X. 1808. June. The Spaniards at Porto declare against the Intruder, and march into Spain.

June 6.

CHAP. of the French was collected at Lisbon, and in the adjacent country, where, in case of sudden danger, they might be brought to act promptly and with effect. Porto was in possession of the Spaniards, who had occupied it by virtue of the secret treaty of Fontainebleau. General Bellesta, however, upon whom the command had devolved, had been placed under the orders of the French General Quesnel, when the abortive kingdom of Northern Lusitania was no longer held out as a lure to the court of Spain. Quesnel had with him about seventy dragoons. and a few other French holding military or civil situations. When news arrived of the movements in Gallicia, Bellesta, obeving without hesitation the voice of his country, arrested the French and their general, and convoking the military, judicial, and civil authorities, explained to them briefly the situation of affairs, expressed a hope that Junot would by that time have been seized in Lisbon, as Quesnel was in Porto, and asked of them what course they would pursue, ... whether they would restore the national government, choose a Spanish one, or remain in submission to the French? The Vereador, Thomas da Silva Ferras, replied, that he, and the chamber, and the city, desired nothing more than to be under the government of their lawful sovereign, and required that the royal arms might immediately be re-established. A Desembargador ventured to observe, that they had no authority to determine such things, not being representatives of the people; that they were without arms, ... that they had no means of resisting so terrible an enemy as the French; and that it was better to wait till they knew what had happened at Lisbon. Reasonable as the fear was which this speaker expressed, a more generous feeling prevailed, and by Bellesta's orders the Sargento Mor, Raymundo José Pinheiro, went from the meeting to take the command of the fortress of S. Joam da Foz, at the mouth of the Douro.

Neves, iii. c. 6.

It was late at night when the meeting broke up. Raymundo CHAP. called together his officers; they bound themselves by a formal . deed and solemn oath to act for the service of their lawful Prince 1808. against the French, and invoking the aid of Our Lady of the Rosary, to whom that castle was dedicated, vowed in the Prince's The lawful name to solemnize the anniversary of that day by a festival to restored at Porto. her honour. At daybreak the Quinas were once more seen flying upon the fortress, a royal salute was fired, and returned from the castles of Queijo and Matozinhos, the bells were rung, rockets were discharged, and the people gave themselves up to joy. The Spaniards without delay marched for Coruña, taking with them their prisoners. An English brig of war, which was cruising off the river, hearing an unusual stir in the city, drew near in hopes of ascertaining the cause; Raymundo went on board, he was received with due honours, and an officer returned to shore with him, and was sent to Luiz de Oliveira da Costa, who commanded Neves, iii. at Porto during the absence of General Bernardim Freire de Andrada.

Luiz de Oliveira had been present at the meeting which Bel- The golesta convened, and assented to the resolution which had there heres to the been taken. Whether his heart was with his voice on that oc- and sup casion, or whether he had submitted to the prevailing opinion insurrection only while it was dangerous to oppose it, the fear of the French returned upon him, now that the Spaniards had left Porto to its own means of defence; and instead of receiving the English officer with open arms, he wrote to Raymundo, calling him to account for having opened a communication with the English brig, and saying that he knew nothing of the business. Raymundo replied with great spirit, that if the governor had forgotten what passed when the government of the Prince Regent was re-established, he had not; he and his officers had proclaimed their beloved Sovereign, he had invited the English

June. government

vernor ad-French, presses the

CHAP. commander, in the Prince's name, to assist him; and if any , person disputed the propriety of what he had done, he would make that person know what the power of the royal name was. 1808. and that that port was open for the English. Raymundo's means, however, were not commensurate with his will; the people of Porto were disheartened by the departure of the Spaniards, and the city remained to all appearance in perfect submission to the French government, while the Portugueze flag was flying at S. Joam da Foz. A lieutenant-colonel, by name Manoel Ribeiro de Araujo, now presented himself in that fortress with an order from Oliveira to take the command. Raymundo told him, that if it were taken for the service of the Prince, he was ready to resign it into his hands; but if it were his intention to follow the French part, he might return to the place from whence he came, for within those walls no other name should be acknowledged than that of the lawful sovereign, and not a shot should be fired from them against the English. Araujo returned in the evening with fair words, and invited Raymundo to the governor's house, there to confer with him upon the best mode of proceeding in the present critical circumstances. The treacherous invitation was accepted, and he had no sooner set foot within Oliveira's apartment than he was arrested as a disturber of the people. The next step would have been to deliver him up to the French, and to certain death; but though he had with strange want of circumspection walked into the snare, neither his courage nor his presence of mind forsook him. Oliveira, with Araujo and another officer, went out into the varanda to give directions concerning him; Raymundo, who was left alone in the apartment, quietly locked the Neves, iii. varanda door, and lost no time in gaining a place of concealment.

Bellesta had left a letter for Junot, which the Chamber of

X.

