

V – Lisbon 1755: The First ‘Modern’ Disaster (but if modern, how is it so?)

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When compared to the hapless response by the US government to Hurricane Katrina’s devastation of much of New Orleans in 2005, the actions taken by the government of Portugal in the mid-eighteenth century when faced with the destruction of Lisbon fare remarkably well.

The Great Lisbon Earthquake occurred on All Saints Day, November 1, 1755. The scale of the quake was probably the equivalent of 8.5–9.0 in magnitude on the Richter scale. It led shortly thereafter to a tsunami, a towering tidal wave very rare in the Atlantic Ocean; only three or four in the last three hundred years have struck the Atlantic coast so as to affect the Lisbon area.¹

Portugal is not considered a high-risk area for earthquakes, and yet there have been very large earthquakes over the course of the centuries in the area of the city, usually at about 200-year intervals. Previously recorded earthquakes in Lisbon occurred in 1344 (probably about 7.0–8.0 on the Richter scale); in 1532 (a likely scale of 7.0–9.0, which also produced a tsunami); in 1755 (approximately a 9.0 scale, with three aftershocks and a tsunami); and most recently, in 1969 (a 6.0 scale).²

In 1755 the destruction was enormous: some fifty-five convents and monasteries were severely damaged; the riverfront quay sank and disappeared; and the Royal Palace was destroyed. It is very difficult to ascertain the exact number of dead—contemporary estimates spoke of tens of thousands—but in all likelihood, 10,000 to 15,000 people were killed. The population of Lisbon at the time was somewhere between 160,000 and 200,000. At the time the earthquake

struck on the morning of All Saints Day, people were attending church services, candles were lit on altars, and many churches collapsed onto the congregations during mass.³

A British merchant in Lisbon gave a succinct account of his experiences on that fateful morning when the earthquake struck:

There was I sitting on the first Day of the present Month, about ten of the Clock in the Morning, (the Weather being serene, and the Sky without a Cloud in it,) when I felt the House begin gently to shake; which gradually increased with a rushing noise, like the Sound of heavy Carriages, driving hard at some Distance, and such I at first imagined the Cause of the Noise and Shaking I heard and felt. But both of them gradually increasing, and observing the Pictures in my Room to flap against the Walls. I started up, and immediately perceived it was an Earthquake; and having never been sensible of the Shaking of one before, I stood a good while very composedly remarking its Operations; till from waving and shaking, I thought the Room began to roul, which made me run towards an inward one; more to the Centre of the House; but the Motion was then so extremely violent, that I with Difficulty, kept upon my Feet. Every part of the House cracked about me, the Tiles rattled on the Top of it; the Walls rent on every side; the Doors of a pretty large Book-case that stood in my Room, and which were locked, burst open, and the Books fell from the Shelves within it, but not till after I was got into the Room adjoining; and I heard, with Terror, the falling of Houses round about, and the Screams and Cries of People from every Quarter.⁴

The merchant went out into the city and recorded the reactions as the tsunami struck:

Not long after...a general Pannic was raised from a Crowd of People's running from the Waterside, all crying out the Sea was pouring in and would certainly overwhelm the City. This new Alarm, created such Horrors in the agitated Minds of the Populace, that vast Numbers of them ran screaming into

the ruined City again, where, a fresh Shock of the Earthquake immediately following, many of them were buried in the Ruins of falling Houses. This Alarm was, however, not entirely without Foundation. For the Water of the River rose at once above twenty Feet perpendicular, and subsided again to its natural Pitch in less than a Minute's time. I was of the Number that continued where we were, but the Horror and Distraction of the Multitude were so increased by this astonishing Phænomena, that I confess they appeared more shocking to me than even the very Operations of the Earthquake.⁵

He then succeeded in leaving the city and witnessed the third great disaster that befell Lisbon that morning:

We perceived, by the Clouds of Smoke which we saw arise, that it had taken Fire; and we have since heard, from Persons who were upon Eminences when the Earthquake happened, that the two great Shocks had been over very few Minutes, before they perceived the Ruins had taken Fire at six or seven different Places. The first that was observed, was at the Convent or Church of *St. Domingo's in the Rocio*; The second at the Boa-Hora, near the Palace; The rest at other Parts of the City, which all raging with great Fury, and burning for five or six Days successively, reduced the whole Capital of *Portugal* to Ashes, except a few Houses at the Out-skirts of the Town, which are, however, so much shattered with the Earthquake, as to be unfit for other Service, than by the Help of Props, to afford a present Shelter to Crowds that could otherwise have no Screen at all against the Inclemencies of Weather, which, in respect to Rain and piercing Winds, are frequently extremely severe in this Country during a great Part of the Winter Season.⁶

