

CHAP. second in command. The Marquez de Valença, the Marquez
 II. de Ponte de Lima, the Counts Ega and Sabugal, and many
 1808. other officers of rank and family, went in this ill-fated army;
 February. some by compulsion, others by choice, the leaders being de-
 voted to Buonaparte.

*Discontent
 of the
 people.*

Though the French despised the Portuguese troops as heartily
 as they did the people, it was observed that they became more
 insufferable in their personal conduct after the army was dis-
 banded. As a body they might safely despise them; but
 every individual was in some measure restrained by the ap-
 prehension of individual vengeance, and the certainty that if in
 any tumult the military, as was natural, should take part with
 the people, the contest, though the event was not doubtful,
 must be far more severe. When this restraint was removed,
 they gave way to that insolence which adds a sting to op-
 pression, and rouses even those who have submitted to heavier
 wrongs. A peasant at Mafra, Jacinto Correia was his name,
 killed two of these robbers with a reaping-hook; and when he
 was put to death for it by military process, he gloried to his
 last breath in what he had done, and repeated that if all his
 countrymen were like him, there should not a single French-
 man remain alive among them. The punishment was carefully
 made known in a proclamation, but the nature of the crime
 was as carefully suppressed, lest it should find imitation. It
 had, however, been determined to strike terror into the people
 by an execution, which should furnish in its example nothing
 but what was intimidating. Insignificant as the cause was,
 the circumstances of this insulated tragedy deserve to be
 stated, as a specimen of the spirit in which the military go-
 vernment of Portugal was conducted. A number of French
 soldiers had been sent to the hospital at the Caldas, a mu-
 nificent establishment of royal charity, to be cured of the itch

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*Executions
 at Caldas.*

by the baths at that place. They complained to General Thomiers, who commanded at Peniche, that the peasantry insulted them; and Thomiers sent a few stout grenadiers to take the first opportunity of resenting any mockery which might be offered to their comrades. These men paraded the streets, and drank at the wine-houses till they began to invite a quarrel. A countryman, heated like them with liquor, said to his companion as they were passing, I have killed seven of these fellows myself. The vaunt, which was probably as false as it was foolish, might have cost him his life in a regular way; but one of the French, who heard him, immediately attempted to cut him down: . . . he ran to his mother's house, which was close at hand, and calling out to his sister to help him, she stood in the door-way, let him enter, and instantly locking the door on the outside, put the key in her bosom. The French endeavoured to force the key from her; the woman was strong and determined: her cries were heard at a billiard table near, where a cadet of the regiment of Pato, which was quartered in the town, seeing a woman struggling upon the dunghill with three or four French soldiers, jumped out of the window, and ran to her assistance; the surgeon and a few others of the same regiment followed. A French captain also came up: by this time a considerable crowd had collected; the sword was knocked out of his hand by a stone, and he would have been in some danger, if a Portugueze sergeant had not called out to the mob to forbear, for he was a French officer. The soldiers now came up, and the tumult ended with no other immediate evil than that one or two of the first aggressors were slightly wounded: . . . the woman was the greatest sufferer; for one of them, with the pummel of his sword, had beaten her cruelly upon the bosom. When the circumstances were made known to Thomiers, his first intention was to pass it over lightly: as

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the *Juiz de Fora* of the town happened to be with him at the time, he desired him immediately to send him any four fellows of bad character, to whom a little punishment would do no harm, and who might represent the town on this occasion. Such an arrangement, curious as it is, would have been an improvement upon the ordinary course of Portuguese justice. Four men, accordingly, against whom complaints had been recently preferred by their wives, but who were entirely innocent of the matter in question, were arrested, and put in confinement. Nine days afterward, Loison, who commanded in the district, appeared at the head of three or four thousand men, bringing Thomiers with him. The woman was called upon to declare which of the soldiers had beaten her: she pointed out the man, and there ended this part of the inquiry: but, on the other part, fifteen Portuguese were condemned to death; among them the *Escrivam da Camara*, and one of the most respectable inhabitants of the place, who happened to be in the room with her when the tumult took place. They had been seen from an opposite house each to take a musket and load it: . . . this they acknowledged that they had done; but they had taken no part in the disturbance, nor even gone into the street. It was argued that they could not have loaded those guns with any other intention than that of discharging them against the French troops, and therefore they had incurred the penalty of death. That sentence was passed against them; and the uncle of the *Escrivam*, being one of the magistrates of the town, was ordered and compelled by Loison to be present at the execution! Five of the condemned persons took the alarm in time, and escaped. The surgeon leaped from a window, and broke his leg: he was carried to the place of butchery upon a hand-barrow, covered with a piece of sacking. While the execution was going on, the Prince of Salm Kirburg, a

young officer in the French service, lifted up the cloth to see what was under it: the sight shocked him, and he said to the French general it was monstrous to bring a man in such a condition to suffer death, . . . let them heal him first, and then do with him what they would. This intercession availed: the surgeon was remanded to the hospital, and Loison was content with having seen nine men put to death for an affray in which not a single life had been lost.

