

TRANSLATED NEWSPAPERS AS POLITICAL TOOLS IN THE PORTUGAL OF THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR

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ABSTRACT: The aim of this article is to shine a light on three translated newspapers published in Portugal during the Seven Years' War to understand how they, similarly to 'non-translated' newspapers, were used as political tools. The publications in question are *Observador Hollandez* (1757–1758), *Mercurios Historicos de Portugal* (1759), and *Gazeta Extraordinaria de Londres* (1762a), all of which addressed the ongoing European conflict. The decision to invest in the publication of these works can be understood in the context of Pombal's reforms, which aimed to present Portugal as a politically and economically stronger nation. As we will observe, however, the events of the Seven Years' War led to a readjustment in policy, and what previously seemed to be a desire to display economic independence, especially from England, turned into needing this country's help to stop the Spanish invasion, as more or less immediately illustrated by the evolution of the publication and the differences in the content of the aforementioned newspapers.

KEYWORDS: Newspapers, Politics, Portugal, Seven Years' War, Translation

1. Introduction

The historical analysis of newspapers has been proven to provide scholars with a glimpse of how individuals in a given society interpreted life around them. As exhaustively discussed by many social and cultural historians, these texts can be used, although always in a cautious manner, as valuable research instruments (see, e.g., Barker, 2014; Bates, 2016; Baumgartner, 1981; Franzosi, 1987; Salmon, 1923).

From scientific and technological achievements to literary and religious events, these artefacts are a window into how societies saw themselves and, just as often, how they saw others. In this light, even if sometimes overlooked and underscrutinised, translated newspapers, more specifically, can serve as valuable tools for observing how the 'other' was perceived and carried over into readers' minds. Acknowledging that news translation (or, for that matter, all translation) is never neutral or completely unbiased, studying the politics behind the translation of newspapers seems particularly relevant (Boys, 2014; Brownlees, 2018). This becomes all the more applicable when looking at inherently politically sensitive topics, such as war (Boys, 2014; Rzepa, 2019; see also Belo, 2011; Durantón & Rétat, 1999; Peacey, 2004).

The combination of the topics discussed thus far lie at the root of this article: exploring three translated newspapers published in Portugal between 1756 and 1763, this study seeks to use these works to further contribute to our understanding of the political role of newspapers in the mercantilist Seven Years' War (Salgado, Saldanha & Rodrigues, 2022). The publications here analysed are the *Observador Hollandez* (1757–1758), the *Mercurios Historicos de Portugal* (1759), and the *Gazeta Extraordinaria de Londres* (1762a).

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As we will see, the decision to produce and publish these works can only be understood if we bear Marquês de Pombal's¹ policy reforms in mind—and all the political twists and turns in the five years separating the newspapers.

In the end, this article aims to add to the literature on the interrelationship between translation and media (Bielsa, 2022; Hernández Guerrero, 2009; van Doorslaer, 2011) in the political and book history of early modern Europe (Littau, 2011; McLaughlin & Brownlees, 2023; O'Connor, 2022; Valdeón, 2022).

2. Politics and 'non-translated' newspapers in the Portugal of the Seven Years' War

Before we delve into our case studies, which, as mentioned in the previous section, acknowledge translated newspapers as political tools in the Portugal of the Seven Years' War, we should first take a look at 'non-translated' ones from the same time and place. By this, we mean 'original' newspapers, not directly translated from foreign sources (although a significant amount of these publications of this period drew inspiration from and were partly made of adapted foreign news). Indeed, just as the three publications that will be analysed later in this article, these newspapers have been known to offer an entryway into the European political scene in Portugal in the context of the Seven Years' War, even if their primary content is geared towards literary or scientific matters, rather than politics (Dias, 2022; Sousa, 2021).

We should start by immediately pointing out the undeniable interest in having news about what was going on abroad, especially when it comes to the conflicts between England and France. There are several individual publications (leaflets) touching upon the war between these two countries (e.g., Anonymous, 1758; Anonymous, 1760; F.X.C., 1757), and on a larger and more far-reaching scale (newspapers) the situation was not any different.

Following a chronological arrangement, we can start by mentioning *O Occulto Instruido* (1756–1758), which focused on geographical and historical news from different European nations. Two prominent topics were the biographies of foreign sovereign figures and religious altercations (Dias, 2022, p. 37; Fundação João Pinheiro, 1994). The periodical seems to have been discontinued in 1758, and it is noteworthy that it was only in its last issue that the events that lead to and characterised the Seven Years' War were mentioned:

Pouco durou esta Paz [Tratados de Confraternidade], pois no ano de 1756 novamente se rompeo a Guerra, e a Caza de Austria fez uma nova Aliansa com Fransa, Rusia, e Suesia, à qual acompanha a maior parte da Alemanha. Com efeito o *Rei de Prusia tem sostido uma Guerra tam grande com gloria imortal de seu valor*, contra o pareser de todos os seos contrários, os susesos desta guerra tem sido diferentes. As batalhas tem sido muitas. As principaes sam a de 6 de Maio de 1757 Ganhada pelo Rei de Prussia diante de Praga: a de 18 de Junho do mesmo ano, que obrigou ao Rei de Prusia a se retirar da Bohèmia, a de 30 de Agosto seguinte em que o exersito Prusiano de 30U homens mandado por Mons: Lehwald venseo ao Rusiano composto de 80U, a de 5 de Novembro do referido ano na qual o mesmo soberano com 20U ômens venseo ao Exersito Fransez, e Imperial composto de 50U soldados a de 22 do mesmo

¹ D. Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo, better known as Marquês de Pombal, was a Portuguese statesman and diplomat who, in a despotic fashion, worked as chief minister during the reign of D. José I (1750–1777).