The British Consul, writing to London two weeks after the earthquake, told a similar story:

The first shock began about a quarter before 10 o'clock in the morning, and as far as I could judge, lasted six or seven minutes, so that in a quarter of an hour, this great city was laid in ruins. Soon after, several fires broke out, which burned for five or six days. The force of the earthquake seemed to be immediately under the city...It is thought to have vented itself at the quay which runs from the Customs House towards the king's palace, which is entirely carried away, and has totally disappeared. At the time of the earthquake, the waters of the river rose twenty or thirty feet...⁷

About one third of the city was totally destroyed by the quake and flood. The British Consul wrote on December 13:

The part of the town towards the water where was the Royal Palace, the public tribunals, the Customs House, India House, and where most of the merchants dealt for the convenience of transacting their business, is so totally destroyed by the earthquake and by the fire, that it is nothing but a heap of rubbish, in many places several stories high, incredible to those who are not eye-witnesses of it.⁸

The aftershocks caused widespread damage elsewhere in Portugal and were felt as far away as Venice and southern France and also reached Morocco and northern Africa. But it was Lisbon that bore the brunt of the disaster. The tidal wave and the fire destroyed much of the central part of the city between the Rossio and the Palace Square. The alluvial soil there had likely liquefied. The hills on either side of the Baixa, both to the east and to the west, were less affected, and the buildings along the estuary toward the Atlantic—where the Royal Family was in residence at the summer palace at Belém—survived with less damage. But the newly constructed Patriarchal church was destroyed, as was the new opera house which had been inaugurated only a few months before on the 30th of March 1755, the birthday of

the Queen. The first opera performed had been *Alessandro nell'Indie* by David Perez and the magnificent sets were designed by Giovanni Carlo Sicini Bibiena. The damage suffered by the Opera House and the Patriarchal church, as well as other principal buildings in the city, was documented in a series of engravings by Jacques-Phillippe Le Bas in 1757, the most accurate pictures that exist today of post-earthquake Lisbon.⁹

The scale of the Lisbon earthquake shocked Europe. In Britain George II asked the House of Commons to provide “speedy and effectual relief,” and the Commons responded allowing the Treasury to appropriate £100,000 in specie and provisions, clothing, and tools.¹⁰ The cultural impact of the disaster was profound.¹¹ Goethe, six years old at the time, recalled in his autobiography the reaction of his contemporaries: “Perhaps the Demon of Fear had never so speedily and powerfully diffused his terror over the earth.”¹² The event was also the subject of anxious Church sermons across the Atlantic in New England.¹³

In fact, an earthquake had also occurred in Massachusetts on the 18th of November 1755, centered east of Cape Ann. In Boston, most of the damage occurred where buildings had been constructed over landfill near the wharves.¹⁴ John Adams, who was at Braintree, wrote in his diary: “The house seemed to rock and reel and crack as if it would fall in ruins...”

Professor John Winthrop’s detailed account was published in the *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society*, and in his lecture on earthquakes, read in the chapel of Harvard College on November 26th 1755.¹⁵ Winthrop summarized the events and their probably natural causes, which he argued were not incompatible with God’s ultimate moral purposes. “To sum up all in a word,” he concluded, “This

is a Mix'd state; in which there is such a variety of purposes, natural as well as moral, in prosecution at the same time, that there may be nothing, perhaps, in the material world, that is simply and absolutely evil, nothing, but that what, under the direction of infinite wisdom, power and beneficence, is, in some or other of its consequences, productive of an over-balance of good." In Winthrop's appendix to his lecture he discussed the operation of "electrical substance in earthquakes" and noted with approval the work of "the very ingenious Mr. Franklin of Philadelphia."¹⁶

The most notorious reaction came from Voltaire. In his "Poem on the Lisbon Disaster or an Examination of the Axiom 'All is well,'" Voltaire took a very pessimistic view of what had happened:

