from the court of Lisbon in 1804, for having suffered the CHAP. ambassador, General Lasnes, to depart in disgust, was added to the regency by an act of Junot's pleasure, and made minister of 1807. finance and of the interior by an appointment of the Emperor; December. the date of which afforded decisive proof, if any proof had been wanting, that whatever the conduct of the Prince might obs. Port. be, Buonaparte had resolved to usurp the kingdom. Another Neves, ii. Frenchman was nominated to the new office of Receiver-general of the contributions and revenues of Portugal. It was now plainly seen upon what tenure the people of Lisbon held their remaining property; and that they might fully understand upon what tenure they held their lives, the threatening proclamation which Junot had issued at Alcantara was now reprinted and circulated in the capital.

The next measure was an edict for confiscating English goods, ordering all persons who had any British property in Edict for confiscating their possession to deliver an account of it within three days, on goods. pain of being fined in a sum ten times the amount of the property concealed, and of corporal punishment also, if it should be thought proper to inflict it. On the same day the use of firearms in sporting was prohibited throughout the whole kingdom: all persons detected in carrying fowling-pieces or pistols without a license from General Laborde, the French commandant of Lisbon, were to be considered as vagabonds and highwaymurderers, carried before a military commission, and punished accordingly. The next day the use of all kind of arms was pro- Use of hibited; and the wine sellers were ordered to turn out all Por- hibited. tugueze, French, or other soldiers, at seven in the evening, on pain of a heavy fine, and of death for the third offence. More troops came daily in; they were quartered in the convents, and their women with them, ... a fresh outrage to the religious feelings of the people. Complaints were made that the officers required

December.

CHAP. those persons upon whom they were billeted to keep a table for them: an order was issued, in which Junot expressed his dis-1807. pleasure at this, saying, that the French officers in Portugal were to consider themselves as in garrison, and had no right to demand any thing more than their lodging, fire, and lights. He reminded them also that the Emperor had placed them on the same footing as the grand army, in consequence of which they would regularly receive extraordinary pay sufficient to defray all their expenses. This was intended for publication in foreign newspapers, as a proof of the good order which the French observed;...while the superior officers not merely compelled those upon whom they had quartered themselves to furnish a table, but every kind of provision also for the entertainments which they thought proper to give. Many persons abandoned their houses to these imperious guests, and retired into the country; still they were required to support the establishment, and answer all the demands which the intruders chose to make.

Dec. 8. Pastoral letter of the Cardinal Patriarch.

There now appeared a pastoral letter from the Cardinal Patriarch of Lisbon, written in obedience to the desire of Junot, and according to his suggestions. The patriarch began by alluding to his age and infirmities; these, he said, prevented him from addressing his flock in person on the present occasion; but he could still, as their father and pastor, speak to them in this manner, so that in the day of judgement the Lord might not charge him with neglect of this important duty. children," he continued, "you know the situation in which we find ourselves; but you are not ignorant how greatly the divine mercy favours us in the midst of so many tribulations. Blessed be the ways of the Most Highest! But it is especially necessary, beloved children, that we should be faithful to the immutable decrees of his divine providence; and first we should thank him for the good order and quietness with which the kingdom has received CHAP. a great army coming to our succour, and giving us the best founded hopes of prosperity. This benefit we owe equally to the 1807. activity and prudence of the general in chief, whose virtues have December. long been known to us. Fear not then, beloved children; live in security at home and abroad; remember that this is the army of Napoleon the Great, whom God hath destined to support and defend religion, and to make the happiness of the people. You know him, and the whole world knows him; confide implicitly in this wonderful man, whose like hath not been seen in any age! He will shed upon us the blessings of peace, if you obey his determinations, and if ye love each other, natives and strangers, with brotherly charity. Religion, and the ministers of religion, will then be always respected; the clausure of the spouses of the Lord will not be violated; and the people, being worthy of such high protection, will be happy. Demean yourselves thus, my children, in obedience to the injunction of our Lord Jesus Christ. Live subject to those who govern, not only for the respect which is due to them, but because conscience requires you so to do." In conclusion, he entreated all his clergy, by the bowels of Christ Jesus, to concur with him in impressing upon the people the duty of resignation and submission. The Conduct of Inquisitor general repeated the same strain of adulation and sitor Geservility: some of the prelates followed the example, and the clergy were ordered in circular letters to enforce these principles from the pulpit and the confessional. Whatever may have been the secret wishes of these men, however their language may have belied their hearts, certain it is that they now betraved their country, and as far as in them lay contributed to its degradation and destruction.

