from £600,000 to £2,000,000. The opposition to such spending continued; and in 1812 Lord Castlereagh ruled that the value of all arms, clothing and equipments would henceforth be charged against the Portuguese subsidy.

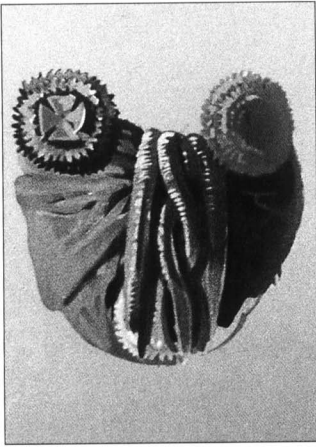
Portugal still had to pay for her own regular troops above the 30,000 men paid by Britain, as well as the militia, the Ordenanza and various other establishments, plus colonial troops and the navy. It was a tall order for a country with a modest peacetime economy which had been practically ruined by trade sanctions and repeated invasions. Revenue was moderate even from something as basic as the tax on salt cod — a staple element in the country’s diet — which brought in less than £30,000; so in spite of Britain’s open-handed aid there were real hardships due to lack of funds. Fortunately this burden could be to some extent off-set against the wealth of Portugal’s colonies, especially Brazil, which could fund their own defence and naval expenses and also contributed towards the war effort in Europe. The reduction of the British subsidy in 1812 was a disappointment to the Portuguese government, but was balanced by increased revenue now that the war was finally being fought entirely outside the national borders. Some Portuguese ministers started suggesting that the Portuguese army in the field should no longer be brigaded with British troops but should form a distinct corps. Wellington managed to counter this view, but it was an indication that British influence over Portuguese policy would, in time, come to an end.

### **Weapons and accoutrements**

In concrete terms, besides pay and supplies, the amount of arms furnished was impressive. In June 1808, 2,200 muskets and 500 sea service sabres were sent from Gibraltar. Nearly 33,000 muskets, 120 rifles, over 8,000 cavalry swords and 17,000 pikes were sent from



**The Duke of Wellington, c.1810-1815, in the dress uniform of a marshal in the Portuguese army according to the 1806 regulations. Wellington’s Portuguese uniform is displayed at Apsley House in London. Print after Pellegrini. (The Count of Amarante and Marquis of Chaves, Porto)**



The cockades worn on the Duke of Wellington's bicorn hat during the Peninsular War. Two smaller cockades – one scarlet with a cross, for Spain (left), and one red and blue, for Portugal (right) – were fastened to the larger black British cockade either side of the gold cord.  
(Print after Gibbs)

England that July and August, and a further 10,000 muskets in December. In January 1809 Gen Sir John Cradock wrote of the Portuguese army that 'except for about 10,000 English arms, I believe they have no other... Many of their regiments of cavalry are without horses, without pistols, swords, &c. Their battalions are not half clothed...' (PRO, WO 1/232). Consequently more arms were sent, especially in 1809 and 1810. In all, between 1808 and 1814, Portugal received about 160,000 muskets, 2,300 Baker rifles, 3,000 cavalry carbines, 7,000 pistols and some 15,000 cavalry swords. Ordnance was also furnished.

Accoutrements were also supplied from Britain. Although Portuguese soldiers are consistently shown with white buff accoutrement belts, especially by modern illustrators, these were in fact mostly of black leather. An initial 10,000 sets of black accoutrements were supplied in June 1808, another 10,000 black sets in May 1809, and a further 20,000 black sets in February 1810. These 40,000 sets of black accoutrements were 'perfectly new, of the established (British) pattern and made to hold 60 rounds of ball cartridges'. In addition to these, 10,000 sets of used accoutrements were sent in August 1810, 6,000 of black and 4,000 of buff leather; these 'were selected from those returned by (British) volunteer corps and (the boxes) were of varying sizes and patterns principally made to hold 18 rounds'. In 1813, another 20,000 sets were supplied along with the muskets shipped that year and a further 20,000 in reserve; the colour of the belts was not mentioned, but all were to have '60 round pouches and belts with plain breast plates', as well as musket slings (PRO, WO 1/848 and 257). There were also shipments of cavalry accoutrements, as well as smaller quantities to individual corps such as the Loyal Lusitanian Legion. In all, in excess of 150,000 sets of accoutrements were shipped from Britain to Portugal during the war. The men's shoulder belt plates appear to have been generally of brass, oval with a stud and two hooks at the back and without inscriptions. Equipment such as knapsacks, haversacks and canteens were also sent from Britain in great numbers; these were similar to those of the British army.

### Clothing

Material for about 190,000 suits of clothing was sent from England between 1808 and 1815. Very little of this – apart from some green uniforms for the Loyal Lusitanian Legion – appears to have been shipped in 1808. In 1809, over 32,240 suits were sent. Of these, 2,240 were green for the Loyal Lusitanian Legion; 20,000 were grey jackets and pantaloons; and 10,000 were unmade 'suits in materials', along with 53,000 pairs of shoes, 5,700 pairs of boots, 10,000 black leather stocks and 30,000 shakos with plumes.

The supply and quality of the grey clothing was very ill received by Beresford, who complained to Wellington in October 1809 about 'the 20,000 suits of clothing sent out to the Portuguese Army, very little benefit has been derived from the white cloth and grey uniforms /made of great coat cloth/ not being at all applicable and they are lying here'. Wellington in turn wrote to Lord Liverpool that 'all of these 20,000 (suits) were useless, and orders have now been given to send them elsewhere'. Lord Bathurst did not want them back in England, and

instructed that they be sent to Spain where 'grey clothing will be no objection', except for a couple of thousand suits already in use. This meant that another 30,000 suits, this time of blue cloth, had to be swiftly shipped to Portugal.

Blue clothing was to be sent in early 1810. It was done without using the usual tender system, so as to hasten delivery, but again the resulting uniforms were disappointing. In July 1810 Beresford wrote to Wellington that the quality of these clothes was below that of British soldiers, the sizes were often too small, and the facing colours were often put on wrongly so that the coatees had 'to be here again undone, and remade up' - all of which was a waste of money. This caused more recriminating correspondence between officials and contractors in Britain, the latter defending the quality of their products and the swiftness of their services, and somewhat questioning Beresford's judgement (PRO, WO 1/242, 244 and Dispatches V).

The ever-energetic Beresford now came up with a stream of detailed instructions and memoranda as to the nature of Portuguese infantry uniforms. The clothiers had obviously not been too careful with the colour and manufacture of the previous batches; they were now to regret it. Beresford required all materials for all coatees, waistcoats and pantaloons to be sent out unmade, as the Portuguese were perfectly capable of making the suits up properly after delivery. This caused some grumbling by contractors whose profits would be cut by this system, but Wellington and Liverpool prevailed, and supply officials had to 'most readily comply' in October 1810 (PRO, WO 1/1120). From that time on the material only was sent to Portugal for making the coatees, waistcoats, trousers and half-gaiters on the spot. The buttons, stocks, shirts, short stockings and shoes were made in Britain and sent out.

### The 1806 Uniform Regulations

The blue, somewhat Germanic-looking uniform of the Portuguese army introduced in the early 1760s was part of Count de Lippe's reforms. In the 1790s the coats were still 'cutaway' with turned-down collars and rather small hats, while other nations were adopting standing collars and large bicorn hats. Fashion seems to have caught up with some of the Portuguese military by about 1800, as there is evidence of standing collars, coats closing at the waist, and bicorns. Officers also adopted epaulettes, apparently during the 1780s. Gorgets were gold or silver as per the button colour.

Cockades were ordered to be black from 1764 to 1796. In the late 1780s some green and white cockades were also seen. From 7 January 1796 the cockades were ordered to be scarlet and blue. Portuguese cockades were usually of a bow shape.