Oh, miserable mortals! Oh wretched earth!
 Oh, dreadful assembly of all mankind!
 Eternal sermon of useless sufferings!
 Deluded philosophers who cry, "All is well,"
 Hasten, contemplate these frightful ruins
 This wreck, these shreds, these wretched ashes of the dead;
 These women and children heaped on one another,
 These scattered members under broken marble;
 One-hundred thousand unfortunates devoured by the earth
 Who, bleeding, lacerated, and still alive,
 Buried under their roofs without aid in their anguish,
 End their sad days!
 In answer to the half-formed cries of their dying voices,
 At the frightful sight of their smoking ashes,
 Will you say: "This is result of eternal laws
 Directing the acts of a free and good God!"
 Will you say, in seeing this mass of victims:
 "God is revenged, their death is the price for their crimes?"
 What crime, what error did these children,

Crushed and bloody on their mothers' breasts, commit?
 Did fallen Lisbon deeper drink of vice
 Than London, Paris, or sunlit Madrid?
 In these men dance; at Lisbon yawns the abyss.
 Tranquil spectators of your brothers' wreck,
 Unmoved by this repellent dance of death,
 Who calmly seek the reason of such storms,
 Let them but lash your own security;
 Your tears will mingle freely with the flood.¹⁷

Rousseau, shocked by what Voltaire had written, asserted the natural causes of such catastrophes and protested to him in a letter:

You would have preferred that this earthquake had taken place deep in a desert rather than at Lisbon. Is it possible to doubt that they do not occur in deserts? But we do not speak of those because they cause no harm to the Gentlemen Who Live in Cities, the only people we take into consideration. These earthquakes scarcely harm even the animals and the savages who sparsely populate these remote regions and who do not fear falling roofs or collapsing houses. But what is the significance of such a privilege? Does this really mean that the order of the natural world should be changed to conform to our caprices, that nature must be subject to our laws, and that in order to prevent her from causing an earthquake in any particular place all we need do is build a city there?¹⁸

As Susan Neiman observes: "Though the philosophes perpetually accused Rousseau of nostalgia, Voltaire's discussion of the earthquake left far more in God's hands than did Rousseau's." In jail in Venice, having sorely tested the Venetian bounds of propriety, Casanova saw opportunity while others discussed philosophy.

When the aftershock jolted the Doge's palace where he was detained, Casanova noted that the roof tiles above his cell had been loosened:

While I was immersed in this toilsome sea of thought, an event happened which brought home to me the sad state of mind I was in. I was standing up in the garret looking towards the top, and my glance fell on the great beam, not shaking but turning on its right side, and then, by slow and interrupted movement in the opposite direction, turning again and replacing itself in its original position. As I lost my balance at the same time, I knew it was the shock of an earthquake...Four or five seconds after the same movement occurred, and I could not refrain from saying, "Another, O my God! but stronger."

The guards, terrified with what they thought the impious ravings of a desperate madman, fled in horror. After they were gone, as I was pondering the matter over, I found that I looked upon the overthrow of the Doge's palace as one of the events which might lead to liberty; the mighty pile, as it fell, might throw me safe and sound, and consequently free, on St. Mark's Place, or at the worst it could only crush me beneath its ruins. Situated as I was, liberty reckons for all, and life for nothing, or rather for very little. Thus in the depths of my soul I began to grow mad.

This earthquake shock was the result of those which at the same time destroyed Lisbon.

It has always been my opinion that when a man sets himself determinedly to do something, and thinks of nought but his design, he must succeed despite all difficulties in his path: such an one may make himself Pope or Grand Vizier, he may overturn an ancient line of kings—provided that he knows how to seize

on his opportunity, and be a man of wit and pertinacity. To succeed one must count on being fortunate and despise all ill success, but it is a most difficult operation.¹⁹

But if the Lisbon earthquake provoked a philosophical debate in Europe, sermons in New England, and allowed Casanova, seizing his “opportunity”, to escape from his jail in Venice using the weakness in the roof that the earthquake had so fortuitously revealed to him, within Portugal itself the reaction was much more prosaic and practical. The king of Portugal in 1755, Dom José I of Bragança, and his wife, Maria Anna Vitória de Borbon, a Spanish infanta, had never shown great interest in government, obsessed as they were with hunting and the opera. The king was utterly and completely paralyzed and terrified by the earthquake. Even though he had been out of Lisbon and in residence at Belém well to the west of the center of the city when the shocks and tidal wave occurred, Dom José was so frightened that for the rest of his life he refused to sleep in any building built of stone. The royal family moved immediately into the gardens of the Belém Palace into temporary shelters. Later the king and court took up residence on the hill above Belém, living in wooden and canvas houses, known colloquially as the “royal sheds”, until the end of the eighteenth century.

