

had now been settled, and there no longer existed any cause of apprehension from France. The dismay and astonishment of the Lisbonians, therefore, may well be conceived, when a few days only after this declaration, they learnt that the French were at Abrantes, and saw the court making ready for immediate flight. The hurry and disorder of Junot's march was not unknown; his artillery had been damaged, having been dragged by oxen and peasantry over mountainous roads, a great number of his horses had died upon the way overworked, and the men themselves had been marched so rapidly and fed so ill, that a large proportion of them were more fit for the hospital than for active service. The greater part of the Portugueze army was near the capital, and wretched as the state was to which it had fallen, neither the will nor the courage of the men was doubted. The English in the fleet, with a right English feeling, were longing to be let loose against the enemy: Sir Sidney offered to bring his ships abreast of the city, and there, seconded by the indignant populace, dispute every inch of ground with the invader: "Surely," he said, "Lisbon was as defensible as Buenos Ayres!" Well might he thus feel and express himself who had defended Acre; and certain it is that Junot and all his foremost troops might have been put to the death which they had already merited at the hands of the Portugueze, if the Prince had given the word. But such an act of vengeance, just as it would have been, would have been advantageous to Buonaparte, by giving him a colourable pretext for treating Portugal as a conquered country: this the Prince knew; and it was in reliance upon his gentle and conscientious character, that Junot advanced in a manner which would else have appeared like the rashness of a madman.

The royal family had for some time past resided at Mafra; as soon as the emigration had been determined, they removed

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November.*Manifesto
of the court
of Portugal.**Embarcation
of the
royal fa-
mily.*

CHAP. II. 1807. November. to Queluz, where they might be nearer the Tagus, and less exposed to any sudden attempt of the enemy. The Portugueze navy was ill equipped for sea; no care had been taken to keep it victualled, and it was now found that many of the water casks were rotten, and new ones were to be made. The morning of the 27th had been fixed for the embarkation, and at an early hour numbers of both sexes and of all ages were assembled in the streets and upon the shore at Belem, where the wide space between the river and the fine Jeronymite convent was filled with carts and packages of every kind. From the restlessness and well-founded alarm of the people, it was feared that they would proceed to some excess of violence against those who were the objects of general suspicion. The crowd however was not yet very great when the Prince appeared, both because of the distance from Lisbon, and that the hour of the embarkation was not known. He came from the Ajuda, and the Spanish Infante D. Pedro in the carriage with him; the troops who were to be on duty at the spot had not yet arrived, and when the Prince alighted upon the quay, there was a pressure round him, so that as he went down the steps to the water-edge, he was obliged to make way with his hand. He was pale and trembling, and his face was bathed in tears. The multitude forgot for a moment their own condition in commiseration for his; they wept also, and followed him, as the boat pushed off, with their blessings. There may have been some among the spectators who remembered that from this very spot Vasco de Gama had embarked for that discovery which opened the way to all their conquests in the East; and Cabral for that expedition which gave to Portugal an empire in the West, and prepared for her Prince an asylum now when the mother country itself was lost.

A spectacle not less impressive presented itself when the royal family arrived from Queluz. The insane Queen was in the

first carriage; for sixteen years she had never been seen in public. It is said that she had been made to understand the situation of affairs, so as to acquiesce in what was done; and that when she perceived the coachman was driving fast, she called out to him to go leisurely, for she was not taking flight. She had to wait some while upon the quay for the chair in which she was to be carried to the boat, and her countenance, in which the insensibility of madness was only disturbed by wonder, formed a striking contrast to the grief which appeared in every other face. The widow Princess, and the Infanta D. Maria, the Queen's sister, were in the next carriage, both in that state of affliction and dismay which such a moment might well occasion. The Princess of Brazil came next, in the octagon coach, with all her children, the nurse of the youngest babe, and the two *Camareiras mores*, or chief ladies of the bedchamber. She had been indefatigable in preparing for the voyage, and now she herself directed the embarkation of the children and domestics with a presence of mind which excited admiration. The royal family were distributed in different ships, not merely for the sake of being more easily accommodated, but that if shipwreck were to be added to their misfortunes, a part at least might probably be preserved.

