

weigh well the advantage and the loss ; the establishment of manufactures would benefit all Portugal and her colonies ; the loss of the wine trade would hurt only the wine lands, and these may be converted into arable land, of which the country is in want : besides the English are so accustomed to our wines, which are cheaper than the French, that they would probably still purchase them ; and if they did not, the men who now work in the vineyards are equally able to labour at the plough : but manufactures give bread to those who can work nowhere else.

But it is observed that all attempts at establishing manufactures must fail, because foreigners can afford to supply us with goods at a cheaper rate : this evil would be daily remedying : besides, by purchasing our own commodities we keep the money in the kingdom, and thus another disadvantage under which Portugal labours may be counteracted, the want of troops ; for the Prince who has money can hire foreign troops.

Our deficiency as a naval power cannot so easily be supplied. We have only our navy, the Brazil ships, and a few that go to, and return, or do not return, from India : it is sailors that Portugal is in want of, and for these she possesses no nursery. It is more with regard to their commerce than to their situation that England and Holland are called maritime powers ; this is assisted by their Companies, and trains up seamen for their navy. It is an object of the first importance to restore the state of Brazil, the most effectual means of accomplishing this would be to establish a company, and for such an undertaking the Jews are of all persons the most fit. Father Antonio Vieira, who is known and admired by all who have read his books (except indeed his last but one, which is full of such fanaticism as cannot be suffered) proposed the forming of an India Company, as a previous step to which it was necessary to repeal the law for confiscating Jewish property ; this proposal cost him dear : the Inquisition deeply remembered it, and afterwards seized and condemned him, more for this than for his heretical opinions.

Such likewise was the opinion of the Conde Ribeira, whom God has ; a man experienced in business, and who had given thought to the subject. The King recalled him from Paris, and appointed me in his place : we met at Orleans, and he communicated to me his project. I told him that it was very good, very useful, and very necessary, but at the same time vast and liberal, and that was enough to secure it the opposition either of envy or of ignorance, according to the laudable custom of our country, from those whom his Majesty would consult.

The advantages which the Dutch derive from possessing the Cape of Good Hope are well known. We have the ports of Brazil and of Mozambique, for vessels going and returning, that might produce us equal advantages, but these are neglected !

Such a Company ought to pay for their monopoly, and this they might well afford to do. Andre Alvarez Nogueira, a Jew associated with



some English merchants, proposed to me once to arm a ship for the India trade : and he offered, if his Portugueze Majesty would suffer him to use his flag, that he might not be treated as an interloper, to sail with a supercargo from Lisbon, call there on his return, and allow the King ten per cent. and if the goods were contraband, sell them elsewhere. I thought his proposal a good one, but it was rejected.

It may be reckoned among the other good effects of such a company, that foreigners would place their money in it ; and though it may be said that they will fear to trust their property to a despotic government, and, what is worse, can allege the suppression of the Brazil Company, in spite of all their services ; yet where the hope of gain is powerful, the fear of contingent danger is weak. I must, however, again observe, that to establish such Companies it will be absolutely necessary to tolerate the Jews.

The encouragement of our fisheries is another object of national concern. Two frigates, however, would be wanted to protect them from the Barbary Corsairs, and as the people are too poor, too lazy, and too pusillanimous to undertake this, the Court ought to begin it. The importance of a nursery for seamen can never be insisted on too strongly. There are coal mines in the neighbourhood of London, and yet, on this account, all the coals consumed in that city are brought from Newcastle.

But the greatest benefit which Portugal could possibly receive would result from declaring Lisbon a free port; not in the strict and literal meaning of the word, for it is not my wish that his Majesty should lose the revenues of the Custom-house; yet it is true that this loss might be repaired, and to the advantage of the public. It is the purchaser who pays the duty, and it is possible to collect the same revenue in a less oppressive manner. They who buy must barter or sell: these duties make the goods dearer, less therefore is bought, and

consequently less is sold : it follows that the cessation of all duties would be beneficial.