The reforms ordered on 19 May 1806 included sweeping and innovative dress regulations. The smart new uniform consisted of a single-breasted coatee, with a becoming high-fronted shako festooned with cords and with a plume on the left side for foot troops, and helmets for cavalry. Collar and cuffs were of the corps' facing colour, while the piping and turnbacks were according to its military region. All regular units now had yellow metal buttons and insignia. The rank badges were as follows:

*Colonel* Two gold scale epaulettes with gold bullion fringes.

*Lieutenant-colonel* Right shoulder, gold scale epaulette with gold bullion



**LtGen Francisco de Paula Leite; this experienced, efficient, active and ingenious general officer was held in high regard by all memoirists who met him. In 1810, during the French invasion by Marshal Masséna, he was given the command of the great fortress of Elvas, the key to south-eastern Portugal. Of all the Portuguese generals, Oman wrote, Leite was 'the one whom Wellington most trusted'. Generals below the rank of marshal wore gold bullion epaulettes with silver stars on the straps; cf Plate C. (Museu Militar do Porto)**



fringes; left shoulder, gold scale epaulette with gold strand fringes.

*Major* Right shoulder, gold scale epaulette with gold strand fringes; left shoulder, gold scale epaulette with gold bullion fringes.

*Captain* Two gold scale epaulettes with gold strand fringes.

*Lieutenant* Right shoulder, gold scale epaulette with gold strand fringes; left shoulder, gold scale epaulette without fringes.

*Sub-lieutenant* Right shoulder, gold scale epaulette without fringes; left shoulder, gold scale epaulette with gold strand fringes.

*Ensign or cornet* Two gold scale epaulette straps without fringes.

*First sergeant or quartermaster sergeant* Two brass scale epaulettes with yellow silk fringes.

*Second sergeant, drum-major or trumpet-major* Right shoulder, brass scale epaulette with yellow silk fringes; left shoulder, brass scale epaulette without fringes.

*Third sergeant of infantry or artillery* Right shoulder, brass scale epaulette without fringes; left shoulder, brass scale epaulette with yellow silk fringes.

*Corporal* Two yellow laces above each cuff.

*Lance-corporal* One yellow lace above each cuff.

*Surgeon-major* Two narrow gold laces intertwined to form a chain pattern chevron on upper sleeve, point up, touching the top of the sleeve

As time passed, some changes to the NCOs' rank badges appeared. Instead of epaulettes, British-style chevrons were seen on the upper arm with three or four bars of 'gold lace, according to the fantasy

**General in the 1806 dress uniform; and general officer in undress, with embroidery at collar and cuffs only – cf Plate C. (Museu Militar do Porto)**



of commanders'. Marshal Beresford ordered this stopped and re-issued the 1806 regulations for the rank badges of NCOs and privates on 24 March 1813.

Regarding **hairstyles**, Portuguese officers and men were generally clean shaven during the Peninsular War. The exceptions were grenadiers and Cazadores, some of whom were reported or illustrated with moustaches, although this French-inspired fashion was not universal. Sappers had full sets of moustaches and beards, as was traditional in most armies.

### General Officers and Staff

The highest rank in the Portuguese army was that of marshal-general, followed by marshal; general of infantry, of cavalry or of artillery; lieutenant-general, 'marechal de campo' (major-general), and brigadier-general. These titles were brought in by the Count de Lippe from 1762 to replace the ancient titles such as 'Sargento Mor de Batalha' (major-general) used until then. In 1809 the Duke of Wellington was made the marshal-general of the Portuguese army by Joao VI, the supreme rank which gave him the necessary authority as commander-in-chief of Allied forces. The marshal of the Portuguese army was William Carr Beresford; this was the highest executive rank in that force. In 1812 there were two generals, 15 lieutenant-generals (one British), ten major-generals (one British) and 27 brigadier-generals (11 British), giving a total of 56 general officers of whom 43 were Portuguese.

*Uniforms* The dress worn by Portuguese general officers before the beginning of the 19th century was vaguely defined. The first regulation appeared in 1762 but mostly concerned rank distinctions. A marshal had 'three fingers'-wide gold lace buttonholes and gold buttons on the coat and waistcoat. Lieutenant-generals had two gold laces 'three fingers' wide edging the coat and its cuffs and the waistcoat. A marechal de campo (major-general) had one such lace. Brigadier-generals had a plainer gold lace 'two fingers' wide. An 'epaulette of gold cord' might also be worn. The uniform as such appears to have been an all-blue coat with buff or white waistcoat and breeches. According to portraits of generals, these instructions were interpreted freely – see Plate B.

The 1806 regulations for general officers were very detailed. They even included plates showing in detail the types of embroidery, lace, buttons, weapons, etc to which each rank was entitled. There were two types of uniforms: dress and undress. The **dress uniform** was an all-blue coat with long tails which were not turned back, gold piping edging the collar, cuffs, horizontal pockets, front closure and back vent, gold buttons and buttonhole lace. The uniform was completed by a red sash with silver tassels; white waistcoat, breeches and stockings; gold-buckled shoes or black high boots; a bicorn without lace (many portraits show gold lace, however) and with white plume edging from end to end, gold cord and cockade loop. Dress horse housings were red edged with gold lace and embroidery. Embroidery and epaulettes were according to rank:

*Marshal-general* The uniform coat and waistcoat were edged with the most elaborate and richest palm leaf embroidery, the skirts being almost covered. No epaulettes nor aiguillettes.



**Col Luis Machados de Mendoza, Alencastre Infantry Regiment, c.1805. The regimental uniform was a blue coat with blue collar, white lapels, cuffs and turnbacks, and gold buttons. This unit became the 16th (Vieira Telles) Regiment during the reforms of 1806; cf Plate H3. The 16th fought in Denis Pack's 1st Brigade at Porto, Ciudad Rodrigo, Salamanca, Burgos and Vittoria, alongside the 1st Infantry and 4th Cazadores.**



**Officer of Engineers (left) and officer of 16th Infantry Regiment, 1808-1809. In this print after William Bradford – and only here – the colour down the front of the infantry officer's coatee is shown as if it were wide lace rather than regulation piping. However, some other details are convincing – cf Plate E2. The engineer is shown in a double-breasted coat instead of having the single row of nine buttons specified in Portuguese sources.**

button at the centre of each, worn points-down above the cuff on the left sleeve only.

*Inspectors* General officers who were inspectors had an epaulette on their left shoulder which had three, long flat laces ending in thin fringes instead of bullion.

*Governors* General officers who were governors wore their general's uniform.

The **undress uniform** for generals consisted of an all-blue coat with white piping and turnbacks; eight gold buttons on the front and three to each vertical pocket but none on the cuffs; and blue and gold turnback ornaments. Only the collars and cuffs were embroidered, with the same pattern of gold palm leaf lace as on the dress coat appropriate to each rank; and epaulettes of rank were worn. Brigadier-generals had, however, flat gold lace rather than embroidery edging their coat collar and cuffs. Generals could also wear in undress a white waistcoat, blue breeches, black high boots, and a bicorne laced with wide gold lace and edged with white plumes from end to end, with gold cord and cockade loop. Brigadier-generals had no edging plume to their hats, but a standing white plume instead. Horse housings for undress were blue edged with gold lace.

Generals who were colonels of regiments could wear these distinctions on their regimental uniforms but, in practice, it appears that few did.

A note must be added about the well-known dislike of many British officers when on campaign for any uniform in favour of more comfortable and practical travelling dress. The example started at the top. Wellington, the commander-in-chief, usually wore his famous three cockades (see illustration) on a plain hat, and a common civilian blue

*Marshal* The uniform had rich palm leaf embroidery, but not quite so elaborate; it covered much of the collar, the chest and much of the sides of the skirt.