The apprehension of this danger would occur more readily to the Portugueze than to any other people, because their maritime history is filled with the most dreadful and well-known examples; and the weather at the time of the embarkation gave a fearful specimen of what might be expected at that season. It blew a heavy gale, the bar was impassable, and continued so during the whole of the succeeding day. In the evening M. Herman, and a Portugueze, by name Jose de Oliveira Barreto, came with fresh despatches from Junot; he had sent them down the river in pursuance of that system of deception which was to

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be carried on to the last. Their arrival produced no effect upon the determination of the Prince; but every hour added to the alarm and danger of his situation, and orders were given to dismantle the fortresses which commanded the river, and spike the guns in the batteries. During the night the storm abated, the weather was fair at daybreak on the 29th, a favourable wind sprung up, and the fleet crossed the bar when the enemy were just near enough to see their prey escape.

The fleet consisted of eight sail of the line, three frigates, and five smaller ships of war; besides these there were all the merchant-vessels that could be made ready, making in all a fleet of six-and-thirty sail. The nobles who accompanied the royal family, were the Duke of Cadaval, the Marquesses Angenja, Vago, filho, Lavradio, Alegrete, Torres Novas, Pombal, and Bellas; Counts Redondo, Caparica, Bel-monte, and Cavalleiro, Viscount Anadia; Araujo, whom the public voice loudly, but erringly accused of treason, embarked with the other ministers. All the ships were crowded with emigrants, . . . for every one who had the means was eager to fly from the coming ruin. The confusion had been so great, that families were separated; wives got on board without their husbands, . . . husbands without their wives; children and parents were divided; many were thus left behind, and many had the joy of meeting in Brazil when each believed that the other was in Portugal.

*Observador
Port. 18.*

*News, i.
180.*

*Regency
appointed
by the
Prince.*

The Prince had appointed a regency the day before his embarkation, and the edict was made public on the next morning. Having endeavoured, he said, by all possible means to preserve the neutrality which his subjects had hitherto enjoyed, having exhausted his treasury, and after all other sacrifices, gone the length of shutting his ports against his old and faithful ally, the King of Great Britain, exposing thus the commerce of the country to total ruin, . . . he saw that the troops of the Emperor

of the French, to whom he had united himself on the continent in the persuasion that he should be no farther disquieted, were marching towards his capital. To avoid, therefore, the effusion of blood, for these troops came with professions of not committing the slightest hostility, . . . knowing also that his royal person was their particular object, and that if he himself were absent, his subjects would be less disturbed, he had resolved for their sakes to remove, with the whole royal family, to his city of Rio de Janeiro, and there establish himself till a general peace. The persons whom he appointed to govern during his absence, were the Marquez de Abrantes, Francisco da Cunha de Menezes, lieutenant-general, the *Principal* Castro of the royal council, and *Regidor das Justiças*, Pedro de Mello Breyner, also of the council, and President of the treasury during the illness of Luiz de Vasconcellos e Souza, and Don Francisco de Noronha, Lieutenant-general, and President of the Board of Conscience. In failure of any of these, the Conde Monteiro Mor was appointed, who was also named for president of the *Senado da Camara*, with the Conde de Sampaio, or in his place Dom Miguel Pereira Forjaz, and the *Dezembargador do Paço* and *Procurador da Coroa*, Joam Antonio Salter de Mendonça, for the two secretaries. These governors were instructed to preserve, as far as possible, the kingdom in peace; to see that the French troops were well quartered and provided with every thing needful during their stay, to take care that no offence was offered them, or if offered, to punish it severely, and to preserve that harmony which ought to be kept with the armies of two powers to which Portugal was united on the continent.

Junot meantime had re-established the bridge over the Zézere, but not without difficulty. The river, at all times a strong and rapid stream, was swoln with rains; the work was more than once frustrated, and some of the workmen drowned. So

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Junot advances rapidly.

