

rified people ran in, as if flying from an actual massacre; the great streets and the Rocio were presently deserted, and the pavement was strewn with hats, cloaks, and shoes, lost in the confusion. Fewer accidents occurred than might have been expected in such a scene; the alarm abated when it was ascertained that the British fleet was not entering; and when the cause of the * disturbance was discovered, the broken parts of the procession were brought together as soon as possible, and Junot with his generals closed it, in place of the Prince Regent and his court.

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X.

1808.

June.

*Observador
Portuguez,*
306.*Neves, iii.*

256—262.

Thiebault,
122—124.

Though the tidings of the insurrection at Porto had soon been followed by news that submission had been restored in that city, intelligence of insurrectionary movements or designs was now arriving every day, and Junot thought it necessary to take farther precautions for holding Lisbon in subjection. The water-

*Junot for
tifies the
castle.*

* General Thiebault says, “*On attribua d’abord ce mouvement, si brusque et si general, à des causes peu significantes, à des terreurs paniques, &c.; mais on apprit depuis qu’il tenoit à des grands projets, et on en eut la preuve, quand on sut que dans presque toutes les provinces il avoit été tenté ce même jour avec plus ou moins d’audace ou de succès; et que, s’il avoit manqué à Lisbonne, il avoit (et toujours par le moyen des prêtres) eu tout son succès à Oporto, Braga, Chaves, ou ce jour même, une insurrection générale avoit éclaté, fait prendre les armes contre nous à tous les habitans des provinces d’Oporto, du Tras-los-Montes, d’une partie du Beira, et fait arrêter ou assassiner tous les Français isolés qui s’y trouvoient.*”—Relation de l’Expedition du Portugal, p. 124.

General Thiebault is certainly wrong. Had there been any combination against the common enemy, the persons by whom it was concerted would eagerly have pleaded it afterwards as a claim to honour if not to reward. The Portuguese have preserved the most minute details of a national insurrection so honourable to the nation, and the merit of priority has been contested by different places: but from all that has been published it appears, in direct contradiction to the French general’s statement, that no combination existed, (indeed it was impossible that it should exist,) and that no tumult broke out on the day which he has specified as the commencement of a general and concerted movement, except at a village of fishermen in Algarve.

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X.

1808.

June.*June 24.**Edict for
disarming
the people.**Observador
Portuguez,
314.*

carriers were employed to fill the cisterns in the Castle, which was now strongly fortified; stores and fodder were laid in there, it was garrisoned with 800 men, and all the swords and small arms from the arsenal were removed thither. An edict was issued, commanding all persons to deliver up their fire-arms, swords, and hunting-spears, those Portugueze alone whose legal privilege it was to wear a sword being allowed still to retain one. If within forty-eight hours after the publication of that edict arms should be found in the possession of a Portugueze, he was to be imprisoned, and fined according to his means from 100 franks to 1000 cruzados; if the offender were a native of Great Britain, and delayed obedience half the time, his fine was to be from 100 cruzados to 10,000, and greater punishment inflicted if the case required it: for other foreigners the same time was appointed as for the natives, and the extent of their fine was to be 2000 cruzados, but, like the English, they were liable to any farther punishment which the French might think proper to inflict. It was the custom in Portugal, as formerly in England, to celebrate the eve of certain festivals, and especially those of St. John the Baptist and St. Peter, with bonfires: the custom of kindling festal fires at that season of the year is as old as the worship of the Kelts, even perhaps before their entrance into Europe; and it is one of the many pagan rites which Romish Christianity adopted. The use of gunpowder made it a dangerous custom even among a people so little addicted to mischief as the Portugueze: and at the pretended desire of certain pious persons, who deemed such rejoicings incompatible with that calm and collected state of mind which the church required at such times, all these demonstrations of festivity were prohibited. Any person letting off fire-works or fire-arms, as had been usual, making any use of gunpowder, or kindling a bonfire, was to be imprisoned eight days, and pay a fine pro-

portioned to his means : parents were made answerable for their children, schoolmasters for their boys, masters for their servants, tradesmen for those in their employ ; the public walk was not to be open in the evening, and any concourse of people in the streets was forbidden. Orders were given to clear the Campo de Ourique immediately, though the crops were not ripe, that troops might be encamped there, from whence, and from the Castle, the city would be completely under their command. Detachments were sent north and south to keep down a people, who were now every where beginning to manifest their long suppressed indignation. The men marched out of Lisbon with provisions and kettles upon their backs, and each with a loaf fixed upon his bayonet.

CHAP.
X.

1808.

June.

*Observador
Portuguez,*
311.

*Observador
Portuguez,*
317.

*Movements
at Braga.*

The news of the first insurrection at Porto produced considerable effect in the north of Portugal before it was known that that city, through the treachery or timidity of the persons in power, had again submitted to the intrusive government. At Braga the Archbishop gave orders for taking the cover from the royal arms upon his palace, and reciting in the service the collect for the Prince Regent and Royal Family. The restoration of the legitimate government was proclaimed by the better part of the people ; but the public performance of that duty was prevented by some of those persons who are to be found in all countries, whose sole object is to advance themselves, they care not by what means. They, putting their trust in Buonaparte and his fortune, drew up formal charges against the primate, and dispatched them to Junot. Had the French remained masters of Portugal, this process would have terminated in his deposition, perhaps in his death ; . . . but the fire was now spreading on all sides, and breaking out, as in Spain, every where, simultaneously. A Galician gentleman, by name Mosqueira de Lira, having concerted measures at the house of his brother-in-

News, iii.
124-6.