By such means and such agents Junot thought to prepare the The French flag hoisted. minds of the Portugueze for fresh humiliation. On the day

CHAP. after the publication of this pastoral, he went on board the Russian admiral, and when he embarked the French flag was 1807. hoisted on the arsenal. This was the first time that it had been planted in Lisbon; all eyes were attracted to it by a salute which was fired on the occasion, and the sight exasperated a people who perhaps more than any other European nation are remarkable for national pride. The general feeling was sufficiently apparent in the murmurs and agitation of the populace; bu they had no leaders, and in murmurs it seemed to spend itself. Two days the French colours remained flying there. On the third a large body of troops was drawn up in the great square of the Rocio, and Junot with his staff, and a numerous train of officers, appeared in state. He thanked them in the Emperor's name for the constancy with which they had endured the hardships of their march. They had rescued, he said, this fine city from oppression, . . they had saved it from disorder; and they had now the glory of seeing the French flag planted in Lisbon. He concluded with three cheers for Napoleon: the troops took up the cry; at the same moment the French colours were hoisted on the castle, and a salute of twenty-five guns was fired and repeated by all the forts upon the river. A deep and general murmur ran through the multitude of spectators: at this moment the Marquez d'Alorna entered the square; the people regarded him as one of the generals to whom they might look up in their hour of deliverance, and they repeatedly cheered him as he passed. A spark then would have produced an explosion, and Lisbon was never in such danger of a massacre: happily there was no man bolder than his comrade, to step forward and provoke it; the troops marched off, and the crowd dispersed. But the national spirit which had thus systematically been outraged was burning in every heart. It was Sunday, a day on which more people are always in the

streets than on any other, and now the confluence was increased CHAP. by the perturbed state of the general feeling. Towards evening some French soldiers, riding their horses to water through 1807. the Terreiro do Paço, were hooted by some of the populace, December. and they on their part returned insult for insult. A quarrel ensued, a Portugueze of the police guard interfered, and the French, thinking that he interfered as a party and not as a mediator, seized him and delivered him to their principal corps de garde which was in the same great square. The populace attempted to rescue him: they attacked the guard with sticks and stones, .. and were on the point of overpowering and disarming them, when some patroles of the police came up, and succeeded in appeasing the tumult.

Junot had given a grand dinner to celebrate the events of Commotion in Lisbon. the day; the governors and the greater part of the nobles were present at this festival, for the degradation of their country. He was repeatedly called out, as messenger after messenger arrived with news of the tumult; the cause of these frequent interruptions was indicated by his thoughtful manner, and the guests were presently informed that the people had mutinied, and that they themselves were to be considered as hostages. was believed that he had invited them for that purpose, and it seems as if he had determined to provoke a tumult, for the purpose of intimidating the Portugueze. The disturbance in the Terreiro do Paço had been put an end to, but the crowd had not dispersed, and the popular feelings were still in the highest excitement. Things were in this state when Junot adjourned with his guests to the opera; he had taken possession of the royal family's box in the centre of the theatre, and from thence he ordered the French flag to be displayed over the pit during this night's representation. The French who were present saluted it with shouts; many of the Portugueze left the theatre,

1807. December.

CHAP, and the news of this fresh insult increased the indignation of the people. The patroles could no longer restrain them; men, women, and boys ran through the streets, exclaiming "The five wounds for ever, and down with France!" It was fortunate for the Lisbonians that they had at this time a well disciplined police guard, raised by the Comte de Novion, a French emigrant, whom General Fraser, when he commanded the British forces in Portugal, had first patronized and recommended to the Portugueze government, and who having rendered essential service to the city by the establishment of this body, was now become one of the most active and efficient agents of the new tyranny. These guards formed the principal part of the force which was called out against the people, and they levelled their pieces so as to spare their countrymen. The firing continued between three and four hours; but for this cause, and because the mob, who had neither arms, nor plan, nor leaders, were more loud than dangerous, few lives were lost. The firing ceased about nine o'clock: the remainder of the night was actively employed by the French; when morning appeared, cannon were seen planted at the door of the commander in chief, 1200 men were drawn up in the square, with horses and artillery, and the streets were every where filled with patroles of soldiers. In the course of the day a few straggling Frenchmen were killed, and some seven or eight of the people. The mob saw the danger of attacking so overpowering a force, and did not venture to engage against musketry and cannon with their knives. Had they been armed, nothing could have preserved Lisbon from a massacre. The few native corps which still remained in the city were confined to their quarters during the tumult; they would else probably have taken part with their countrymen. A corps at Almada, hearing the stir and the discharge of musketry, endeavoured to get boats to cross over for this purpose. The populace

Neves, i.

were in a state of frantic agitation; at noon-day groups were CHAP. collected in the streets, looking at the sky, and affirming that they saw a blazing star which portended the vengeance of God 1807. against their abominable oppressors.

These events convinced Junot at once of the disposition and Precauthe weakness of the people. He forbade immediately all as- French. semblies of whatever kind, created a military tribunal, and decreed that every individual found with arms in an assembly should be carried before this tribunal, and sentenced to three months' imprisonment, or to death if he had used his arms against any person whatever. Death was in like manner denounced against the leaders of any assembly or tumult. These regulations, he said, were made for the security of the good and honourable inhabitants of Lisbon, whom he did not confound with a few wretches. Those wretches who had seduced the people he knew, and they should pay with their heads for the insult which they had offered to the French flag. These words stood as a text to the proclamation, "Rebellion is the greatest of crimes." Junot had neither principles nor feelings to deter him from committing any wickedness which might suit with his policy or his inclinations; in the present instance nothing was to be gained by cruelty, and therefore no execution followed the insurrection, nor were the persons who had been taken at the time proceeded against. This forbearance the Portugueze imputed to fear; for however he might despise their present means, their numbers and their temper made them formidable, and the sight of the English fleet continually excited their hopes and his uneasiness. He began immediately to take the most effectual measures for securing himself. New batteries were formed at the castle, and works thrown up there from which the city might at any time be laid in ruins: and the provincial troops whom the Prince had called to Lisbon to cover his embarkation were now ordered

December.