Novembro vensida pelos Austriacos ao Prinsipe de Beveren de que se seguio ficarem senhores da Silesia: a de 5 de Dezembro seguinte, de tam grandes consequências ao Rei de Prusia que recuperou toda a Silezia. *Nam se axa ainda esta guerra terminada*, e por isso se *nam podem verdadeiramente dizer dela os intereses*. (*O Occulto Instruido*, 1758, p. 44, italics added by author)

It would be useful to know who wrote this passage, but we can and should nevertheless point out that it is not entirely politically neutral: as would likely be expected, support is shown to the territorial achievements of the Kingdom of Prussia. With Prussia and England on one side and Austria, Russia, and France on the other, at the time of writing, Portugal remained neutral, at least in practice (see, e.g., Barrento, 2006, cited in Dias, 2022, p. 40; Serrão, 1977).

The *Gazeta Literária* (1761–1762), in spite of its scientific and literary nature, can also be used as a historical source regarding the politics of the Seven Years' War. Rossi's (1963) extensive study on the gazette allows us to pinpoint certain moments in which the conflicts going on at the time are criticised. In short, these episodes comment on the:

Situación triste en la cual fue puesta Europa por la guerra entonces en curso, donde no solo se exponen las miserias de las naciones beligerantes, sino las de todos los pueblos europeos, por estar unidos todos por vínculos de cultura y de comercio, los cuales hacen que sufran también las naciones no beligerantes. (Rossi, 1963, p. 53)

Despite its parodic nature (indeed, de Vasconcelos [1911, p. 197] would stress that “não se póde prestar inteira confiança às asserções contidas nesta obra, pois nella encontram-se tambem informações falsas”), there is a story from the *Academia dos Humildes e Ignorantes* (1758–1770) worth briefly highlighting, as it offers us a glimpse into how different European powers could be perceived in 1762:

[A]lcançey licença...para ir a Surrate, aonde cheguey felizmente, com animo de vir com Ingleses, ou Hollandezes para a Europa; mas como estava contra mim a fortuna, accõmodey-me no serviço de hum Francez, que me offereceo casa, e mesa. (*Academia dos Humildes e Ignorantes*, 1762, p. 293)

It was, in fact, in May of 1762 that France would help Spain invade Portugal, with the conflict ending in November of that year thanks to the efforts of Portuguese and British troops (Salgado, Saldanha & Rodrigues, 2022).

From 1756 to 1763, the *Gazeta de Lisboa* reported extensively on European events. The period from 1760 to 1762 is politically relevant, as it became popularly known as ‘Gazeta dos Officiais da Secretaria’ and was under the command of the Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra, assuming an official, administrative trait (see also *Eu El Rey faço saber*, 1759). At the end of this period the gazette would be suspended by Marquês de Pombal (Rocha, 2019; Sousa, 2021, p. 56). A very interesting study on the ideological and political vocabulary used in the gazette reveals that the word ‘war’

(‘guerra’), in the time period here considered, is one of the most commonly employed (Botta, 2011).

As a side and final note, we can underline the publication of the *Despertador de Marte* in 1762, likely published in November, at the end of the Spanish invasion, or shortly after in December. Despite the fact that this is not a newspaper, it is worth mentioning it, as it was edited by D. José Ângelo de Morais, “[cuja] actividade periodista foi extremamente fecunda, dado que que, às suas expensas e somente entre 1759 e 1762, editou cinco periódicos, entre outros opúsculos, tais como o Despertador [sic] de Marte” (Dias, 2022, p. 41). As evidenced in the title, it aimed to provide “[i]nstrucções militares aos soldados Portuguezes que na presente Guerra defendem o Rey, o Reino, e a Razaõ” and also briefly summed up the military history of Portugal.

‘Non-translated’ newspapers thus constitute more-or-less reliable historical sources concerning the development of the Seven Years’ War and Portugal’s position in it. Produced domestically, the events discussed paint an unobstructed picture of how the war could be perceived. But what about translated newspapers, whose news were formulated in ally and enemy territories? What can the reworkings of these texts further tell us about the perception of the war in Portugal and how it was advertised? Although overlooked in existing literature, they should be deemed equally relevant sources. Indeed, and while only three publications (those analysed in the next section) made it to the public, being informed on the development of the war was of paramount importance to the State, as we can see by the handwritten translations of selected excerpts regarding Portugal from the gazettes of Cologne and London (Figure 1).