June.

91-97.

Porto, as soon as his departure left them to the sense of their CHAP. own weakness, dispatched to Lisbon, with assurance of their X. continued submission to the French. The news reached him at 1808. the close of an entertainment given by the French officers at the theatre, where, though the Russian admiral and his officers were Junot dispresent, the portrait of Buonaparte was displayed, with the Russian flag lying among other trophies at his feet. A sense of insecurity was manifested amid their festivities; the avenues to the Observador theatre were occupied by armed troops, fire engines were made 292. ready, and all the watermen were ordered to be at hand with their barrels full. The entertainment continued till four in the morning, and immediately afterward movements were observed which indicated that some important intelligence had arrived; couriers were sent off, troops crossed the Tagus, and detachments marched to Mafra, Santarem, and other places. A body of Spaniards who were stationed in the Campo de Ourique were ordered to the Convent of S. Francisco da Cidade, an unfinished pile of enormous magnitude, which the French occupied as barracks, and where a thousand men were waiting to disarm them as soon as they should enter. The Spaniards, when they drew nigh, suspected some ill design, and fixing their bayonets, Observador declared they would not be quartered there. They were allowed 295. to return without interruption; and in the evening they and their countrymen at Val de Pereiro, being in all 1200, were ordered to assemble at two in the morning, in the Terreiro do Paço, there to embark and cross the river on their way to Spain. Thither they repaired joyfully, and found 3000 troops awaiting them, with cannon placed under the arcades of that great square, and at the mouths of the streets which open into it; and they were summoned to lay down their arms and baggage, and surrender. In the course of that and the succeeding day, the Spaniards from Mafra and other parts were brought in as prisoners, in a

VOL. I.

June. arms and Spaniards at Lisbon.

Portuguez.

Portuguez,

3 K

CHAP, condition which excited the compassion of the people, their women exhausted with the fatigue of marching in the burning heat of summer, some carrying children at the breast, and some. 1808. who were unable to walk, tied upon the baggage carts, lest they should be thrown off. The whole number of Spaniards thus arrested was somewhat above 4500; they were confined in hulks upon the Tagus. The officers were left at liberty upon their parole; but after a few days, when several had broken an engagement, which, considering the manner in which they had been seized, they did not think themselves bound in honour to observe, they were placed under the same confinement as the Junot then informed his army, in public orders, that the men. infamous conduct of the Spanish General Bellesta, the revolt of two regiments, the arrest of some of his officers at Badajoz and at Ciudad Rodrigo, and the inability of the Spanish commanders to control their men, had compelled him to this severe measure. Happily it had been executed without shedding blood. These Spaniards were not enemies; they should receive pay and provisions as heretofore, and their actual situation in no degree altered his good disposition toward them. He expressed his satisfaction at the conduct of his soldiers; and said, that if the English thought proper to make an attack, they were now fully at leisure to receive them.

Neves, iii. 99_109. Observador Portuguez, 300.

Junot's proclamation to the Portugueze. June 11.

He addressed a proclamation also to the Portugueze, wherein with incautious effrontery he avowed the double treachery which had been practised upon them and upon the Spaniards. After six months of tranquillity, he said, the peace of the kingdom had been in danger of being disturbed by the Spanish troops, who entered the country apparently as allies, but in reality with the intention of dismembering it. No sooner had he in the Emperor's name taken possession of the whole government, than they had begun to show their dissent: and at length their con-

June.

duct at Porto, and in other places, had compelled him to disarm CHAP. all who were within his reach. "Portugueze," he continued, "I have hitherto been satisfied with your good disposition. You 1808. have known how to appreciate the advantages which must result to you from the protection of Napoleon the Great. You have had confidence in me. Continue it, and I will guarantee your country from all invasion, from all dismemberment. If the English, who know not how to do any thing except fomenting discord, choose to seek us, they will find us ready to defend you. Some of your militia and your remaining troops shall make part of my army to cover your frontiers; they will be instructed in the art of war, and if I may be fortunate enough to put in prac- Observator tice the lessons which I learnt from Napoleon, I will teach you 297. how to conquer." Junot seems at this time to have aimed at conciliating the Portugueze soldiers, and making them act with his army. For this purpose he announced certain new regulations by which they were placed upon the same footing with the French as to their pay and provisions. Hitherto four-fifths of June 14. their pay had been in paper money, which was at a great discount; the proportion was now reduced to two-thirds. A promise was made that the first item in the monthly military expenses should be for the allowance of the Portugueze prisoners in Algiers. The manner in which it was notified that the troops were to be under French command, was not in the imperious tone which the Duke of Abrantes, as he styled himself, heretofore had used; they were to form part of the divisions, it was said, within whose districts they were stationed; consequently the French commanders were to include them in their reports, and inspect and review them, to see that they received what was their due, and to perfect and accelerate their instruction. The artillery, cavalry, Observador engineers, and marine, were to be immediately under the orders 303. of the respective French generals, who by this means would

Portuguez,

Portuguez,

3 K 2

X.