Such a measure would render Lisbon the first port in the world ; it is sufficient for a moment to contemplate its effects where it has taken place. Leghorn is not absolutely a free port, yet as a very trifling duty is laid upon every cargo, without regard to size, the facility of entering goods has rendered it a flourishing city. The duties at Venice have been reduced from fourteen to one per cent. since the year 1736 : and on exports it is less than this : on this account it takes the Lombardy trade from Leghorn. The flourishing port of Genoa is altogether free. Bayona is free only for natives, or those who marry a native ; foreigners, therefore, who engage in that trade, generally reside there. I remember the Member for Bristol, in the English Parliament, spoke in praise of the English for enriching themselves abroad, and then returning and buying estates, and enjoying in their own country what they had brought from ours. Dunkirk is free, and to this it owes its

opulence. Consider what the example of these ports must prove, and think of the advantages which Lisbon possesses over all of them.

It will therefore be right for his Majesty to erect a large warehouse to receive foreign goods, in a dry situation near Belem, so constructed as at any time to admit of such enlargement as may be necessary. Another must be built with more divisions for cargoes that are liable to spoil, such as all kinds of grain, as is the case at Amsterdam. The advantage which foreigners would derive from having Lisbon a free-port, would excite the emulation or the avarice of the Portugueze, and thus produce a mercantile spirit.

M. Tugere, of St. Maloes (whom the King rewarded with the Order of Christ, for carrying the Conde de Ereceyra to France, after he had been robbed by pirates, near the Isle of Bourbon), offered to make a voyage of discovery if his Majesty would employ him. I, however, gave no encouragement to his project. Brazil

is the scene for discoveries ; by means of the many rivers that communicate with the Maragnon, we ought to penetrate that immense country, a country probably as rich in cochineal and silver mines as the Spanish possessions.

But I have before said that Portugal must not be depopulated to people Brazil ; make the inhabitants, then, labour in the cultivation of sugar and tobacco, instead of burying them in the mines. One ship will bring away all the gold and jewels they can dig, but many vessels are necessary for the exportation of these articles of commerce.

There could no ill consequence arise from suffering strangers to enter Brazil. I remember, when I held that station at London, which you so worthily occupy at present, that four thousand persons came at once from the Palatinate to migrate to the English settlements in America. You know the French got permission to go to the Cape of Good Hope, that they might enjoy religious liberty ; there they planted vine-

yards, and made that wine superior to Tokay, which is sold at so high a price. The Dutch colony of Surinam would have fallen to ruin had it not been for the Jews. None of these various emigrants wish to return to their own country; and thus would it be in Brazil. The climate is more agreeable, the soil more fertile; neither could they depart by any vessels but ours. There they would settle and marry, and their children become good Portugueze and good Catholics, just as their fathers were Protestants.

I do not say that we ought to give strangers the privilege of having commercial houses in Brazil, which we refuse to the English and Dutch, notwithstanding it is stipulated for in their treaties. The privilege I speak of is very different in its object; and, indeed, it is absurd to say that the English have no commercial houses in Brazil; for if they have them not openly, they have them under the names of Portugueze who are merely their agents. When I was in London I endeavoured to make the

English relinquish this privilege, of which they made no use, lest the French should allege their example to demand the same. The Council of Commerce would have consented, if one Mr. Miliner, a man who had enriched himself at Lisbon, had not observed, that though no use was made of it now, there might hereafter; therefore I think we had better not push the matter, lest the English should immediately exert a privilege which we could not deny. This will apply likewise to the Dutch, who first made the stipulation in their treaty: the English followed their example, more particularly in their marriage settlement of the Princess Catharina. On every account we ought to attend to Brazil.

With respect to the internal commerce of Portugal, the want of navigable rivers and consequently of canals, renders good roads more necessary: these should be immediately made; and a revenue may well be raised for these by means of lotteries and tontines.

My Son, I have said these things to you, confiding in your great and virtuous integrity. The plans which I have suggested to you appear necessary to me, to render us more equal with our neighbours, and, I trust, if they accord with your sentiments, that you will attempt to execute them. You should on the first opportunity remind his Majesty, that Kings to support their regal character ought to imitate God : that they are the Fathers of their people, a title which God himself, the King of Kings, delights in, for we say to him, " Our Father," not " Our King : " and that as that universal Father provides for the preservation, continuance, and subsistence of the species, so ought his Majesty to be careful of his subjects welfare : he should particularly take heed that the Nobles be not disgraced by improper alliances, or extinct for want of good ones. A good parent endeavours to marry his children well ; so ought the King. It is thus that the King of France has formed such a corps of officers, who are stimulated by every motive of honour or emulation, and who

would be invincible, did not God when he pleases order otherwise.