*General* Palm leaf embroidery covering much of the collar, edging the chest and the sides of the skirt. One gold cord epaulette on the right shoulder supporting a very rich and elaborate gold aiguillette with gilt tips.

*Lieutenant-general* Less elaborate palm leaf embroidery. Three rows of embroidery on each cuff. Two gold epaulettes, each with three silver stars on the strap.

*Marechal de campo (major-general)* Similar but narrower palm leaf embroidery. Two rows of embroidery on each cuff. Two gold epaulettes, each with two silver stars on the strap.

*Brigadier-general* Wide gold lace edging the collar, cuffs, pockets, front closure and back vent. Two gold epaulettes, each with one silver star on the strap.

*War Council (Conselheiros de Guerra)* Generals who belonged to the kingdom's War Council had three chain-lace embroidered chevrons with a



coat or frock coat, with a grey greatcoat added at Bussaco. But his Portuguese soldiers would recognise and cheer him nonetheless; at San Sebastian, dressed in a grey frock and grey pantaloons with his low bicorn covered in an oilskin, some Cazadores instantly recognised him and shouted 'Douro! Douro!' — the nickname the Portuguese gave him.

Marshal Beresford was fond of uniform 'fuss and feathers' when in Lisbon, where he would be seen riding the streets with a glittering suite of staff officers, but in the field it was another matter. At Salamanca he wore a blue civilian frock coat with a plain white waistcoat. He also received a greatcoat from England in February 1810. (See also Michael Barthorp, *Wellington's Generals*, MAA 84.) It seems that many of the British officers seconded to the Portuguese army followed suit and, no doubt, some Portuguese officers must have opted for comfort as well. Beresford's orders to his army insisted on the wear of proper uniforms, yet he turned a blind eye for his own ADC, who did not have a Portuguese uniform for years.



**Infantry officer: an engraving after the 1806 dress regulations showing the front and the back of the uniform.**

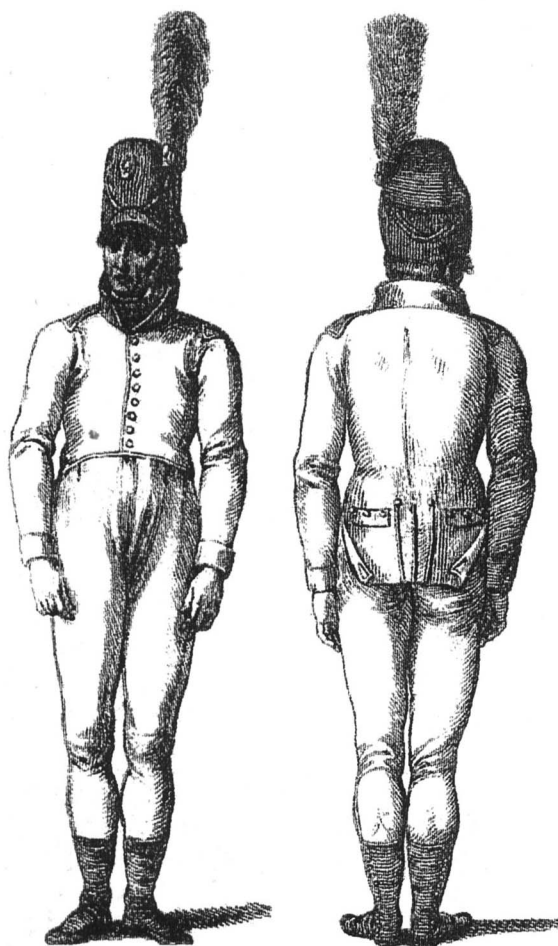
**Note the six buttons and three lines of piping around the central rear vent of the coatee; and the oval plate fixed high on the front of the *barretina* shako.**

### **General Staff of the Army**

The Estado Mayor do Exercito included various grades of adjutants, quartermasters, inspectors and aides-de-camp to general officers. The adjutant-general had four deputies and six assistant deputies, six divisional deputies and 18 brigade majors. The officers attached to the quartermaster-general became a separate department from 1809, but there remained about 60 or 70 officers who were mostly orderlies or aides-de-camps (ADC). Among these officers was Capt William Warre, appointed to be Marshal Beresford's senior ADC. Warre was replaced in May 1812 by Capt William Sewell, who held that appointment until April 1814. Beresford also had five Portuguese and another British ADC; the other generals had from one to six ADCs each.

The headquarters of the six provinces and the district of Porto also each had a general commanding, with ADCs and a military secretary. Each infantry division was to have an assistant to the adjutant-general, an assistant to the quartermaster-general; each brigade, a brigade-major and an assistant brigade-major.

*Uniform* There are no known regulations before 1806. The staff officers appear to have worn their regimental or corps uniforms while attached to the staff. By the 1806 regulations, they were assigned a blue coat with blue collar and cuffs, white piping and turnbacks, three gold chain-pattern laces to each cuff, two at each side of the collar and a slip of lace to each turnback, gold buttons, white breeches, and a bicorn hat laced gold with mixed blue, white and gold cord and a white-over-scarlet plume. They were to be armed with a sword only. See Plate D for some variations on these regulations.



**Infantry private: front and rear views of the uniform in an engraving after the 1806 dress regulations.**

### **Quartermaster-General's Department**

The Quartermaster-General's Department was originally part of the General Staff of the Army. The Portuguese army being relatively static in peacetime, the office of quartermaster-general was not too crucial and went to a superannuated general officer at court. On the rare occasions when the army took the field, engineer officers would be detached to assume the duties as 'Deputados do Quartéis Generaes'.

From 1808 Portuguese troops were constantly in the field, and in early 1809 Marshal Beresford appointed Benjamin D'Urban to establish a distinct department. D'Urban set it up along the lines of the British QMG's Department with the assistance of several British as well as Portuguese officers. The quartermaster-general had four deputies, 12 assistants and 12 deputy assistants. The Portuguese officers were most enthusiastic, and became so proficient that D'Urban and other Britons could be appointed to other duties in 1811. The department worked closely with its British counterpart for the rest of the Peninsular War. *Uniform* See Plate D.

### **The Corps of Mounted Guides**

This unit was raised in Portugal from 26 September 1808 'to act as guides and orderlies' to the British generals and their staff. Initially the Corps of Guides only had a sergeant, a corporal and 18 troopers. It was commanded from 1808 to 1814 by Major (later LtCol) George

Scovell, seconded from the QMG's Department. Wellington later mentioned that when he took command of the army in April 1809 he 'formed a Corps of Horsemen then denominated the Corps of Guides which was placed under the command of an officer of the (British) Quartermaster-general's Department' (PRO, WO 1/257) - it was actually already in existence as the small troop described above. Wellington rapidly expanded and transformed it into a real military intelligence corps at the service of the leaders of the Anglo-Portuguese army in the field, and it was indeed attached to the British QMG's Department. Some 15 officers (including 12 Portuguese) were appointed to the corps between 25 April and 3 June 1809; many more enlisted men were also added and, in 1813, the corps had 12 officers and 193 men. In 1808-1810 the corps was largely Portuguese, its officers being 'generally students of the University of Coimbra'. All were to speak both English and Portuguese. Later recruits were 'generally of foreign deserters' and Spaniards in order to gather information for Wellington's army in Spain and southern France.

They also took advantage of the semaphores in the Peninsula. In the 1812-1814 campaigns the Corps of Mounted Guides was increasingly tasked with transmission of despatches, and also became more involved

in provost duties. This corps is somewhat hard to classify as it was not listed on the official establishment of either the Portuguese or the British forces. As it was initially raised in Portugal with Portuguese personnel, we have included it with the Portuguese forces. It was probably disbanded in the middle of 1814.