June.

CHAP. know their force, watch over their instruction, and see to their X. welfare: the intention of his majesty being, that the Portugueze 1808. troops should be treated in the same manner as his own in all June. respects.

Festival of the Corpo de Deos at Lisbon. June 16.

But it was too late for conciliation and flattery, after so many acts of insolent oppression: and an accident at this time occurred to manifest with what suspicious apprehensions the French and the inhabitants of Lisbon mutually regarded each other. The day arrived for the annual procession of the Corpo de Deos. In the days of Joam V. this had been the most splendid display which the Catholic religion exhibited in Europe: and though in latter years the management had been less perfect. and there had been some diminution of its splendour, it was still a spectacle of unrivalled magnificence and riches. The streets of the capital on that occasion, and that only, were cleaned and strewn with fine gravel; the houses were hung with damask; the troops in their new uniforms, the various companies and brotherhoods, civil and religious, each with their banners, the knights of the military orders, and all the monks and friars of Lisbon. moved in the procession; which was closed by the dignitaries of the patriarchal church, the Prince in person, and the chief persons of his court, following the great object of Catholic adoration, which on that day, and that day only, was actually carried abroad. The most remarkable object in this pompous display used to be an image of St. George in complete armour, upon a beautiful horse, led by a squire and supported by pages on each side, and accompanied by the finest horses from the royal stables, with rich housings, and escutcheons thrown across their saddles. These horses and the saint had formed part of the procession from the year 1387, with one interruption only, early in the seventeenth century, when, at the instigation of a certain Mordomo, the Archbishop of Lisbon excluded the horses, as

thinking it irreverent that the Real Presence should be preceded CHAP. by unreasonable creatures. St. George's charger alone was excepted from the prohibition; but in the midst of the procession 1808. that charger suddenly stopped, and could neither be induced nor = compelled to proceed; it was not doubted that the rider had chosen this means to manifest his displeasure at the privation of his accustomed train; the Archbishop revoked his order upon the spot, and when the horses were introduced as usual, St. George consented to move forward, and the ceremony of the day was concluded with more than wonted satisfaction. The profane Mordomo, however, was not forgiven : on the following Sunday, Mappa de Portugal, when he was saying mass at the saint's altar, St. George let the t. ii. 257. spear drop from his hand upon the offender's head.

The image which performed this miracle, after appearing annually in the procession during more than 350 years, was destroyed by fire at the time of the great earthquake. A new one, however, had been substituted, which succeeded to all the honours and miraculous properties of its predecessor. One of the finest horses which could be found in Portugal was selected to bear the saint in the great procession, and reserved for that single purpose, as if any other would have desecrated it. Junot, however, had taken St. George's horse for himself, and rode it every Sunday when he reviewed his troops. And this year, for the first time, St. George was not to bear a part in the pageant: the reason which the French assigned for excluding him was, that he could not appear with his usual splendour, because the jewels of the Cadaval family, which he always wore in his hat on that day, had been taken to Brazil when the court emigrated. Other motives were imagined by the Portugueze : when the saint returned, after the fatigues of the day, a royal present had always been allotted him; it was thought that the French wished to spare themselves this expense. They were carrying on works

437

June.

The procession interrupted by a

panic fear.

CHAP. within the circuit of the castle which were designed to command the city, and render the place defensible against the English and the Portugueze themselves; these works were carried on secretly. but it was part of the ceremony that St. George should enter the castle, and in that case his retinue would have observed what was going on. Lastly, the people said that the French did not choose to let St. George go into public because he was an English saint.

In all other things Junot wished the Lisboners to see that the spectacle had lost nothing of its wonted splendour. The procession had performed half its course when a sudden alarm arose, occasioned, it is said, by a thief, who being detected in some petty larceny, cried out, in the hope of exciting confusion and effecting his escape, that the English were crossing the bar. A general tumult ensued; some of the French formed as if expecting immediately to be attacked, .. others hurried to their posts with a celerity which was absurdly attributed to fear instead of promptitude; a crowd rushed into the church of S. Domingos for sanctuary, from whence the chapter of the patriarchal church were just about to proceed with the pix, in which the Romish mystery of impanation, the object of that day's superstition, was contained. Some of the insignia which were to form a part of the show were thrown down and broken in the rush, and the clergy hastened to secure themselves each where he could. Not the mob alone, but the persons who were to form the procession, priests, monks, ministers, and knights in the habiliments of their orders, took to flight; communities and brotherhoods forsook their banners and their crosses; here and there only an aged friar, or sacristan was seen in whom the sense of devotion was stronger than fear, and who remained in his place, thinking that if he were now to die, it were best to perish at his station and in his duty. Wherever a door was open, the ter-

X.

1808.

June.

Neves, iii. 257.