CHAP. impatient was he to proceed, that he had begun to pass over his
 II. men in boats. Hastening on with his usual rapidity over the
 1807. marshes of Gollegam, he reached Santarem to dinner on the
November. 28th. Here he met the messenger on his return whom he had
 despatched from Abrantes, and the report of this person in-
 creased his anxiety. He ordered the Capitam Mor de Aviz, at
 whose house he was entertained, to provide him a horse: this
 gentleman happened to possess a very beautiful one, and Junot
 discovering that he had attempted to conceal the animal, was
 only dissuaded from putting him to death by the supplications
 of his wife; but he made him walk beside him, bare-headed, to
 the jail, and then dismissed him with every mark of ignominy.
 Time was when a Portugueze officer would have wiped out such
 an injury in the blood of him who inflicted it; it is fortunate
 that in this instance a forbearance suited to the times was shown.
 The French general reached Cartaxo that night; about an hour
 after midnight he was awakened with intelligence that the royal
 family had actually embarked, and it produced a fit of rage like
 madness.

*The French
 enter Lis-
 bon.*

*Neves, i.
 184.*

*Obs. Port.
 p. 19.*

The next day he was met by a deputation whom the governors
 sent to compliment him on his approach, a measure upon which
 the people commented with just severity. A few persons volun-
 teered on the same obsequious service; men, probably, who
 having adopted the principles of the revolution in its better days,
 adhered to the French party under all its changes. In the
 course of the day the advanced guard arrived in the immediate
 vicinity of the city, and Junot himself saw the ships with that
 prey on board in the hope of which he had advanced with such
 rapidity, conveying the family of Braganza beyond his power,
 and beyond that of his mighty master. The troops arrived
 without baggage, having only their knapsacks, and a half gourd
 slung from the girdle as a drinking-cup; their muskets were

rusty, and many of them out of repair; the soldiers themselves mostly barefoot, foundered with their march, and almost fainting with fatigue and hunger. The very women of Lisbon might have knocked them on the head. Junot reached Sacavem between nine and ten at night. The next morning the royal guard of police went on to meet him at an early hour. Without halting in Lisbon, he hurried on to Belem, and entering the battery of Bom-succeſso, ſatisfied himſelf by ocular demonſtration that the Portugueze ſquadron was beyond his reach; he fired, however, upon thoſe merchant-ſhips, which not having been ready in time, were now endeavouring to eſcape. Very many were thus detained, for the Prince's orders to ſpike the guns had only been partially obeyed, having been countermanded by the governors; and this was another of their acts for which the people could aſſign no adequate or excuſable cauſe. Junot immediately ſent a battalion to gariſon Fort St. Juliens, and then returned to Lisbon, with hardly any other guard than ſome Portugueze troops whom he had met on the way and ordered to follow him; thus accompanied, he paraded as in triumph through the principal ſtreets. It was raining heavily, yet the ſtreets were filled with a melancholy and wondering crowd. The ſhops were ſhut, the windows and varandas full of anxious ſpectators. The geſtures of all thoſe who ſaluted him as he paſſed, either for former acquaintance, or flattery, or fear, he returned with ſtudied courteſy and ſtatelineſs. In this manner he proceeded to the houſe of Baraõ de Quintella, in the Rua d'Alegria, one of the moſt opulent of the Portugueze merchants. The palace of Bempoſta had been prepared for him, and the *Senado da Camara* aſſigned for his houſehold expenſes a monthly contribution of 12,000 cruzados. He received the money, and compelled Quintella to be at the whole charge of his eſtabliſhment.

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Neves, i.
215.

Neves, i.
184.

Neves, i.
216 7.

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During the night before his entrance the streets had been placarded with a proclamation in French and Portuguese, saying, "Inhabitants of Lisbon, my army is about to enter your city. I come to save your port and your Prince from the malignant influence of England. But that Prince, otherwise respectable for his virtues, has let himself be dragged away by the perfidious counsellors who surrounded him, to be by them delivered to his enemies: his subjects were regarded as nothing, and your interests were sacrificed to the cowardice of a few courtiers. People of Lisbon, remain quiet in your houses; fear nothing from my army, nor from me: it is only our enemies and the wicked who ought to fear us. The great Napoleon, my master, sends me for your protection; I will protect you." This proclamation was not without effect upon that numerous class of the community who think little and know nothing. Only those persons, indeed, who were in the confidence of government, knew what was the real state of things; and many persuaded themselves the sole object of the French was to occupy the ports, that British commerce might be effectually excluded. The state in which the French entered, very much contributed to this short delusion; for they came in not like an army in collected force, with artillery and stores, ready for attack or defence, but like stragglers seeking a place of security after some total rout. Not a regiment, not a battalion, not even a company arrived entire: many of them were beardless boys, and they came in so pitiable a condition, as literally to excite compassion and charity*; foot-sore, bemired and wet,

Miserable
plight of
the French
who first
entered.