It is not right that the Nobles should wed with foreigners : we never hear of the French, or the Germans, or the Spaniards, marrying a Portugueze woman, and yet we are continually seeking wives among them. Some families indeed keep themselves so pure as on that account to assume the name of Puritans. It is somewhat strange that they should adopt the name which the Usurper Oliver Cromwell gave to his infamous sect ; God knows whether they were as pure as they pretended to be ! Sects of religion are often seen, but a sect of families is a novelty.

If any nation ought to be proud of its Nobility it is Portugal, when we remember the expulsion of the Moors, their exploits against the Infidels abroad, and against the Spaniards at home. The decline of the country is owing to the decline of the Nobility.

Large pensions are annexed to our three orders, but these pensions should decrease in proportion to the estimation and utility of the order. That of Christ was founded when the Knights Templar were so barbarously destroyed; King Pedro prostituted it to such a degree that Lord Oxford once observed, he had never met with a Portugueze who was not of the order of Christ. Diogo de Mendoza offered the order to my Secretary Manoel de Sequeira; but he answered that such a badge would not be consistent with one who walked through the dirty streets of Lisbon. I have blamed the Conde de Taronca for making his page put on his shoes for him, who wore the order as well as himself. To render it respectable it should be like the Danish order of the Elephant, and the English Garter, limited, and reserved as the reward of great services.

Consider now the import of all that I have said: reflect on the force of Spain, and you will find that our King holds his crown by a very precarious tenure. The conquest of Portugal

is but the work of one campaign for Spain. But the best possible plan would be that the King should remove to Brazil, and fix his Court at the city of Rio de Janeiro. The soil is rich, the climate delightful, and the city would soon become more flourishing than Lisbon. There he might extend his commerce, make discoveries in the interior, and take the title of Emperor of the West.

But you ask me what is to become of Portugal. What is Portugal? It is a corner of land divided into three parts; the one barren, one belonging to the church, and the remaining part not even producing grain enough for the inhabitants. Look now at Brazil, and see what is wanting. Salt may be found at Pernambuco, the country will produce wine, and oil may be made from the whale fishery; true, indeed, we should have no snow to cool our drink, but there are ways enough beside of cooling water.

If America is in want of some things which Europe produces, Europe wants more of the

productions of America : whatever America is in need of, industry can there supply ; but it is not thus in Europe. The Divine Providence permits these mutual wants,* that all nations may communicate with each other, and form themselves into an universal Republic.

In contemplating this plan we should remember how widely the gospel might be extended when there would be so many more labourers in the Lord's vineyard. I say the Lord's, for the Tapuyes of Brazil are as much his creatures as the Europeans, though they have for so many ages dwelt in the darkness of idolatry, groaning under the dominion of the Devil.

Thus should Brazil become the port of the world : the Europeans would come there for gold and silver, and jewels, and whatever productions might be raised, nor when the ports

* The original words are, " A divina providencia permittio esta mesma reciproca falta de certos generos en hum e outro hemisferio, para que as nazoes se communicassem e se formassem a sociedade da Republica universal.

were open to them, would they ever think of conquering the country. You say that Portugal must then be governed by a Viceroy, that he would be less careful of the state, that the Nobility would be less willing to serve under him, and that Portugal would thus be added to Spain. To this I reply, let the Powers of Europe guarantee Portugal to his Majesty; this they will do for their own interests; and if Spain attacks Portugal, let her expect reprisals on the side of Paraguay and the Rio de Prata. You will think me an old dotard; but which is best, to live in security or in constant fear? Portugal wants Brazil, but Brazil does not want Portugal.

Thus have I given you my sentiments. They may be deemed by some impracticable, romantic and little orthodox; but all things appear impracticable to those who will not put them in practice, romantic to those who will not reason, and heretical to the ignorant and the interested.

On this paper it may be observed that these plans which the Government and Ministry of that time had not inclination, or power, or courage to adopt, the Marquis of Pombal afterwards did, and by doing it acquired that character for a consummate Statesman which he possesses. He expelled the Jesuits, planned the suppression of all the monastic orders, and reduced the power of the Inquisition. He published the law respecting the New Christians, and the Pragmatica or Sumptuary Law of Portugal. He encouraged manufactories, and the silk manufactory in particular, rooted out the vines from the lands capable of bearing corn, and established trading companies. In short he executed all the plans laid down in this paper, except making the military orders respectable, and Lisbon a free port; both of which were reserved for the present reign and present Ministry.