With the Portuguese monarch incapable of responding to the crisis during the critical days of confusion and panic, the lead was taken effectively by his powerful and ambitious minister, José Sebastião de Carvalho e Melo (1699–1782), better known by his subsequent title of Marquês de Pombal, granted in 1769.²⁰

The first actions of Pombal were to bury the dead and to impose order. The scale of destruction was such that the removal of bodies became absolutely essential

to prevent the spread of disease and plague. Pombal persuaded the patriarch of Lisbon to give permission for bodies to be collected, put in boats, sent out into the Atlantic, and dropped into the ocean without funeral rites. He brought in troops from the garrisons in the hinterland of Portugal to contain disorder. He also gave magistrates the power to act instantly in case of looting or murder; and they acted expeditiously. According to one eyewitness account, in addition to the earthquake dead there were soon about eighty gibbets set up throughout the city where those caught looting and committing other crimes were summarily hanged. Pombal's immediate and draconian response was encapsulated in the famous phrase attributed to him, "bury the dead and feed the living." In his singularly spidery handwriting, he gave his own account of the three immediate priorities. The first was to dispose of the dead in order to avoid disease; second, to feed the population (to achieve this and deter speculators Pombal imposed ceilings on the price of bread); and third, to impose public order.²¹

Pombal's reaction was swift and effective. It was later summarized with the texts of the decrees in a compendium that is still a useful summary of the measures needed in response to a similar disaster. These *providencias* included the immediate collection and disposal of corpses, the avoidance of food shortages, attention to the wounded and sick, the return of the population to the city, measures to maintain public order, temporary control on prices of essential food, and planning for the reconstruction of the city. It is sometimes argued that Pombal was not responsible for these measure and claimed credit for them afterwards. But in the Palha collection in Harvard's Houghton library, there is a handwritten draft of the decree

written at Belém on November 3rd 1755 as well as the decree in his hand. This decree is printed in the *Providencias* volume also in Houghton library.²²

In January 1756, Pombal issued instructions that an investigation take place as to the effects of the earthquake throughout Portugal. This *inquérito* was to be conducted in all the parishes of the Kingdom and was composed of 13 specific questions. They included questions as to the precise time of the earthquake; the direction from which it struck; how many houses were destroyed in each parish, how many died; whether any abnormalities had been observed in the air, fountains or rivers; if the sea had fallen before the earthquake, how high the tide had risen, and for how long; if fissures had occurred in the ground; what measures had been taken in the immediate aftermath by priests, military officers and civil magistrates; how many aftershocks had occurred, and at what intervals; whether or not there had been other earthquakes in living memory, and the damage that had occurred as a result; how many people there were in each parish, and of what sex; whether there was a shortage of food; if there were fires, how many, and how long they lasted. 250 replies were received in six months, and 600 over the course of 1756; they provide the first scientific assessment of an earthquake impact.²³

The fact that the destruction of Lisbon offered great opportunities to urban planners was not lost on one ambitious young Scottish architect: Robert Adam (1728–91). In Rome at the time (1754–58), Adam saw the earthquake as “a heavenly judgment on my behalf.” He aspired to be royal architect of Lisbon and produced rough sketches of what he thought the newly reconstructed city should look like, based—it seems—on the Bernini Piazza before Saint Peter’s in Rome. The sketches included an urban plan that envisioned a great basin opening onto the Tagus River,

backed by an area for the houses of the nobility, behind which would be a bourgeois zone, as Adam described it, with public gardens on either side.²⁴

Overall, the young Robert Adam's design, in its theatrical Baroque extravagance, was based on the assumption that Lisbon would be rebuilt in an architectural style that reflected half a century of Portuguese patronage in Rome during the reign of João V. But this was not to be. In fact the style that was adapted for the buildings of the reconstructed Lisbon was in many respects much closer to that of the buildings designed by Robert Adam's father, the Scottish architect William Adam. Writing to Rome from Lisbon, a nun looking at the ruins of the opera house described it as having been "a center of opulence, gala, grandiosity, and vanity." She captured, in fact, more accurately than Robert Adam the sober and utilitarian mood in Portugal after November 1755.²⁵ The interesting story that was to unfold in Lisbon represented in some sense a conscious rejection of "vanitá," that is, the Baroque and rococo extravagances so preeminent under Dom João V, and the embrace of "virtú," the more modest, commercial, practical, pragmatic, neo-Palladian image that came to be associated with the regime of Pombal.²⁶

NOTES

¹ For a good selection of eighteenth-century representations of the Lisbon earthquake, many highly fanciful, see Jan T. Kozak and Charles D. James, "Historical Depictions of the 1755 Lisbon Earthquake," <http://nisee.berkeley.edu/lisbon> (Berkeley, Calif.: National Information Service for Earthquake Engineering (NISEE), 1998).