*Uniform* The clothing issued in 1808 was obviously in the style of the light dragoons. Its 'complete suits' included helmets, 'a pelisse the same as the hussars', and boots. Stable dress included a red stable shirt, trousers, shoes with laces (PRO, WO 37/10). The guides were described in 1813 by Francis Larpent as dressed 'in scarlet jackets looking more regular than most Spanish regulars and not unlike our own volunteer yeomanry cavalry with an air of consequence'. This certainly indicates that the style was indeed that of the light dragoons before 1812-1813, featuring the Tarleton helmet and the jacket trimmed with cords. It would also seem to indicate that the guides wore the colours of the British QM's Department: scarlet faced with blue, with white or silver buttons and lace – see Plate D.

While this print after a contemporary watercolour of Portuguese infantrymen of c.1810-15 reproduces too dark to show much detail, they definitely wear the British-style 'stovepipe' shako which began to replace the *barretina* in 1809-10. The original upper plate and lower band in brass have been retained.

## THE LINE INFANTRY

In the last decades of the 18th century the line infantry had 26 regiments. These were not numbered but known by the name of the areas or towns to which they were attached (see the uniform chart below); a few, such as Lippe or Freire, bore the names of prestigious officers. Under Marshal Lippe's reforms each infantry regiment had two battalions, each having seven companies. It was led by a colonel, a lieutenant-colonel and a major with a staff consisting of an adjutant, a quarter-master, a surgeon, six assistant surgeons, a drum-major, an armourer and a provost. The 1st Battalion had a company of grenadiers and six companies of fusiliers; the 2nd Bn had a light company and six fusilier companies. Of the 26 regiments, three (Estremos, Moura and 1st Braganza) had been sent to reinforce the garrison of Brazil in 1767, and remained overseas. So there remained 23 regiments in Portugal until a 24th, the Lisboa Regiment, was raised in 1797 from part of the personnel from two disbanded marine regiments.

In the 1790s each company had an establishment of 116 NCOs and privates but the actual strength was far lower. Following the 'War of the Oranges' of 1801 the infantry regiments were supposed to have ten companies of 150 men each. Each regiment was divided into two battalions of five companies each, one battalion having a grenadier company and the other a light company. Again, the actual strength was lower than establishment. The



1806 regulations introduced the numbering of the regiments; although known henceforth by their numbers, each continued the traditions of the original areas where they were first raised. Each regiment was now attached to one of the country's three new military divisions:

<i>Regiment</i>	<i>Area</i>	<i>Division</i>
1st	(Lippe/Lisbon)	Centre
2nd	(Lagos)	Southern
3rd	(1st Olivenza)	Northern
4th	(Freire)	Centre
5th	(1st Elvas)	Southern
6th	(1st Porto)	Northern
7th	(Sebutal)	Centre
8th	(Evora)	Southern
9th	(Viana)	Northern
10th	(Lisbon)	Centre
11th	(1st Almeida)	Southern
12th	(Chaves)	Northern
13th	(Peniche)	Centre
14th	(Tavira)	Southern
15th	(2nd Olivenza)	Northern
16th	(Viera Telles)	Centre
17th	(2nd Elvas)	Southern
18th	(2nd Porto)	Northern
19th	(Cascaes)	Centre
20th	(Campo Maior)	Southern
21th	(Valenza)	Northern
22th	(Serpa)	Centre
23rd	(2nd Almeida)	Southern
24th	(Braganza)	Northern

**A Portuguese infantry regiment formed in square with colours in the centre is seen fighting off French cavalry, c.1810-1815. Note the British-style cylindrical shakos and white linen pantaloons. (Museu Militar do Porto)**

On 13 July 1808 the reorganised regiments were to have a single battalion of ten companies – eight of fusiliers, one each of grenadiers and light infantry. Each regiment had a staff consisting of: one colonel, one lieutenant-colonel, two majors, two adjutants, one quartermaster (a senior NCO, the equivalent of a British sergeant-major), two brigade sergeants, two quartermaster sergeants, one chaplain, one surgeon, two assistant surgeons, one gunsmith for woodwork, one gunsmith for ironwork,







20th Infantry Regiment, Cadiz, 1810. Blue coat and pantaloons, yellow collar, cuffs, lace and edging, blue shoulder strap piped yellow; black shako with yellow trim and red-over-white plume. This figure, captioned as the 20th Portuguese, was part of the Cadiz garrison in 1810, but many details are puzzling – especially the yellow lace on the chest, and the yellow instead of scarlet piping and turnbacks (see Table D). The yellow lace perhaps indicates that a bandsman of the 20th was sketched by Pacheco, which might explain the other anachronisms. Watercolour by Antonio Pareira Pacheco. (Biblioteca Publica Municipal, Santa Cruz de Tenerife, Canary Islands)

**Table A: Infantry regimental strengths, late 1808**

Regiment	Men	Arms	Uniforms	Location
1st	844	600	200	Lisbon
2nd	1,144	1,019	-	Abrantes
3rd	594	340	-	Estremos
4th	260	600	200	Lisbon
5th	449	371	-	-
6th	1,507	1,404	1,505	Porto, Lamego
7th	512	400	-	Setuba
8th	491	471	220	Castelo de Vide
9th	1,527	1,444	1,375	Tomar, Viana
10th	455	600	200	Lisbon
11th	1,409	1,390	264	Viseu
12th	1,542	1,200	-	Chaves, Vila Real
13th	578	600	200	Lisbon
14th	1,341	1,516	-	Tomar
15th	420	209	118	Vila Vizosa
16th	592	600	200	Lisbon
17th	244	186	68	Elvas
18th	1,815	1,545	1,344	Porto, Tomar
19th	459	250	-	Cascaes
20th	610	497	126	Campo Maior
21st	1,142	869	892	Valenza, Guimaraes
22nd	242	217	-	Elvas
23rd	1,389	1,281	-	Almeida
24th	1,534	1,534	-	Braganza

six sappers, one drum-major, one drum-corporal, two fifers, a bandmaster and eight bandsmen.

Each company had a captain, a lieutenant, two

sub-lieutenants, six sergeants, six corporals, six lance-corporals, two drummers and 128 privates.

Naturally, the regiments were often below the establishment although this improved over the years. The accompanying **Table A** shows the state of the re-raised infantry regiments as computed at the end of 1808 (PRO, WO 1/232).

This compilation shows that some 21,094 men had rallied to the regiments by December 1808, but that they had only 19,113 weapons and 6,912 uniforms. These, however, were new uniforms, as the men who still had old uniforms were not counted. Weapons were reported of 'various calibres to a great part of them, little fit for use, as well as the lethern belts'. From these beginnings British aid and Portuguese determination would produce one of the best infantries in Europe. By January 1811 the infantry had increased to an effective strength of about 36,000 men, only 1,200 short of its establishment strength (PRO, FO 63/120).

Sometimes assignments would be irrespective of traditional or district divisions. By early 1812 the distribution of the regiments was reported to be as in **Table B** (PRO, WO 1/401).

After the war most regiments were again attached to their 1806 locality, but some of these would subsequently change. Following the Peninsular War no regiments were disbanded, although the establishment was reduced to 24,264 infantry in late 1814 – only to be raised again to the old establishment of 37,248 on 21 October 1816.

## Uniforms and weapons

At the beginning of the 1790s the infantry coat was blue with collar, cuffs, lapels, turnbacks and buttons of various colours as shown in the accompanying **Table C**. The last three regiments listed – Estremos, Moura and 1st Braganza – were posted at Rio de Janeiro in Brazil. Not listed is the Lisboa Regiment, raised in 1797, from the two disbanded marine regiments. It appears eventually to have worn blue faced with scarlet, but still had its old green uniforms faced with scarlet in 1801 (see the section on the navy in the forthcoming third volume, MAA 356).