* A Portuguese, who saw their entrance, compares them to the hospital patients between Caldas and Lisbon in a wet day, and in the worst part of the road;—*humana enfiada de semimortos pobretoens, verdadeira imagem da conducta das Caldas em hum*

ragged and hungered and diseased. Some dropped in the streets, others leant against the walls, or lay down in the porches, till the Portugueze, with ill-requited humanity, gave them food, and conveyed them to those quarters, which they had not strength to find out for themselves. Junot, however, well knew that he risked nothing by this disorder; his first object was speed, his next security; and while he was pushing on with the van of his army, Laborde, who had accompanied him as far as Santarem, remained in that city to collect the following troops and provide the means of transport.

The next day, December 1, was the anniversary of the Acclamation, . . . of that revolution which in 1640 had restored Portugal to the rank of an independent kingdom, and given its crown to the rightful heir. What a day for those inhabitants of Lisbon who loved their country, and were familiar with the history of its better ages! The second division was now come up, with the artillery and baggage; . . . powder waggons creaked along the streets; thousands, and tens of thousands, whom the destruction of trade, and the dissolution of government had thrown out of employ, were wandering about the city, and the patroles and the whole force of the police was employed in calming and controlling the agitated multitude. The parish ministers went from house to house, informing the inhabitants that they must prepare to quarter the French officers, and collecting mattresses and blankets for the men. In the midst of all this so violent a storm of wind arose*, that it shook the houses

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1807.

December.

Neves, i.
213.

Neves, i.
213.

Arrival of
the second
division.

dia de chuva pelo enfadonho caminho de Espinhaço de Caõ. He himself picked up one who, fainting with exhaustion, had fallen upon one of the street-dunghills,—an act of compassion which he afterwards repented of as a crime.—Os Sebastianistas, P. I. p. 1, 2.

* The circumstance was noted in the Paris papers, and it was added, that no sooner had the French flag been hoisted, than the elements were calm, and the sun

CHAP. like an earthquake, and in the terror which it occasioned many
 II. families fled into the open country: windows were blown in,
 1807. and houses unroofed; the treasury and arsenal were damaged,
 and the tide suddenly rose twelve feet. The troops entered

December.

Obs. Port.
 22.

Lisbon mostly by night, and without beat of drum. On the 3d, 11,000 men were posted in the city, from Belem to the Grilo, and from the castle to Arroios; and as the first fruits of that protection which the religion of the country was to experience, all persons in the great convents of Jesus, the Paulistas, and St. Francisco da Cidade, who had any relations by whom they could be housed, were ordered to turn out, that the French soldiers might be accommodated in their apartments. This measure produced a great effect upon those who had for a moment been deluded by the professions of the enemy. The generals of division and brigade took possession of the houses of the principal merchants, and of those fidalgos who accompanied the Prince.

*Forced loan
 required,
 Dec. 3.*

Every day, almost every hour, brought with it now some new mark of French protection. No sooner had troops enough been introduced into Lisbon to enforce the demand, than the merchants were called on for a compulsory loan of two million cruzados; and this at a time when their property, to an immense amount, had been seized in France, when a British squadron was blockading the Tagus, when the ships from Brazil were warned off by that squadron, and sent to England, foreign commerce utterly destroyed, and the internal trade in that state which necessarily ensued when the spring which gave motion to the whole was stopped. M. Herman, who had been sent to demand satisfaction

*A French-
 man added
 to the Fe-
 gency.*

broke forth in all its splendour. This augury could not be current at Lisbon, because the French flag was not hoisted there till ten days after the storm.