² "Impacto sísmico," *Arquitetura e Vida* 2, no. 22 (Lisbon, December 2001), pp. 16–27.

³ For further details and illustrative material, see Maxwell, *Pombal*, pp. 21–35. For a discussion of population figures, see João Pedro Ferro, *A População Portuguesa no Final do Antigo Regime (1750–1815)* (Lisbon: Editorial Presença, 1995); and José Vicente Serrão, "O Quadro Humano,"

in *O Antigo Regime, 1620–1807*, vol. 4 of *Historia de Portugal*, ed. António Manuel Hespanha and José Mattoso (Lisbon: Editorial Estampa, 1993).

⁴ “An Account of the late dreadful earthquake and fire which destroyed the city of Lisbon, The metropolis of Portugal. In a letter from a merchant resident there to his friend in England,” in British Historical Society of Portugal, *The Lisbon Earthquake of 1755*, p.38–40.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 42.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 46.

⁷ Cited in C. R. Boxer, *Some Contemporary Reactions to the Lisbon Earthquake of 1755* (Lisbon: Faculdade de Letras, Universidade de Lisboa, 1956), p. 7.

⁸ Cited in C. R. Boxer, “Pombal’s Dictatorship and the Great Earthquake of 1755,” *History Today* 5, no. 2 (1955), pp. 727–36.

⁹ *Recueil des plus belles ruines de Lisbonne causées par le tremblement et par le feu du premier Novembre 1755*. Dessiné sur les lieux par M. M. Paris et Pedegache. Et Gravé à Paris par Jac. Ph. Le Bas premier Graveur du Cabinet du Roy en 1757. Avec Privilege du Roy. Se vende à Paris chez Jac. Franc. Blondel.” Published in various editions in English, Dutch, and German. For opera, see Manuel Carlos de Brito, *Opera in Portugal in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), and “Opera in Portugal in the Eighteenth Century, *Journal of the American Musicological Society* Vol. 44, No. 2 (summer 1991), pp. 332-343.

¹⁰ Boxer, *Some Contemporary Reactions*, pp. 10–11.

¹¹ For the earthquake’s wide-ranging cultural impact on Europe, see in particular Isabel Maria Barreira de Campos, *O Grande Terramoto, 1755* (Lisbon: Editorial Parceria, 1998); and T. D. Kendrick, *The Lisbon Earthquake* (Philadelphia and New York: J. B. Lippincott, 1955).

¹² Boxer, *Some Contemporary Reactions*, p. 18.

¹³ “*The earth delivered from the curse to which it is, at present, subjected: a sermon...preached at the Boston-Thursday-lecture, January 22, 1756. Published by the general desire of the hearers. By Charles Chauncy, D. D. one of the Pastors of the First Church in Boston* (Boston: Printed and sold by Edes & Gill, at their printing office, next to the prison, in Queen-Street, 1756);” *An Account of the late dreadful earthquake and fire, which destroyed the city of Lisbon, the metropolis of Portugal: In a letter from a merchant resident there, to his friend in England*” (London: printed. Boston; New-England, re-printed and sold by Green & Russell, at their printing-office near the Custom-House, and next to the writing-school in Queen-Street., 1756; also see note 11); and *Two very circumstantial accounts of the late dreadful earthquake at Lisbon: giving a more particular relation of that event than any hitherto publish’d: The first drawn up by Mr. Farmer, a merchant, of undoubted veracity, who came over from the ruined city in the Expedition packet-boat, just arrived at Falmouth. The second related by another gentleman, who came over also in the above packet, and taken in writing from his mouth. Now published from a principle of benevolence, to satisfy the curiosity of the public. To which is added, an account of the antiquity, grandeur, beauty, and extent of the famous city of Lisbon before the earthquake, lately publish’d in London, and came in the last ship* (Exeter, printed. Boston, re-printed and sold by D. Fowle in Ann-Street, and Z. Fowle in Middle-Street, 1756).