The style of infantry uniforms was somewhat old fashioned and distinctly similar to those of Frederickian Prussia, with long lapels having eight or more buttons, three buttons below the right lapel, the collar turned down, the cuffs with three buttons and the pockets horizontal with three buttons. In the 1760s the uniforms often had lace of the button colour but by the 1790s this had largely vanished. This cut and style appears to have remained much the same until the late 1790s, when standing collars appeared. From about 1800 the lapels were shortened and closed by hooks and eyes from the neck to the waist.

There was much variety in the colours of the waistcoats. Generally they were: *white* for Lippe, 1st Olivenza, Minas, 1st Porto, Setubal, Catelo de Vide, Viana, Peniche, Tavira, 2nd Olivenza, Alencastre, 2nd Elvas, Cascais, Valenza, Estremos, 1st and 2nd Braganza and Campo Maior; *blue* for Lagos, 1st Elvas and Valenza; *yellow* for Penamacor, Serpa, Almeida and Moura; *scarlet* for Chaves. The breeches were blue for all regiments except for yellow worn by Moura and 2nd Porto, and white by Valenza. The hats were edged with lace of the button colour.

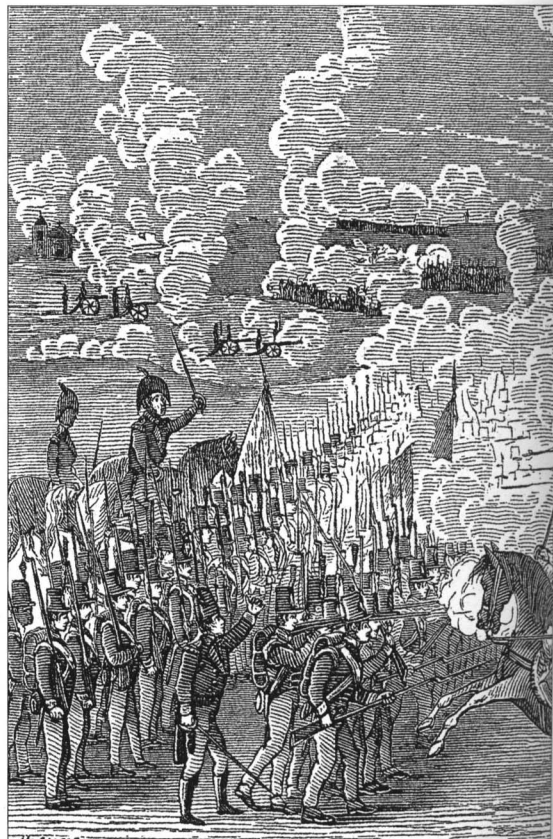
Officers had the same uniforms but of better quality, trimmed with silver or gold buttons and epaulettes. They wore crimson waist sashes with silver fringes.

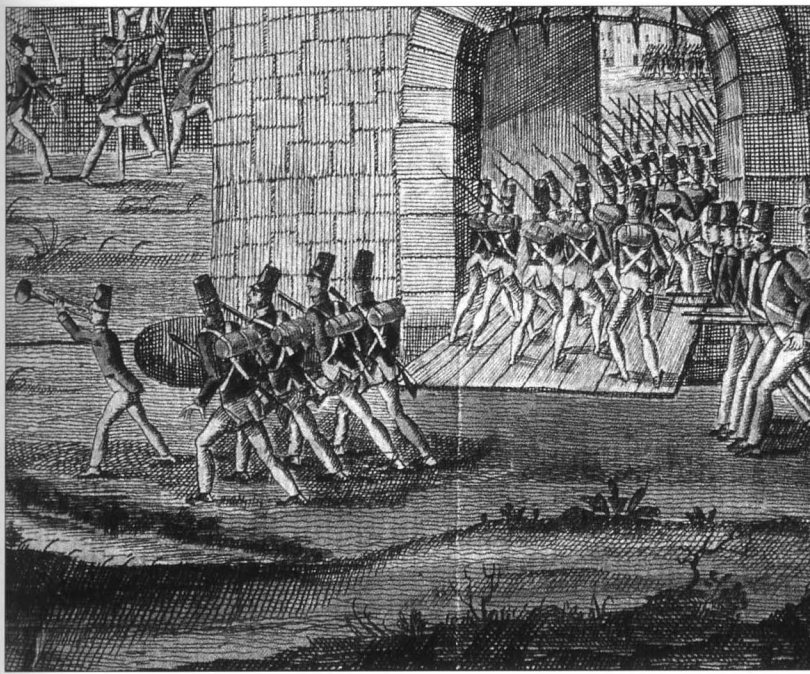
Infantry uniforms were considerably simplified by the orders of **19 May 1806**. Henceforth, all regimental officers and enlisted men had the same type of short-skirted, single-breasted coatee of cloth lined with linen and having 24 buttons. The colour of the coatee for all regiments was blue, with collar, cuffs and piping as indicated in the accompanying **Table D**.

The shoulder straps were blue, shaped like wings and edged with the regiment's piping. The

**Table B: Regimental distribution, early 1812**

Regiment	Province	Quarters
1st Infantry	Estramadura	Lisbon
2nd Infantry	Algarve	Faro
3rd Infantry	Beira	Castro Bairo
4th Infantry	Estramadura	Santarem
5th Infantry	Alentejo	Elvas
6th Infantry	Minho	Porto
7th Infantry	Estramadura	Setubal
8th Infantry	Beira	Abrantes
9th Infantry	Minho	Viana
10th Infantry	Porto	Coimbra
11th Infantry	Beira	Almeida
12th Infantry	Tras os Montes	Vila Real
13th Infantry	Estramadura	Lisbon
14th Infantry	Altenjo	Beja
15th Infantry	Beira	Aveiro
16th Infantry	Estramadura	Leira
17th Infantry	Beira	Portalegre
18th Infantry	Minho	Porto
19th Infantry	Estramadura	Almada
20th Infantry	Beira	Fundao
21st Infantry	Minho	Valenza
22nd Infantry	Porto	Figuera
23rd Infantry	Beira	Viseu
24th Infantry	Tras os Montes	Monte dos Corvos





Detail from the print showing the storming of Badajoz, 1812. However cheerfully naive the drawing, it certainly shows Portuguese infantry wearing 'stovepipe' shakos, blue coatees, white pantaloons and cross belts; and note the brown rolls shown behind the shoulders instead of knapsacks. (Museu Militar do Porto)

OPPOSITE Portuguese infantry at Albuera, 16 May 1811, drawn up in the British two-rank formation. Sir Charles Oman records that the French Gen Latour-Maubourg 'sent four regiments at the middle of the Portuguese brigade, thinking to break it down' easily; but they, keeping absolutely steady, delivered a series of volleys which completely shattered the advance of the charging squadrons. It was a fine achievement for troops which had never before taken part in the thick of a battle – for the 11th and 23rd Portuguese Line had not been engaged at Bussaco or any action of importance. (Print after N.Silva)

turnbacks were the colour of the piping with a small blue triangle as ornament. The colour of the piping and turnbacks worn by a regiment corresponded to one of the three divisions to which it belonged: *scarlet* for the Southern, *white* for the Centre, and *yellow* for the Northern.

Buttons were to be of yellow metal for all regiments, brass for the men and gilt for officers. The most common type of button during the Peninsular War appears to have been a universal model made in Britain and sent with the material to make the uniforms. It bore

'D Joao' over the Portuguese royal crown over 'VI' and, with 'Princepe Regente' around the rim – see page 47.

The men were to be issued yearly a pair of blue cloth pantaloons lined with linen with nine buttons; black cloth half-gaiters; a white cloth sleeved waistcoat lined with linen with 11 buttons; a black leather stock; two shirts; two pairs of shoes with soles and heels, and one pair of short stockings.