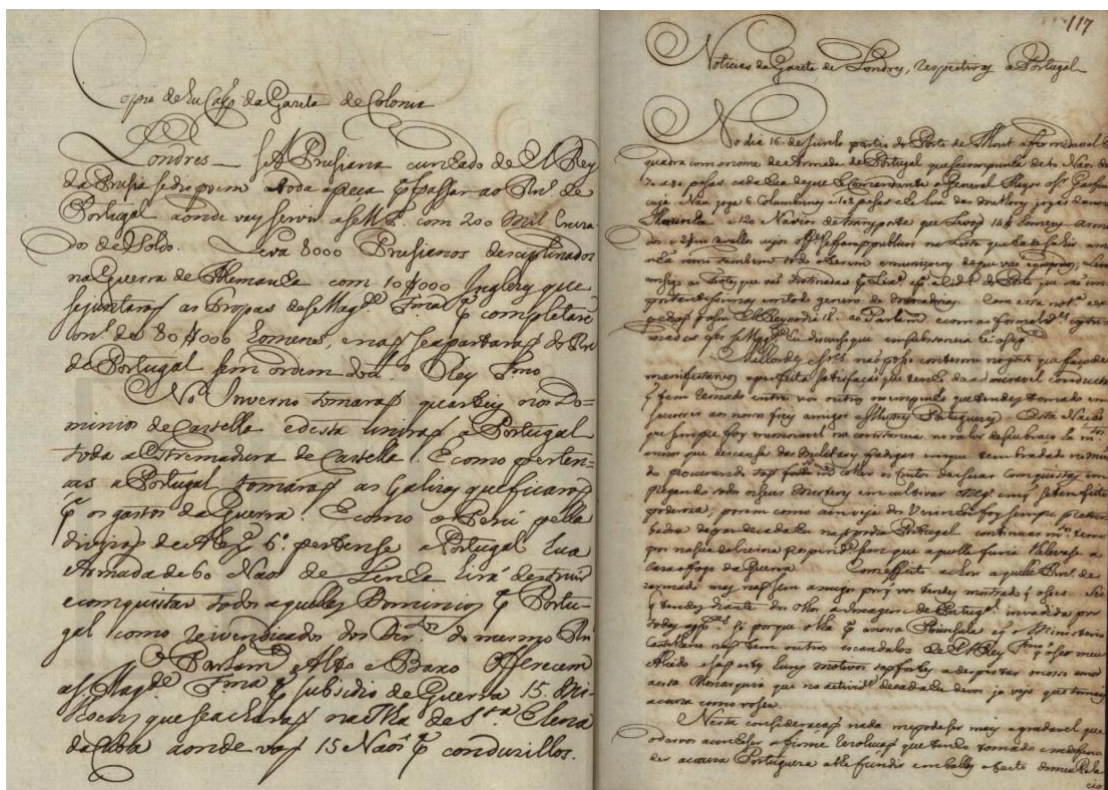


Figure 1. Handwritten foreign news on Portugal. Sources: “Cópia de um capítulo da Gazeta de Colônia” (1762, left) and “Noticias da Gazeta de Londres, respetivas a Portugal” (1762, right).

3. Translated newspapers as political tools in the Portugal of the Seven Years' War

Translation, whether scientific, literary, or journalistic—the latter being the focus of this article—grew exponentially in the second half of the eighteenth century in Portugal (Maffre, 2007; Rodrigues, 1992). This is the result of an attempt, most notably undertaken by Pombal, to counter a sense of national inferiority with regard to a more culturally developed Europe (Lourenço, 1988, p. 26). Above all, however, these reforms aimed at strengthening the State, a goal to which a mercantilist policy and state-oriented politics significantly contributed (see Falcon, 2005). The three case studies which will now be presented and discussed clearly show the evolution of Pombal's political strategy, from a cautious attempt to be economically independent of England, with a focus on Brazil, to the realisation that Portugal needed this ally's help to expel the Spanish from the country (see, e.g., de Oliveira, 1973, p. 15).

3.1. *Observador Hollandez (1757–1758)*

The *Observador Hollandez* is a translation into Portuguese of *L'Observateur hollandois*, 46 letters written in French by the jurisconsult and adamant monarchy supporter Jacob-Nicolas Moreau (1717–1803), published irregularly in Paris between 1755 and 1759. The letters, written by the fictional Mons. van *** and addressed to the also fictional Mons. H *** of Haya, provided an account of the altercations in Europe and between France and Great Britain with regard to the North American territories. From a French point of view, they criticised Great Britain's commercial and diplomatic actions while elevating France's, debating the importance of keeping the now Canadian territories for France. The discussion of North America was ground-breaking for the Portuguese press of the time (Dias, 2022, p. 37).

Before we analyse the translation, we should recall that Portugal was neutral in the war at this time, and sought to profit from it. The fact that this was apparently the first translation on economic matters published in Portugal (Lupetti & Guidi, 2024, p. 19) might hint at the reasons for its production. Indeed, it can be related to Pombal's desire to reduce dependence on British trade, elevating the Portuguese morale through its anti-British sentiments. As Lupetti and Guidi (2016, p. 668) put it, let us be aware of the “political and patriotic nature of this activity and its ideological isomorphism with the Pombaline commercial policies”.