*Insurrec-
tion at Mel-
gaço.*

CHAP. law, who was an inhabitant of Melgaço, with the Corregedor of
 X. that place, and with a retired magistrate, entered the town with
 1808. some other Galicians of the border and their armed followers,
 June. on a day when the people from the adjacent country were as-
 assembled there at a fair. Encouraged by their appearance, the
 Portugueze broke out into execrations against Napoleon and his
 instruments, and proclaimed their lawful Prince. The Quinas,
 which, during the usurpation, had been covered upon all public
 buildings and monuments where they had not been destroyed,
 were presently exposed again to the eyes of a people whose
 belief it was that Christ himself had in person commanded the
 founder of their monarchy to bear upon his shield those symbols
 of his passion. The next day the acclamation was performed
 with the same formalities as at the commencement of a new
 June 9. reign, the magistrates and persons in office taking the lead; and
 the joyful inhabitants sallied out to indulge their overflowing
 loyalty by repeating the scene in the neighbouring villages.
 Their hilarity was interrupted by a sudden report that a French
 army had landed on the coast of Galicia, and that a corps of
 that army had already arrived at Caniza, meaning to cross the
 Minho, and attack Melgaço. That town had been founded by
 the first King of Portugal, and refortified by King Diniz: his
 works had long since fallen to decay, and the place was open to
 an enemy. The bells rang the alarm, and the people, resolving
 rather to meet the danger than to wait for it, set off with two
 pieces of cannon, tumultuously, and in that state of heated spirits
 and insubordination which such calamitous times produce. The
 falsehood of the report was soon ascertained; a fellow then
 boldly proposed that they should nevertheless march forward
 and collect forces, and because the *Capitain Mor* ordered the
 countrymen to return peaceably to their homes, this man at-
 tempted to pistol him; the mischief was prevented by a resolute

and right-minded peasant, who seized the ruffian and threw him to the ground. Other indications of the disposition in the populace to abuse their power as soon as they feel it, soon appeared. A rumour went about that the *Juiz de fora* had struck the red flag which had been planted in the town; a tumultuous sentence of death was passed upon him, and a party set out to execute it. But when they approached the town they saw the flag still flying: it was however true that the *Juiz* had been advised to strike it, because, if the French arrived, the sight of the bloody flag might provoke them to put all to the sword. The advice was given by an officer, and with no ill intention, for no man exerted himself more actively; but his military prudence on this occasion had well nigh cost him his life, and he only escaped by the swiftness of his horse. Warned by these indications how dangerous any act would be which the people could interpret into an intention of intimidating them or checking their ardour, the *Juiz*, when he received Junot's proclamation, communicated it to none but those on whom he could rely; he prepared for action as well as the means of the place would afford, and applied to the Junta of Orense for assistance in men, arms, and ammunition. Some troops accordingly were sent by them to Milmanda and Cellanova, whence they might enter Portugal to assist Melgaço, whenever their assistance was required.

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X.

1808.

June.

News, iii.
126—135.

*The Prince
Regent pro-
claimed at
Braganza.*

June 11.

While the national feeling was thus displayed in one of the remotest corners of the kingdom, similar scenes occurred in places of more importance, and more exposed to the vengeance of the enemy. The post-office in the city of Braganza was at the house of the Abbot of Carrazedo. A letter brought him news of the insurrection at Porto; he read it aloud to the persons who happened to be present; their letters confirmed the welcome tidings, and added the flattering expectation that by that time Junot would have been made prisoner at Lisbon. Readily be-

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 1808. June.

believing what they wished, they set up a shout of rejoicing; the news spread; the multitude joined in exulting acclamations, and the parties from the post-office hastened to a church, where the governor of the province, General Manoel Jorge Gomes de Sepulveda, was attending a service in honour of St. Antonio. This general, though oppressed with age and infirmities, hesitated not as to the course which he should pursue. He left the church to issue such orders as were expedient without delay. The bells of the cathedral were ordered to strike up, and those of all the churches joined presently in expressing and heightening the public joy. There were, however, men in authority who had no generous hopes or feelings to mislead their judgment on this occasion; and they, like others of the same stamp at Braga, thinking to obtain favour with the intrusive government, hastened to the general, and asked him what was the meaning of all this stir. Sepulveda took them to the window, and showed them the streets swarming with people, who were crying out, The Prince and the Royal House of Braganza for ever! the General for ever! Down with the French! "There," said he, "you hear what is the meaning; . . . and you may quiet that multitude if you dare." He illuminated his house, which was the signal for a general illumination: he ordered such arms as were in the city to be made ready for service, sent to Chaves for more, offered pardon to deserters upon their repairing to Braganza, called upon all reduced officers to come forward, and issued orders to all the governors and *Capitaens mores* within his jurisdiction to proclaim their lawful Prince, and enrol the peasantry for the service of their country. A solemn mass was celebrated the next day in the cathedral as a thanksgiving service, a sermon was preached upon the occasion, and all who were present mounted the national cockade, the clergy wearing it upon the breast.