The shako (named '*barretina*') adopted by the Portuguese infantry from 1806 was of black felt with a raised, rounded front. The top was covered with thin black leather, and there was a semi-circular patch of the same rising from the bottom rear edge. A brass oval plate stamped with the Portuguese arms was attached high at the front; and a brass band, bearing the regimental number on its rising central part, appeared at the bottom just above the black leather visor. The white plume was attached at the left side, above the blue and red Portuguese cockade. Cords were draped around the front and back, of blue mixed with the regiment's piping colour. (The 'Belgic' or 'Waterloo' shako taken into wear by the British infantry after 1812 much resembled the 1806 Portuguese *barretina*, and there can be little doubt that this was its inspiration.)

The grenadiers, light infantry and sappers also had grenade, bugle horn and crossed axes badges respectively. These have been interpreted as being either stamped on the bottom band; worn between the bottom band and the oval plate; or worn in place of the oval plate. Contemporary prints show the shakos of the French Portuguese Legion (see forthcoming MAA 346) with this latter arrangement on the 1806 Portuguese shako. A watercolour showing the 1806 uniform of the Artificers' Company has the crossed axes in place of the oval badge. We lean towards the separate brass badge, put on either below or in place of the oval plate on the upper part of the front, as the most probable interpretation.



**Table C: Regimental distinctions, early 1790s**

<i>Regiment</i>	<i>collar</i>	<i>cuffs</i>	<i>lapels</i>	<i>turnbacks</i>	<i>buttons</i>
Lippe	crimson	crimson	blue	white	white
Lagos	white	white	blue	blue	white
1st Olivenza	orange	orange	orange	scarlet	white
Freire	scarlet	scarlet	scarlet	white	white
1st Elvas	scarlet	scarlet	scarlet	blue	yellow
1st Porto	scarlet	scarlet	blue	yellow	white
Sebutal	yellow	yellow	blue	yellow	white
Castelo de Vide	white	white	blue	scarlet	yellow
Viana	white	white	orange	scarlet	white
Penamacor	yellow	yellow	scarlet	scarlet	white
Chaves	white	white	scarlet	white	yellow
Peniche	white	white	blue	white	yellow
Tavira	scarlet	scarlet	blue	blue	yellow
2nd Olivenza	blue	blue	blue	yellow	yellow
Alenquer	blue	white	white	white	yellow
2nd Elvas	white	white	white	scarlet	white
2nd Porto	blue	blue	yellow	scarlet	white
Cascais	blue	blue	blue	blue	yellow
Campo Maior	scarlet	scarlet	scarlet	scarlet	white
Valenza	yellow	yellow	yellow	scarlet	white
Serpa	scarlet	scarlet	yellow	scarlet	white
Almeida	yellow	yellow	scarlet	scarlet	white
2nd Braganza	yellow	yellow	yellow	white	white
Estremos	scarlet	scarlet	blue	white	white
Moura	yellow	yellow	yellow	white	white
1st Braganza	scarlet	yellow	white	scarlet	yellow

From about 1810-1811, the 1806 shako was replaced with the British-style cylindrical shako, which was sometimes slightly tapered towards the top. It was of black felt with a black leather top and trim, the narrow brass plate at the bottom coming to a point at the centre, the oval brass plate with the royal arms above, and the cockade and white plume moved to the front. The distinctive badges for grenadiers, light infantry and sappers do not seem to have been worn on the 1810 cylindrical shako. For undress the men had a blue serge forage cap.

For the uniforms and particular distinctions of grenadiers, light infantry, sappers, drummers and fifers, see Plates E, G and H.

**Table D: Regimental distinctions, regulations of May 1806**

<i>Regiment</i>	<i>collar</i>	<i>cuffs</i>	<i>piping</i>
1st (Lippe)	blue	white	white
2nd (Lagos)	blue	white	scarlet
3rd (1st Olivenza)	blue	white	yellow
4th (Freire)	blue	scarlet	white
5th (1st Elvas)	blue	scarlet	scarlet
6th (1st Porto)	blue	scarlet	yellow
7th (Sebutal)	blue	yellow	white
8th (Evora)	blue	yellow	scarlet
9th (Viana)	blue	yellow	yellow
10th (Lisbon)	blue	sky blue	white
11th (1st Almeida)	blue	sky blue	scarlet
12th (Chaves)	blue	sky blue	yellow
13th (Peniche)	white	white	white
14th (Tavira)	white	white	scarlet
15th (2nd Olivenza)	white	white	yellow
16th (Viera Telles)	scarlet	scarlet	white
17th (2nd Elvas)	scarlet	scarlet	scarlet
18th (2nd Porto)	scarlet	scarlet	yellow
19th (Cascaes)	yellow	yellow	white
20th (Campo Maior)	yellow	yellow	scarlet
21st (Valenza)	yellow	yellow	yellow
22th (Serpa)	sky blue	sky blue	white
23rd (2d Almeida)	sky blue	sky blue	scarlet
24th (Braganza)	sky blue	sky blue	yellow

Each regiment had a band of music consisting of a bandmaster and eight bandsmen. In 1810 Marshal Beresford initially wished that their uniforms should be white, but in October of that year the uniforms ordered for the 24 bandmasters and 192 bandsmen were blue, with the respective regimental facings like the men's, and trimmed with yellow silk lace at the coat seams for all regimental bandsmen.

The NCOs and privates were armed with muskets and bayonets. The NCOs, grenadiers and light infantry had short sabres until the army was disbanded in December 1807. The pre-1808 Portuguese muskets generally resembled the British models but with barrel bands added; there were also many thousands of British muskets which had been received in the late 1790s. In 1808 the weapons were whatever could be acquired; from 1809 they were probably all British. From that time the NCOs', grenadiers' and light infantrymen's sabres were no longer issued. Although always shown white, many line infantrymen in fact had black accoutrements - as discussed above under 'British Material Aid'.



# THE PLATES

## A1: Private, 1st Olivenza Infantry Regiment, c.1793-95

During the 1790s Portuguese uniforms displayed a somewhat old-fashioned cut with fall collar, cutaway lapels and tricorn hats, recalling the 1760s reforms of the Prussian Count de Lippe. The 1st Olivenza Regiment was deployed in Roussillon, and was mentioned in despatches for its good conduct. It wore blue with orange facings, scarlet turnbacks, white waistcoat, blue breeches, white metal buttons and white hat lace.

## A2: Officer, 2nd Porto Infantry Regiment, c.1793-95

The 2nd Porto Regiment had a blue collar and cuffs, yellow lapels, scarlet turnbacks and silver buttons. Officers had 'scarlet' silk sashes which were often actually crimson, with mixed blue and silver fringes; a gilt gorget, and black boots. They wore epaulettes in the 1790s. This unit fought the French in 1793-94. Both the 1st and 2nd Porto Regiments originated in an infantry unit raised in March 1659 which was split into two regiments on 20 April 1762.

## A3: Drummer, 1st Porto Regiment, c.1793-95

Before 1806 drummers and fifers generally had conventionally 'reversed' uniforms of the colour of the regimental facing or of the turnbacks. The 1st Porto Regiment had yellow turnbacks, so its drummers wore an all-yellow coat with scarlet waistcoat, yellow breeches, white metal buttons and white hat lace. The drums were painted the colour of the coat with the arms of the kingdom on the front. This regiment was also part of the contingent sent to fight the French in 1793-95.