Of course, every translation has a translator, and his or her motivations to render a given work into another language should not be discarded, as we will see. From the cover, we learn that the translator, magistrate Antonio Joseph de Miranda e Silveira, was “Bacharel Formado em Leys na Universidade de Coimbra, e Cidadão de Lisboa”. Further information on the translator at the time the target text was written seems to be scarce. Dias (2022, p. 38) asserts that Miranda e Silveira was poorly informed of these matters. Here might lie Miranda e Silveira's decision to undertake the translation of these letters between 1757 (first letter) and 1758 (second, third, and fourth letter).

The first letter in Portuguese was published two years after the source text came out. Before the translation begins, there is a preface in which the translator explains the reasons behind this enterprise, and several details can be pointed out. One of them is that he was in the possession of 15 letters, which means that he did not translate all of them (the reason for this will be discussed at the end of the subsection). Another very interesting aspect of this note is that Miranda e Silveira stresses that it was only when he read this newspaper that the truth came to light:

[m]e parecerão outros os fundamentos da guerra entre França, e Inglaterra porque se nas nossas Gazetas, e ainda nas Estrangeiras, lia os factos obrados respectivamente, não me inftruaõ cabalmente dos verdadeiros motivos, com que estas duas Potencias se empenhavaõ em huma guerra, que poderia perturbar a tranquilidade da Europa, de que já hoje vemos hum principio. (Miranda e Silveira, 1757, n.p.)

Two conclusions can be drawn from this passage: one is that, through this translation, Miranda e Silveira intends to fight this common ignorance; the other is that the source text provided unobstructed insights into the war. He ends the paratext by mentioning that further evidence will be given in the next letters, soon to be published.

Besides two omitted passages, the rest of the letter is very faithfully translated. In a time when interfering with the source text was still common practice on account of direct or indirect censorship (see, e.g., DeNipoti, 2017; Tengarrinha, 1989), such a close rendering of the source text indicates that the ideas displayed in the French work were seconded not only by the translator but especially by the censorship bodies. One of the omitted excerpts deals with a physical description: “Cette immense et belle riviere de S. Laurent, qui est une des principales portes du nouveau monde, défendue par l'Isle de Terre Neuve, & par celle d'Anticosti” (Miranda e Silveira, 1757, p. 12). The other is more relevant for the purpose of this study. While in the French text we read that “[i]ls aiment mieux commercer avec les François qu'avec elles, & de tous les Sauvages de l'Europe ils trouvent que les Anglois sont les plus difficiles à apprivoiser” (Moreau, 1755, p. 31), in the Portuguese version we have “[p]orém elles antes querem comerciar com os Francezes, que com os Inglezes, que achaõ mais difficeis adorer” (Miranda e Silveira, 1757, p. 14). Perhaps the translator thought that Portugal could be included in the “Sauvages de l'Europe”, which would be politically damaging, and, as such, removed this part of the sentence. In terms of faithfulness to the content, as will be observed, the other letters keep this consistency, strengthening our previous stance on the subject.

Finally, to finish the discussion on the first letter, let us mention that its publication was announced in the *Gazeta de Lisboa* (1757), which included a summary of what readers might expect to find:

[A] useful work, and curious to those fond of history...that provides a complete account of the beginnings of the present war between France and Great Britain and the reasons they claim to have to be able to exert their right on North American lands, [following the] principles

of natural law, law of nations [*ius gentium*], public law, and common law. (*Gazeta de Lisboa*, 1757, p. 282, translated by the author)

The second letter, published in 1758, was explicitly dedicated to Pombal. In the dedication, Miranda e Silveira starts by mentioning that he had been reassured that more translated letters would be a welcome addition. We also learn that these translations were a way of getting Pombal's and the King's recognition as a man of Letters, and that Pombal "conhece muito bem a utilidade das traduções" (Miranda e Silveira, 1758a, n.p.). Indeed, he goes on to stress their political value:

Se Duarte Ribeiro de Macedo, enviado desta Corte à de Pariz, não achara tantos documentos, e máximas políticas, no seu Aristipo, ou Homem de Corte escrito por Mons. Balsac, emprendera a sua tradução que ofereceu ao Augusto Rey o Senhor D. Pedro II ainda Príncipe Regente desta Monarchia, em que se mostra bem, qual deve ser a eleição dos Ministros, que os Príncipes escolherem para governar os povos? (Miranda e Silveira, 1758a, n.p.)

He reminds readers and Pombal of the goal of his letters:

[Dar] huma noticia completa dos principios da presente guerra entre França, e a Gran-Bretanha, e dos motivos, que estas duas Potencias pertendem ter para fazerem valer o seu Direito nas terras da America Septentrional. (Miranda e Silveira, 1758a, n.p.)

It is worth noting that, throughout the preface, we get an idea of which side Portugal is on in 1758 when Prussia is mentioned. The translator stated:

Que gloria para a de V. Excellencia ver, que hum destes Heroes venceu no dia 18 de Junho do presente anno [1757], ao mayor Capitaõ do nosso tempo, o Rey de Prussia, que com os seus exercitos ameaçava.... (Miranda e Silveira, 1758a, n.p.)

As discussed before, this translation can also be perceived as an instrument for elevating Portugal's political and commercial position. This is clear when Miranda e Silveira (1758a, n.p.) declares that:

V. Excellencia escolhido para manejar a grandeza dos negocios de huma Monarchia, que tendo o seu corpo no continente da Europa, estende, e chega com os braços às outras tres partes do Mundo.