¹⁴ *Historical Seismicity of New England*, prepared by Weston Geophysical Research (Boston: Edison Company, 1976), pp 121- 199.

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- ¹⁵ Michael N. Shute, ed., *The Scientific Work of John Winthrop*, (Arono Press, 1980).
- ¹⁶ *Ibid.*, “A lecture on earthquakes”.
- ¹⁷ F. M. A. de Voltaire, *Poèmes sur le Dêsastre de Lisbonne et sur La Loi Naturelle avec des Prefaces, des Notes etc.*, (Genève, n.d. [1756]) in *Selected Works of Voltaire*, ed. Joseph McCabe (London: Watts and Co., 1911).
- ¹⁸ Jean-Jacques Rousseau, “Cartes à Voltaire de M. J.-J. Rousseau, le 18 août 1756,” in *Oeuvres Complètes de Voltaire*, ed. Louis Moland, vol. 39, *Correspondence*, (Paris: Garnier, 1877–85), sec. 7.
- ¹⁹ Giacomo Girolamo Casanova de Seingalt, *The Complete Memoirs of Jacques Casanova de Seingalt, 1725–1798*, vol. 2e. “a rare unabridged London edition of 1894, translated by Arthur Machen, to which has been added the chapters discovered by Arthur Symons [in 1899],” vol. 2, *To Paris and Prison; Under the Leads*. Available from the Project Gutenberg Literary Archives at: <http://www.gutenberg.config.com/etext01/jculd10.txt>.
- ²⁰ There is a vast and uneven historical literature on Pombal. See, for example, *Marquês de Pombal: Catálogo Bibliográfico e Iconográfico* (Lisbon: Biblioteca Nacional, 1982); also see the more recent bibliographic essay in Maxwell, *Pombal*, pp. 167–74. The name Pombal is used henceforth anachronistically in this essay, as this is how historians refer to him. For the role of the chief minister in the eighteenth century, see Hamish M. Scott, “The Rise of the First Minister in Eighteenth-Century Europe,” in T. C. W. Blanning and David Cannadine eds., *History and Biography: Essays in Honour of Derek Beales*, (Cambridge, U. K.: Cambridge University Press, 1997). The best recent Portuguese edition is Joaquim Veríssimo Serrão, *O Marquês de Pombal. O Homem, o Diplomata, e o Estadista* (Lisbon: Camaras Municipais de Lisboa, Oeiras e Pombal, 1982).
- ²¹ “Fragmento, com emendas de Seb. J. De Carvalho e Mello (manuscript fragment with annotations by Pombal) (Lisbon: Biblioteca Nacional, Coleção Pombalina, codex 696, fl. 11–13).
- ²² Marquês de Pombal, documents 339-341 in Fernando Palha collection of Portuguese historical autographs, 1523-1890, Houghton Library, Harvard University: Martim Cardoso de Azevedo, *Memorias das principaes providencias, que se deraõ no terremoto, que padeceo a Corte de Lisboa no anno de 1755 ...* (Lisbon, 1758).
- ²³ M.R. Thumudo Barata, Luisa Braga, M. Noronha Wagner, Berta Guerra, J. Félix Alves e Joana Neto. *Sismicidade de Portugal. Estudo da documentação dos Séculos XVII e XVIII* (Lisbon: G.P.S.N., 1999) and Antonio Gomes Coelho, p. 86. “Do ‘inquérito’ do Marquês de Pombal ao estudo de Pereira de Souza sobre o terremoto de I de Novembro de 1755”, in *1755: O Grande Terramoto de Lisboa* (Lisbon: Público and Fundação Luso-Americana, 3 vols, 2005), vol I. pp. 23-6.
- ²⁴ A sketch by Robert Adam, found in Sir John Soane’s Museum in London by art historian Angela Delaforce, is discussed and illustrated in Angela Delaforce, “The Dream of a Young Architect: Robert Adam and a Project for the Rebuilding of Lisbon in 1755,” in Angela Delaforce, ed., *Portugal e o Reino Unido: A Aliança Revisitada*, (Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1995), pp. 56–60.
- ²⁵ Delaforce, *Art and Patronage*, pp. 285–87.

²⁶ See John Gifford, *William Adam, 1689–1748: A Life and Times of Scotland's Universal Architect* (Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing, 1989); for background, see David Daiches, Peter Jones, and Jean Jones, eds., *The Scottish Enlightenment 1730–1790: A Hotbed of Genius* (Edinburgh: The Saltire Society, 1996).