**Gen John Forbes-Skelater (1733-1808) was a Scottish Catholic officer brought to Portugal by the Count de Lippe. He remained in the country, married a Portuguese lady and became adjutant-general of the army until 1789 when promoted general and made knight of the Order of Aviz. He commanded the Portuguese contingent which fought against the French in Roussillon and northern Spain in 1793-1794; and later presided over the council which made the initial proposals for army reforms in 1803. Too elderly for active service, he left for Brazil with the royal family in 1807 and died in Rio de Janeiro in April 1808. (Print after portrait)**

## B1: Officer, Viana Infantry Regiment, c.1800

From about 1800 Portuguese uniforms became more stylish, featuring standing collars, closed lapels and bicorne hats. The Viana Regiment had white collar and cuffs, orange lapels, scarlet turnbacks, and silver buttons, lace and epaulettes. It was raised in 1707 as the Monzao Regiment, redesignated Viana in 1763.

## B2: General, c.1793-1805

From the 1760s general officers had worn an all-blue coat trimmed with gold lace of various widths according to rank. Our figure is based on a c.1800 portrait of Marechal do Campo (Major-General) Forbes-Skellater. It shows lace narrower than the official instructions but otherwise set correctly. The 'epaulette of gold cord' was actually an aiguillette worn on the right shoulder; and a plain white waistcoat is also shown. The hats had a wide gold lace but no plumes.

**Frederico Guilherme de Sousa, Governor and Captain-General of Goa, India, 1779-86, wearing the dress uniform of a lieutenant-general as per the 1762 regulations. Note the gold 'three fingers'-wide buttonhole lace. (Print after portrait at Goa)**



**B3: Officer, Campo Maior Infantry Regiment, c.1801**

This regiment, raised in May 1642, was part of the garrison of the fortress of Campo Maior which was besieged by the Spanish in May 1801; the Portuguese were compelled to evacuate it at the end of the month. A bill of June 1801 confirms the blue coat faced with scarlet, white waistcoat and breeches, silver buttons, epaulettes and hat lace being worn at that time.

**C1: Lieutenant-general, full dress, 1806-15**

The 1806 full dress uniform of Portuguese generals was richly embroidered with a palm leaf pattern in gold. Each rank had its distinctive embroidery for full dress and undress uniforms. The three rows of lace at the cuff and three silver stars on the epaulette identify a lieutenant-general; the three chevrons of chain embroidery on the left forearm mark him as a member of the War Council.

**C2: Lieutenant-general, undress, 1806-15**

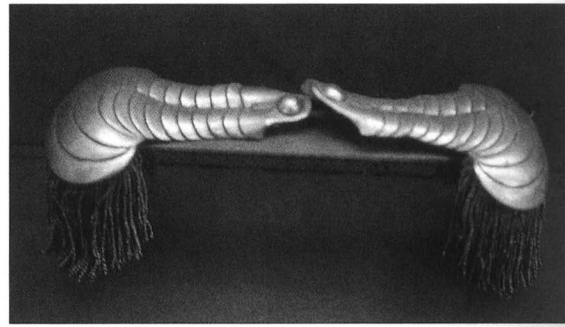
The undress uniform was to be worn in the field and for ordinary duty, and bore palm leaf embroidery only at the collar and cuffs – though again, note the War Council distinction on the left sleeve.

**C3: Brigadier-general, full dress, 1806-15**

Brigadiers had all-blue uniforms as the other general officers, but embellished with a single line of gold lace rather than embroidery. Their hats were not edged with white plumage but had a tall standing plume rising from the cockade.

**D1: Trooper, Corps of Mounted Guides, 1808-14**

The uniform can be reconstructed from various data. It was



**Epaulettes conforming to the 1806 regulations for regimental officers, made of gilded brass scales with gold fringes. Note the very distinctive shape, echoing that of the men's shoulder straps. (Museu Militar do Bussaco)**

**LEFT Major William Warre (1784-1853), senior ADC to Marshal Beresford, c.1809. An officer of the British 23rd Light Dragoons, he was ideally suited for this appointment – his family owned a famous wine-trading company, he had been born and raised in Porto, and he spoke fluent Portuguese. In this print after J.C.D.Engleheart he wears the uniform of the 23rd LD, a blue dolman and pelisse with crimson collar and cuffs, silver buttons and lace. He apparently wore his regimentals until he finally obtained a Portuguese ADC's uniform in about 1811.**

probably a scarlet dolman with blue collar and cuffs, white cords and three rows of pewter buttons; a scarlet pelisse with white cords and pewter buttons; a Tarleton helmet, pantaloons and light cavalry armament and housings. (PRO, WO 37/10; D.S.V.Fosten, 'Wellington's Eyes', *Military Modelling*, November 1992)

**D2: Captain, Quartermaster-General's Department, 1806-15**

The uniform was the same as for other General Staff officers. Our figure shows the complete uniform and rank distinctions according to the 1806 regulations, with gold-laced hat and white-over-red plume.

**D3: Aide-de-camp, c.1811-15**

This figure illustrates the regulation uniform described in the text. However, some British officers in Portuguese staff appointments seem to have retained their British uniforms for a time, or to have assumed a simple costume for field service. Beresford's senior ADC, Capt William Warre, avoided acquiring a Portuguese uniform in 1809 because it was 'very expensive' and the hat ornaments 'tawdry'. In February 1810 what he felt to be really useful was a cloak lined 'with any warm *light* stuff'. When it rained, he rode around with 'an oil skin cape' over his greatcoat. He finally had a Portuguese uniform by June 1811; however, he frowned on gold-laced hats, feeling that their wearers made good targets for French voltigeurs; we may thus assume his hat was plain. He also got himself some double-barrelled pistols, and would have carried his handy 1796 sabre.

Nor was Warre unusual in his attitude towards dress and armament. A peak of sorts was achieved near Orthez on 26 February 1814 when Warre's successor as senior ADC,

Capt Sewell, was seen by Woodbury charging with the cavalry wielding a broomstick, since he had forgotten his sword!

**E1: Drummer, 21st Infantry Regiment, 1806-08**

Each company had two drummers, making a corps of 20 drummers per regiment. They wore the regimental uniform with drummer's lace edging the collar, cuffs and front closure and sewn on the seams; this lace was blue with small crosses down the centre and wavy lines on each side in the regiment's piping colour. The 21st (Valenza) was fairly well



Portuguese infantryman giving a drink to a wounded Frenchman, c.1812. Apart from the plate and band on the 'stovepipe' shako and some apparent coatee detail, his field kit is entirely British in appearance. (Detail from print after sketch by Lt Manuel Izidro de Praz, 7th Infantry)

RIGHT Two regimental officers' gilt gorgets, both having the arms of Portugal in silver. The larger one on the right is an older pattern. (Museu Militar do Bussaco)

dressed in 1808, with over 800 men reported in uniform. Its distinctions were a yellow collar, yellow cuffs and yellow piping and turnbacks. Note the distinctive wing shape of the Portuguese shoulder straps. The drum shell was blue with red hoops and the royal arms of Portugal painted on the front. There were also two fifers per regiment wearing the same uniforms as drummers. The 21st was originally raised in Valenza in February 1664.

**E2: Captain, 24th Infantry Regiment, 1806-10**

The officers wore essentially the same uniform as their men, but of better quality materials, with gilt scale epaulettes following the shape of the men's shoulder straps, and silver-tasselled crimson sashes. The 24th (Braganza) had a sky blue collar and cuffs, yellow piping and turnbacks. The officers of the 24th probably still wore their 1806 uniforms until their capture after the desperate defence of Almeida in July/August 1810. The regiment had originally been raised as the 2nd Braganza in 1762.

**E3: Grenadier, 6th Infantry Regiment, 1806-08**

From 1806 grenadiers were distinguished by two blue wool epaulettes edged with regimental piping colour and fringed with blue mixed with the piping colour; a brass grenade badge was worn on the shako. Moustaches were apparently worn as a distinction, the battalion companies being generally clean shaven. The 6th (1st Porto) – raised in that city in 1762 – had a blue collar, scarlet cuffs, yellow piping and turnbacks; the grenadiers' epaulettes thus had blue and yellow mixed fringes.