When it comes to the third and four letters (Miranda e Silveira, 1758b, 1758c), it suffices to say that there are no dedications and that the second and third letters were also publicised in the *Gazeta de Lisboa* (1758a), with a note which stated that this was a "very useful work, and curious to those fond of history" (p. 104, translated by the author). Later that year, the gazette (June 22nd) publicised the fourth letter (1758b, p. 200). Together, the two numbers informed the readers of the bookshops where they could buy all four letters, one of them being Luis Pereira Coelho's, also mentioned in the 1757 publication.

As we reach the end of this analysis, we might revisit the fact that Miranda e Silveira's work consists only of the first four letters, out of the 46 published by Moreau. Politically speaking, this is of paramount importance, as the reason behind this might just lie in the

realisation that, by the end of 1758, Portugal could not do without England's political and military aid, should any national altercation occur in the face of the Franco-Spanish alliance, and, as such, the publication of these works should be terminated.

L'Observateur hollandois was also translated into other languages, including counterfeits in Vienna and Liège. Particularly relevant is the fact that several texts refuting the Letters were published in England (Hervouët, 2009, p. 108). Indeed, the country would only grow stronger as the war went on, putting Portugal's neutrality ever more at stake—as the next publication shakily illustrated.

3.2. *Mercurios Historicos de Portugal* (1759)

Out of the three publications considered in this article, the *Mercurios Historicos de Portugal* (1759) seems to be the least known. A copy was available at the library of the University of Coimbra in June of 1877, according to their records (Universidade de Coimbra, 1878, p. 149).

The *Mercurios Historicos de Portugal* (1759) is a translation from the French *Mercure historique et politique* (also known as *Mercure de la Haye*). The translation's first numbers appeared on a monthly basis between 1741 and 1744; the 1759 translation was not published monthly but one time only, and while the translator of the first issues was João de Buitrago, the 1759 publication was undertaken by Alexandre Ferreira de Faria Manoel, future Secretário da Real Mesa Censória for the Directoria Geral dos Estudos in 1771 (Martins, 2020, p. 313), to whom the right was granted (Belo, 2005, p. 66). Could the production of this translation have been a stepping stone towards this position ten years later? Be as it may, the (non-)periodicity of the translation and careful selection of excerpts, as we will see, may hint at the context behind its production: faced with the escalation of the war, Portugal was keeping a "dubious neutrality" (Barrento, 2006, cited in Dias, 2022, p. 40).

Indeed, unlike *Observador Hollandez*, in which a letter from the French corresponded to the same letter in Portuguese, in *Mercurios Historicos de Portugal* the passages were carefully chosen and reorganised by geographical area, and it seems that the most relevant ones (Paris, London, and Lisbon) were purposefully included at the end. Ultimately, we can conclude that this publication is a summary of all the publications of the French *Mercure historique et politique* of 1758 and that only what was deemed relevant from the monthly publications of that year was included. But *how* was it included?

An answer to this question may well be found on the cover of the translation. While in the source text we read that the newspaper contains "l'Etat présent de l'Europe, ce qui se passe dans toutes les Cours, les Intérêts des Princes, & généralement tout ce qu'il y a de plus curieux, & intéressant" (*Mercure historique et politique*, 1758, p. 123), in the target text the cover clarifies that this is a publication "[n]a qual se dá noticia da origem, progressos, e estados das presentes Guerras da Europa: e de outros successos memoraveis do anno de 1758" (Manoel, 1759, n.p.). Here, we can visibly see that the focus of the translation is on reporting on the ongoing war. It is no surprise, then, that a significant

amount of content was omitted, and Manoel (1759, n.p.) does not hide it. In fact, he further stresses that some of the passages contained errors which were fixed, and that these changes were made for the sake of providing an unbiased account of the war, which the King would appreciate. In Manoel's (1759, n.p.) words:

Recopiley brevemente os successos mais notaveis da presente Guerra, em que se vê incluída huma grande parte da Europa. Sendo costume em muitas Cortes reimprimirem-se os Mercurios de Haya na lingua própria de cada Paiz, parecia descuido, que na de Portugal se não praticasse o mesmo, obrigando por isso a muitas pessoas curiosas a mandarem-nos vir de fóra, com grande despeza, a ficando a mayor parte dos Portuguezes privados de uma tão bella instrucção....Tudo isto fica vencido sendo eles impressos em Portugal...traduzindo os Mercurios de Haya, emendando-os de alguns erros, (que muitas vezes tem) e augmentando-os com algumas noticias, que nelles senão acharem; para que a historia contido nos mesmos Mercurios não ficasse imperfeita....Sirva-se V. m. de a proteger, porque desta sorte conseguirá correr livre de ser censurada por alguns, em que domina o affecto de parcialidade, os quaes não querem ler mais que noticias favoráveis ao seu partido, julgando por inverosimel o que lhes he contrario; entendo que não desprezará V. m. a oferta por minima, considerando que isto em mim he méro reconhecimento das muitas mercês de que a V. m. sou devedor.