CHAP. back to their respective provinces, as the first step toward that breaking up of the Portugueze army which was intended. On the 17th, which was the queen's birthday, the guards and patroles were doubled, and Novion paraded the streets in person. The midnight ceremonies of the church at Christmas were forbidden; the bells also were forbidden to be sounded on any pretext during the night; and when the host went out, a hand-bell only was to be rung before it, and that but thrice; once at its going out, once to call good Christians to the aid of the dying person, and again at its return.

Regulations concerning English goods. Obs. Port. p. 52. Neves, i. 288.

The edict for the discovery and confiscation of English property and goods had produced little effect. The three days allowed for sending in the returns having elapsed, the term was prolonged for eight days more, with heavy denunciations against those who should attempt to evade it. That part of the edict which related to English property might easily be obeyed by those who chose to obey it; but the confiscation of all English goods in a city where half the goods were English, was as impracticable as it was oppressive; and the day after Junot had issued his second decree upon this subject, he found it necessary to publish a third, modifying the former two, and in fact confessing their absurdity. It appeared, he said, that under these decrees the merchants and shopkeepers could not dispose of many articles of British manufacture; that the want of these articles kept out of the market a great number of things which were in daily use, and would raise the prices of those which were not prohibited: such articles, therefore, as were not actually the property of British subjects, might be sold, on condition that the owners gave in an account of the British goods in their possession, and obtained permission to sell them from the commissary at Lisbon, or some public functionary in the provinces; that this permission should not be granted unless the

Dec. 19. Obs. Port. 1. 50.

kind, quality, measure, quantity, and price of the articles for CHAP. sale were specified; that the vendor should hold himself responsible for the amount of all which he disposed of, and 1807. should for that purpose enter in his books the quantity of the thing sold, the price, and the name of the purchaser; and give security for this if it were required.

The trade of Lisbon needed not these new shackles. The Scarcity of stagnation of commerce was indeed beheld by the French hended. General with complacency, as tending to the accomplishment of Buonaparte's desires against England; but in its more immediate effects he felt the security of his army in some degree implicated. Lisbon is dependent for great part of its corn upon foreign supplies: the failure of this supply had been contemplated by the Prince's government as one of the consequences to be expected if he submitted to the demands of France; and when he gave orders to shut the ports against England, an edict was issued, prohibiting all kinds of cakes Neves, i. and biscuits, that flour might be reserved for bread alone. Grievously as a scarcity of corn is felt when it occurs in our own country, in Portugal it is more literally a necessary of life; for the Portugueze consume little animal food, and the potatoe is hardly known among them; nor, indeed, is its culture successful. When Junot took possession of Lisbon, it was apprehended that in the course of two or three months there would be an actual want of bread. The Russians consumed about 10,000 rations daily: a consumption which made the French, as well as the inhabitants, regard them with an evil eye. Junot disliked them on another account: he suspected that they favoured the escape of British subjects and Portugueze emigrants to the British squadron; and the Russian officers kept aloof from the French, as if they were shocked at the profligacy of their conduct. But before the close of the year intelligence arrived

CHAP, that Russia had declared war against Great Britain; an event which excited as much exultation in the French and their few partizans, as grief in the great body of the people; for notwithstanding the peace of Tilsit, many were they who still rested their hopes upon the strength of Russia, and the personal character of the Emperor Alexander. Whatever jealousy had been felt upon this score was thus

Measures for pro-viding the army.

> Feb. 16, 1808.

Observador

removed: but the danger of scarcity still remained, and Junot's first care was to provide for the subsistence of the army, whatever might become of the inhabitants. Many of the provisional authorities, in their fear of famine, laid an embargo upon the corn within their respective jurisdictions: this the French General forbade by a timely edict. The Portugueze magistrates found themselves under a government which exercised an unremitting vigilance, and made itself felt every where; and the orders of that government were obeyed with a promptitude and activity which had long been unknown in Portugal. Full use Neves, 264. was thus made of the resources of the country. Some corn he procured from Spain: it would have been a heavy cost had it entered into his system to pay any part of the expenses; Spain having little to export, the distance being great, and the roads and the means of carriage equally bad. All farmers and corndealers who might be indebted to the crown were ordered to pay half the amount in grain, and deliver it to the French commissariat at reduced prices. The march of the French through the country had been like that of an army of locusts. The Portu- leaving famine wherever they passed; the tenantry, some utterly

ruined by the devastation, and all hopeless because of the state

to which Portugal was reduced, abandoned themselves to the same kind of despair which in some parts of the New World contributed to exterminate the Indians, and at one time materially distressed and endangered the merciless conquerors.

gueze leave their fields unsown.