**F1: Fusilier, Infantry, 1809-10**

To Marshal Beresford's intense displeasure, grey cloth uniforms were sent from Britain in 1809. In September he wrote to Wellington that some '10,000 grey jackets with red cuffs and cape (collar), are sent out, for what object I know not. I have seen one and I think it would fit a man of five feet; they are made of the cloth of which our English great-coats are made. I have sent to see if there are different sizes; but the whole may as well go home again. The trousers of the same stuff, if large enough, might very well answer ...' Some of this clothing was sent on to Spain, but some Portuguese troops were also issued it for lack of anything else. The accoutrements were most likely black. Our figure wears an old 1806 shako. (*Supplementary despatches...*Vol. VI; PRO, WO 1/244 and 883)

**F2: Fusilier, Infantry, 1809-10**

The 'grey' episode was not quite over in spite of Beresford's complaints. In late November 1809, 14,000 grey jackets,



20,000 grey trousers and 20,000 shakos with cockades were sent to Lisbon as 'slop clothing for recruits'. The style appears to have been the 'round' jacket without tails, quite plain and probably with pewter buttons. The thousands of men drafted as infantry recruits and getting their basic training at Peniche would have worn some of this clothing. (PRO, FO 63/74 and 81; WO 1/242).



Portuguese regimental field officer wearing a greatcoat; he has not bothered to add his epaulettes and, like his British comrades, obviously favours a relaxed form of dress for campaigning. (Detail from print after sketch by Lt Manuel Izidro de Praz, 7th Infantry)

RIGHT Regimental officer's all-gilt gorget, c.1800-1815. It bears the arms of Portugal at the centre below a scroll engraved with 'PRINCEPE REGENTE'.

(Museu Militar do Bussaco)

### F3: Fusilier, Infantry, 1809-10

The infantry were also sent 6,000 blue jackets as 'slop clothing' in late November along with the grey trousers and the shakos. As this was the colour of the national uniform there were no complaints about this shipment, which must have been quickly distributed to the troops.

### G1: Corporal, Light Company, 9th Infantry Regiment, 1810-15

Light company shoulder straps/epaulettes had green fringes. The 9th (Viana) had a blue collar with yellow cuffs, piping and turnbacks; the corporal's two rank stripes, sewn above the cuffs, were yellow in all regiments. In the field the soldier's equipment such as knapsacks, haversacks and canteens – not illustrated here – were usually of British origin and identical to those carried by the redcoats. According to Lt Woodberry, the Portuguese received no tents but constructed themselves very neat temporary shelters. The 9th Infantry was raised in Viana in November 1707.

### G2: Drum-major, 2nd Infantry Regiment, 1810-15

The regimental drum-major had a similar uniform to the drummers but of officers' quality cloth, and the drummers' lace decorating his coat was of silk. His NCO's rank was indicated by the brass scale epaulette with yellow silk fringes on his right shoulder and the fringeless counter-epaulette on his left. The shako cords on the 1806 pattern were of mixed yellow silk and gold (the British shako illustrated here did not have these). The varnished wood drum-major's cane had a gilt pommel engraved with the regimental number and its silk cord was mixed blue, scarlet, gold and the colour of the regiment's piping. The drum-major's baldric was very plain, and featured only a pair of small drum sticks with their holders. The 2nd (Lagos) Regiment, originally raised in 1693, had a blue collar, white cuffs and scarlet piping and turnbacks; the small crosses and wavy lines in the drum-major's silken lace were thus scarlet.

### G3: Sub-lieutenant, 11th Infantry Regiment, 1810-15

Company officers had generally the same uniform as in 1806 but with the British cylindrical shako. On campaign they wore







**Gilt officer's button of the line infantry, c.1809-1815.** Portuguese army buttons were usually of a universal model bearing 'D JOAO'/ crown/ 'VI' in the centre, and 'PRINCEPE REGENTE' at the edge. An exception was the Cazadores' uniform, which had plain buttons. This particular button was made in England and has the Prince of Wales' feathers as a backmark. (Museu Militar do Porto)

pantaloons like the British officers they served with. A few officers ventured to put on lapels but were sternly ordered by Beresford, on 22 October 1814, to adhere 'rigorously' to the official uniform. He also noted that some officers wore pantaloons of a different colour than their coatee, which was unacceptable; blue pantaloons could be worn in the morning and white in the afternoon. The 11th (1st Almeida), raised in July 1642, had a blue collar, sky blue cuffs, scarlet piping and turnbacks.

**H1: Grenadier sergeant, 23rd Infantry Regiment, 1813-15**

Blue shoulder straps/epaulettes with fringes of mixed blue and piping colour were the official distinction of grenadiers from 1806; however, some units started using wings from about 1812-1813. In 1814-15 the clothing sent from England included blue wings trimmed with white lace and fringes for all grenadiers. There were variations, as shown in this illustration, which is taken from a surviving coatee of the

23rd Infantry. The wings on the coatee are black or possibly very dark blue with silver lace, probably indicating a sergeant of grenadiers. It has a yellow grenade edged with blue on each turnback; a sky blue collar and cuffs; scarlet piping and turnbacks; and brass buttons marked with a crowned 'VI' and 'D Joao Principe Regente'. The 23rd was raised at Almeida in July 1642 and was always associated with that fortress city until 1816, when it was attached to Lamego. (Musée militaire vaudois, Switzerland; PRO, WO 1/888 and 889)

**H2: Officer, greatcoat, 13th Infantry Regiment, 1810-1815**

For cold weather officers had a blue double-breasted greatcoat with collar and cuffs of the regimental facing colour. The 13th (Peniche) had white collar, cuffs, piping and turnbacks on its coatee. The 13th was raised in Peniche in July 1697, was attached to Lisbon in 1808, returned to Peniche in 1816 and was later attached to Evora.

**H3: Sapper, 16th Infantry Regiment, 1813-15**

Sappers had the same distinctions as grenadiers – which would have been, in the later part of the Peninsular War, blue wings with white worsted lace and fringes. They had a buff leather apron and gauntlet gloves; carried an axe and a short sabre; and were allowed to grow beards. The 16th (Viera Telles) had a scarlet collar and cuffs, white piping and turnbacks; the regiment was originally raised in Lisbon in March 1668.



**Infantry officer's gilt shoulder belt plate, c.1806-1815.** (Museu Militar do Bussaco)

1: Private, 1st Olivenza Infantry Regt, c.1793-95

2: Officer, 2nd Porto Infantry Regt, c.1793-95

3: Drummer, 1st Porto Infantry Regt, c.1793-95





1: Officer, Viana Infantry Regt, c.1800

2: General, c.1793-1805

3: Officer, Campo Maior Infantry Regt, c.1801





- 1: Lieutenant-general, full dress, 1806-15  
2: Lieutenant-general, undress, 1806-15  
3: Brigadier-general, full dress, 1806-15





- 1: Trooper, Corps of Mounted Guides, 1808-14  
2: Captain, Quartermaster-General's Dept, 1806-15  
3: Aide-de-camp, c.1811-15





1: Drummer, 21st Infantry Regt, 1806-08

2: Captain, 24th Infantry Regt, 1806-10

3: Grenadier, 6th Infantry Regt, 1806-08





1, 2 & 3: Infantry fusiliers in British-supplied 'slop' clothing, 1809-1810





1: Corporal, Light Coy., 9th Infantry Regt, 1810-15

2: Drum-major, 2nd Infantry Regt, 1810-15

3: Sub-lieutenant, 11th Infantry Regt, 1810-15





- 1: Grenadier sergeant, 23rd Infantry Regt, 1813-15  
2: Officer, greatcoat, 13th Infantry Regt, 1810-1815  
3: Sapper, 16th Infantry Regt, 1813-15