The 'Desembargo do Paço' acknowledged the political relevance of Manoel's (1759, n.p.) translation:

Naõ contém cousa alguma contra...o decoro do Reino, antes julgo servirá a sua publicação de utilidade a toda a Nação Portugueza, que por este modo se poderá instruir com mayor comodidade dos successos Militares, e Politicos de toda a Europa.

From the licenses to the dedication, we learn that it was offered to Antonio Pedro Vergolino, 'Cavalleiro Professo na Ordem de Christo, Escrivaõ da Camara de Sua Magestade na Mesa do Desembargo do Paço' (Manoel, 1759, n.p.). Vergolino was a straw man ('testa-de-ferro') for D. José I (Carreira, 1988, p. 76). Widely acknowledged in the newspaper *Anatomico Jocosso*, this publication informs us that in 1755 Vergolino was "Secretario do Desembargo do Paço da Repartição da Corte, Extremadura, e Ilhas, que exercita com tanta prudência" (*Anatomico Jocosso*, 1755, n.p.).

When it comes to the translation proper, as previously pointed out, the selection of passages, later reorganised and completely rephrased, makes it very difficult to compare the source and target texts. Still, some slight differences in the vocabulary used and the intent behind it have been identified. For example, what in *Mercure historique et politique* (1758, p. 559) reads:

Bataille, donnée à Hochkirchen, en Lusace, par l'Armée I. & R., sous les ordres du Feld-Maréchal Comte de Daun, & de la Victoire complete qu'Elle a remportée sur celle du Roi de Prusse, commandée par ce Prince en personne.

was rendered into:

As Tropas do Rey de Prussia tem feito diferentes entradas, e causado um damno irreparavel. A açção mais celebre, que aqui tem acontecido, foy a Batalha dada no dia 14 de Outubro no lugar de Hochkirchen, entre as Tropas Austriacas, mandadas pelo General Daun, e o Exercito Prussiano mandado pelo Rey em pessoa. (Manoel, 1759, p. 31)

Still with regard to Lusace, “pendant que les Gêneraux Laudon & O-Kelli, empêcheroient le Roi de rentrer en Luface” (*Mercurie historique et politique*, 1758, p. 697) was turned into:

Depois disto o Principe Henrique fez novamente huma entrada nesta Provincia com o Exercito que tem ás suas ordens. Os Generaes Laudon, O-Kelli, e [?], que aqui estaõ com as suas Tropas irregulares, lhe devem observar todos os movimentos. (Manoel, 1759, p. 31)

In these passages, we went from the King being stopped from entering Lusace to him simply being watched in the translation, reinforcing the power of one of Portugal's allies, Prussia.

Apparently, however, the text does seek to be unbiased in general. If we compare London to Paris, we realise that the translator, in his evident reworking of the publication, wishes to show both sides without favouring one over the other or its allies (see Table 1).

Table 1. A questionable neutrality?

London (Manoel, 1759, pp. 81–84)	Paris (Manoel, 1759, pp. 84–86, 88)
<p>‘Os Francezes desde o fim da passada Guerra puzeraõ tantas difficuldades á execuçaõ dos Artigos da Paz, que já mais se pode concluir cousa alguma. Os limites dos nossos Dominios na America foraõ o principal motivo destas diferenças. Alguns ciumes alli movidos se vieraõ finalmente a declarar quando huma podersa Armada Franceza foy sobre a Ilha de Minorca, e a tomou juntamente com a Fortaleza de Porto-Mahon....A perda de Porto-Mahon foy naquelles tempos o golpe mais sensivel, que se podia dar á nossa Naçaõ. Cuidou logo a França em fazer marchar Tropas para Hannover, para o que lhe naõ faltou o pretexto de Garante dos Tratados de Vvesphalia, e Aquisgran....Foraõ estes expulsos deste Eleitorado nos fins de 1757, e principios de 1758, e atégora se tem continuado na defesa do mesmo Paiz confórme cabe no possível. No entanto se prossegue na Guerra da America com o mayor vigor. Nesta parte tivemos a mayor felicidade em tomarmos a nossos inimigos a notável Fortaleza de Cabo-Berton, e todas as terras de sua dependencia. Depois deste</p>	<p>‘Depois de aberta a Guerra saõ gloriosos os progressos que tem feito os nossos Exercitos. Inglaterra, que pertendia senharear-se de toda a nossa America, no meyo de huma sólida Paz entrou a cometer hostilidades, assim na terra firme de America, como no mar, chegando algumas náos de Guerra a combaterem com as de França, depois de nos terem seus navios tomado mais de duzentas Embarçaõens. Entaõ a nossa Corte mandou huma Armada sobre Porto-Mahon, cuja Praça foy rendida. Este golpe foy o mais sensivel, que se podia dar aos Inglezes, os quaes entráaõ logo a publicar em todo o mundo que esta expediçaõ fora injusta, por naõ ter precedido Declaraçaõ alguma; mas a nossa Corte julgou acertadamente, que depois de nos apprezarem navios, nos combaterem náos de Guerra, e de se fazerem todas as hostilidades da Guerra aos nossos moradores da America, estava mais que justificado este procedimento....Concluio-se alli [Hannover] huma suspensaõ de armas, pela mediaçaõ de Sua Majestade o Rey de Dinamarca; mas os Inglezes, ou</p>