These festive days were of short duration. The next post, which was expected to confirm the promises of the last, and bring news of Junot's overthrow and capture, arrived with intelligence that all was tranquil at Lisbon, and that Porto had returned to subjection. It brought also circular letters from the French government, requiring the Portugueze to continue in obedience, and threatening severe vengeance to all who should disturb the public tranquillity. The danger was now deemed as imminent as the triumph had before seemed certain. Loison would hasten from Almeida to punish Braganza for its revolt; and Marshal Bessieres also, they thought, was about to descend upon them from Castille. The time-servers now obtained an ascendancy, and were about to draw up a formal accusation against Sepulveda, and the persons who had taken the lead in this precipitate insurrection. They proposed to him, however, that he should join with them in a representation soliciting pardon for the city, saying that all which had been done, had been submitted to by him because it was not possible at that moment to oppose the populace, and that the illuminations and other demonstrations of joy were only in honour of St. Antonio. Letters were accordingly written to this effect. Sepulveda's object was to gain time by dissimulation, while he took measures for securing a retreat into Spain, unless affairs in Portugal should take a fortunate turn; and while he let the promoters of this submission send his letter with their own to the post-office, he secretly instructed the post-master not to forward it.

As the first declaration of the people at Porto had occasioned these movements in the north of Portugal, so these secondary movements, reported and exaggerated in like manner, re-acted upon the public spirit in that city. Oliveira, who had acted under fear of the French, was now in fear of his own countrymen, and soon found himself in such a situation, that he was in

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X.

1808.

June.

The Braganzans intimidated by the news from Porto.

Neves, iii. 141-146.

Second insurrection at Porto.

CHAP.

X.

1808.

June.

Neves, iii.
97.*Neves, iii.*
163—168.

danger of being regarded as an enemy by both. On the day of the Corpo de Deos he wished the soldiers to carry the French eagles in the procession instead of the national banner, and this they resolutely refused to do; the end was, that only a few companies, without any colours, appeared in the train. The temper of the people was shown at this time by the groups which collected in the streets, and the agitation which every countenance expressed. Raymundo, consulting at once his own safety, and the furtherance of his country's cause, had conveyed letters to the city, dated from Vianna and from Valença, saying that he was on his way to Spain, there to solicit succours, with which he should presently return: and the ignorant people, ready to believe any thing, were fully persuaded that he would soon appear at the head of a Spanish army. A report, with more appearance but as little reality of truth, accelerated the success of his stratagem, though it was intended to intimidate the people. The *Juiz de fora* at Oliveira de Azemeis received orders to provide rations for a French detachment on the way from Coimbra to Porto. It was part of Junot's policy to alarm the people by such reports, for the purpose of keeping them in submission. The means of that place were not equal to the sudden demand; the Juiz represented this to the governor of Porto, and bread was ordered from that city, in obedience to the requisition. A few Frenchmen, who had concealed themselves during the first insurrection, and re-appeared when Oliveira restored the usurped authority, imprudently assisted in loading the carts with loaves for this purpose; a crowd collected at the sight, burning with indignation; a native Portugueze artilleryman remarked, that bread enough could be found for the French, though not for the Portugueze; one of the Frenchmen returned an answer which provoked a blow; the mob immediately took part, seized the French, and delivered them to a guard of soldiers, who took

charge of them, without knowing for what end, or inquiring by whose authority.

This second insurrection had been prepared, though the occasion upon which it broke out was accidental. The Portuguese flag was displayed, Joam Manoel de Mariz brought out from the barracks at Santo Ovidio four field-pieces ready for service, with thirty artillerymen to serve them; the arsenal was opened, and arms and cartridges distributed to all who applied for them. And Raymundo, who had concealed himself in a country-house only two miles from Porto, made his appearance by the convent of S. Domingos, with nineteen Spaniards, armed with blunderbusses like himself, and covered with dust, and with their cloaks upon their backs, like men arriving from a long march. They declared that a Spanish army was on the way, and the people, in full expectation of this support, prepared to defend the city against the French. Some guns were placed upon the bridge, others on the heights of Villa-nova. There was some difficulty in conveying them to the latter position; a Dominican, who had sallied from his convent sword in hand, and with his sleeves tucked up, laid hold of the ropes; friars, priests, and women, followed his example, and the work was presently accomplished. While they were thus exerting themselves to provide for the defence of the city, the rabble exercised their authority in the usual way, discharging fire-arms in the streets, beating drums, blowing trumpets, ordering the bells to be rung in all the churches and convents, breaking open houses to search for Frenchmen and suspected persons. They threw Oliveira and many others into prison, but happily no murders were committed. The mob were restrained in their ferocity by the expectation that traitors would be brought to condign punishment as soon as the lawful authority was re-established, which it soon

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X.

1808.

*June.**Formation
of a Junta
in that city.*