<p>feliz successo totalmente nos esquecemos da perda de Mahon. Na Asia nos vemos igualmente victoriosos. Na Africa vemos nossas armas como desejamos. O nosso Commercio cada vez o vemos mais florecente, e o dos nossos inimigos em hum estado muito critico....No anno futuro de 1759 nos promettemos ainda mayores progressos....O Exercito de Hannover será augmentado....Fez-se huma subscripção de seis milhoens de libras esterlinas...para os gastos da Guerra do anno proximo...por falta de dinheiro não deixaraõ as nossas operaçoens de ter grande augmento’.</p>	<p>Hannoverianos a guardáraõ em quanto se não imagináraõ com forças para a poderem seguramente violar....A quadruple Alliança de França, Vienna, Russia, e Suecia tem determinado reciprocamente pôr todos os seus esforços, assim para finalizar brevemente a Guerra, como para conseguir huma Paz firme, e honrosa. Quando os nossos negócios se achaõ neste estado, pelo que toca ao Militar, não daõ menos que cuidar os que saõ meramente Politicos’.</p>
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At last we reach Lisbon, but of all the news items mentioning this city in the French text, only the one alluding to the King’s health was included in the translation, in which the translator took the opportunity to add that “A Rainha Nossa Senhora, e suas Altezas gozaõ perfeita saude, como todos lhes desejaõ” (Manoel, 1759, p. 93).

To end this subsection, it is worth mentioning that the *Mercurios Historicos de Portugal* was advertised in “Chronologia dos cometas”, an anonymous work on comets published in 1759. Several aspects from this reference stand out (Anonymous, 1759, p. 31): it is made clear that the publication deals with the ongoing war and its development; that Faria not only translates the content of the source text but expands it; and that many bookshops sell this publication, among them the stores of Francisco Rodrigues Pereira, Joaquim Ferreira Coelho, Antonio Pedro de Moraes, Christovaõ da Silva, Pedro do Vale, Bernardo Rodrigues, Jeronymo Rodrigues, and Manoel da Conceiçaõ. Two of the bookshops where this publication can be found also sell the *Observador Hollandez*, i.e., on Bento Soares’s store on Adro de S. Domingos and Luis Pereira Coelho’s near Menino Deos (cf. *Gazeta de Lisboa*, 1757, p. 282; 1758a, p. 104; 1758b, p. 200).

3.3. *Gazeta Extraordinaria de Londres (1762a)*

Considered an “immensely rare” newspaper (Catalogo do jornalismo portuguez, antigo e moderno, 1897, p. 24, translated by the author) and of anonymous authorship, the *Gazeta Extraordinaria de Londres* is a translation of an English military report from Havana to London, dated August 21st, 1762, originally published in the *London Gazette Extraordinary* on September 30th, 1762. It was distributed in Portugal by Officina de Miguel Rodrigues that same year. As pointed out by Dias (2022, p. 45), this shows how fast news travelled.

It is precisely this time question that we should now focus on, because, in contrast to the two previous translations, the one now being considered seems to have been rushed. To begin, as shown in Figure 2, unlike the more elaborate descriptions on the covers of the previously analysed publications, this one displays only the name of the newspaper. There is no explicit reference to the translator, nor dedication or preface indicating where the text

comes from. It is also noteworthy that the common 'licenças' is now replaced here by 'auctoridade', as if not all censoring organs had been involved in the publication.

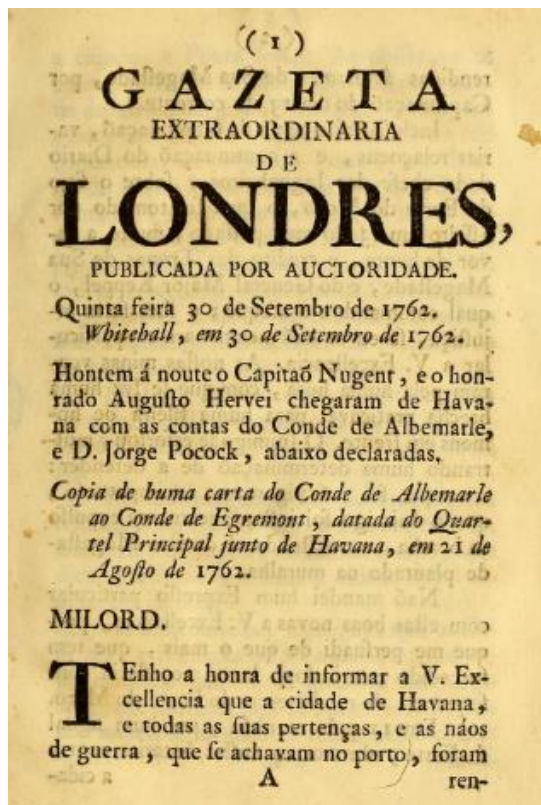


Figure 2. A suspicious front page? Source: *Gazeta Extraordinaria de Londres* (1762a).

Besides these details, there are also multiple typographic errors in the target text. They are summarised below (Table 2).

Table 2. Some editorial errors.

<i>London Gazette Extraordinary in The London Magazine (1762)</i>	<i>Gazeta Extraordinaria de Londres (1762a)</i>
'57 rank and file, wounded' (p. 542)	'75 Soldados feridos' (p. 39)
'632 rank and file, died' (p. 543)	'623 Soldados mortos de doença' (p. 41)
'35 pieces of cannon' (p. 545)	'36 pessas de canhão' (p. 51)
'Captain Hervey' (p. 546)	'Capitao Starwey' (p. 60)
'June' (throughout)	'July' (throughout)

We can assert, nonetheless, that these editorial errors first stem from the handwritten version of the document. A comparison between this version and the printed version reveals that the mistakes highlighted above, and also the information on the front page, have their origin in the handwritten form of the newspaper. Although we know that little time separates the two texts, we do not know when the handwritten one was composed (*Gazeta Extraordinaria de Londres*, 1762b).

In spite of these lapses, the translation was faithfully rendered, underlining British accomplishments. The back page features a map depicting the capture of Havana, very

likely made by an English officer (Cueto, 1998, p. 186) (Figure 3; its existence, as regards its connection to the translation, is another question).

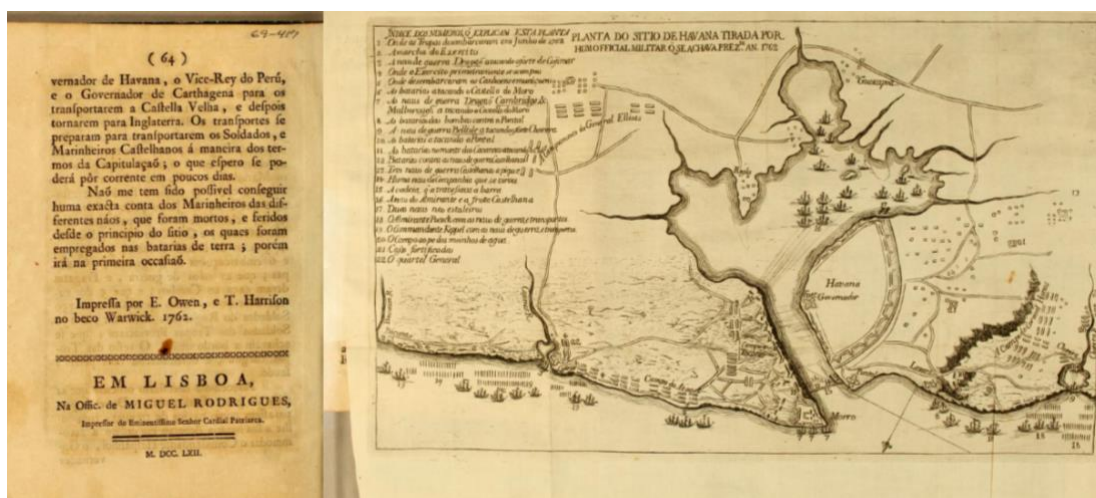


Figure 3. Map of the siege of Havana in the *Gazeta Extraordinaria de Londres* (1762a).

Ultimately, the rapid production of this translation (including the map) might be interpreted in two ways: one, to diminish Spain's influence in the war; and two, to (re)strengthen Portugal's ties with England. Indeed, the publication of this text emerges during the Spanish invasion of Portugal, soon to come to an end thanks to the British military aid requested by Pombal. This passage from Ibáñez-Bonillo (2021, p. 481), which we will use to conclude this section, touches briefly upon this translation—but it also serves as a precise review of the political role inherent in the three publications presented and analysed here:

No es de extrañar, en este contexto, que la propaganda y la comunicación de masas jugasen un papel fundamental en el desarrollo de la Guerra de los Siete Años y, específicamente, en el conflicto ibérico que aquí estamos presentando. Así, los franceses exageraron la importancia de las victorias españolas en territorio portugués a través de grabados y narraciones, convirtiendo la toma de Salvaterra do Extremo, por ejemplo, en una gesta que poco tenía que ver con la realidad. Por su parte, en el bando opuesto también se echó mano de la comunicación de masas, con objetivos similares. Poco después de la toma de La Habana, se imprimió en Lisboa la traducción de una gaceta inglesa que informaba de los acontecimientos, incluyendo un mapa y detalles de lo ocurrido.

4. Conclusion

The purpose of this study was to understand, through the analysis of *Observador Hollandez* (1757–1758), *Mercurios Historicos de Portugal* (1759), and *Gazeta Extraordinaria de Londres* (1762a), the political dimension of translated newspapers in the context of the Seven Years' War in Portugal. The findings clarify that, similarly to 'non-translated' newspapers, these publications functioned as political tools in the evolution and depiction of the conflict, as we can see these translations accompanying Pombal's policy changing from an anti-British and mercantilist stance, to the so-called 'dubious neutrality' in the war,

to the realisation that Portugal needed England economically and politically. These translations not only constituted political instruments for the State but could also be used by translators for their own political benefit, as the first two publications suggest.

With this article, we also aim to inspire further studies that shed a light on other early modern translated newspapers, often overlooked but valuable sources for political history. Provided they are carefully analysed and properly contextualised, such studies could create new bridges between book historians and social and political historians (Deen, Onnekink & Reinders, 2010; Raymond & Moxham, 2016; cf. Dooley & Baron, 2001; Schultheiß-Heinz, 2004).

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