The place where this tragedy was perpetrated is a little town, containing not more than three hundred inhabitants; for its baths and for the beauty of the surrounding country it was frequented by strangers and invalids, and more wealth and more comforts were to be found there than in any other of the provincial towns. In such a place, where every one of the victims was known to the whole neighbourhood, and all had their nearest relations and connections upon the spot, it may well be conceived what horror and what deep and inextinguishable hatred this bloody execution would excite. The hatred Junot despised; . . . Buonaparte prided himself upon setting the feelings of mankind at defiance, and systematically outraging them, for the purpose of displaying his power; and in this, as in every thing else, his generals were his faithful agents. The murders at Caldas were committed upon this system, merely to strike terror through the country. . . Junot had refrained from making such an exhibition at Lisbon after the riot which the first act of open usurpation provoked, because there were native troops in the city; the population of a great capital would become formidable if it were made desperate; and, moreover, there was the English squadron in sight. But an opportunity had been watched for when it might be done safely and with more effect; and an affair which the nearest general passed over at the time as unworthy of serious notice was made the pretext.

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*Conduct of
the French
Generals.*

The immediate superintendence of these murders had been entrusted to Loison. This general, whose military talents were considerable, had lost an arm in action with the Portugueze in Rousillon; for which reason the people now called him the *Maneta*, a name which will long be held in abhorrence: not that he was more rapacious, or more merciless, than his comrades; but, from the rank he held, he had better opportunities for pillage; and it was his fortune to preside at almost all the butcheries which were committed during the first invasion. Of all the French generals in this army, it is said that there were only two who preserved a fair character. These were, Travot, who commanded at Cascaes, and Charlot at Torres Vedras. They mitigated, as far as in them lay, the evils of which they were the instruments; but they could do little toward repressing the cruelty, the excesses, and the abandoned licentiousness of their officers and men. The language which the French openly held was, that Portugal was a conquered country, and therefore they, as conquerors, had a right to take what they chose and do what they pleased there; and they acted in full conformity to this principle*.

*News, ii.
132.*

They had entered Portugal with so little baggage, that even the generals borrowed, or rather demanded, linen from those upon whom they were quartered. Soon, however, without having received any supplies from home, they were not only

* One of their officers, a man of the old school, who had not forgotten the manners and the feelings of better days, did not scruple to declare in the house where he was quartered that the army was ruined. He had seen robbery enough in his time, he said, but never to an excess like the present; and, where this was suffered, an army must inevitably be destroyed: and he ran through the names of the generals, calling each a robber as he named him, and venting the bitterness of his heart in thus giving each the appellation which was so richly merited by all.

splendidly furnished with ornamental apparel, but sent to France large remittances in bills, money, and effects, especially in cotton, which the chief officers bought up so greedily that the price was trebled by their competition. The emigration had been determined on so late that many rich prizes fell into their hands. Fourteen cart-loads of plate from the patriarchal church reached the quay at Belem too late to be received on board. This treasure was conveyed back to the church, but the packing-cases bore witness of its intent to emigrate; and when the French seized it they added to their booty a splendid service for the altar of the sacrament, which had been wrought by the most celebrated artist in France. Junot fitted himself out with the spoils of Queluz, and Loison had shirts made of the cambric sheets belonging to the royal family which were found at Mafra. These palaces afforded precious plunder, which there had been no time to secure. The plate was soon melted into ingots, the gold and jewels divided among the generals, and the rich cloths of gold burnt for the metal, which constituted the smallest part of their value. The soldiers had not the same opportunities of pillage and peculation, but they suffered no opportunity to escape: those who were quartered in the great convent of St. Domingos pulled down the doors and window-frames, and put up the wood and iron work to auction. Yet their insolence was more intolerable than their rapacity, and their licentious habits worse than both. The Revolution had found the French a vicious people, and it had completed their corruption. It had removed all restraints of religion, all sense of honour, all regard for family or individual character; the sole object of their government was to make them soldiers, and for the purposes of such a government the wickedest men were the best. Junot himself set an example of profligacy: he introduced the fashion of lascivious dances,

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March.*Neves, i.*
247.*Neves, i.*
229.*Neves, i.*
240-1.

CHAP. imported perhaps from Egypt. . . one of them bears his name ;
 II. and the Portugueze say that no man who regards the honour of
 1808. his female relatives would suffer them to practise it. The Moors
March. have left in the peninsula relics of this kind which are sufficiently
 objectionable : that, therefore, which could call forth this repre-
 hension must be bad indeed. The decency of private families
 was insulted : the officers scrupled not to introduce prostitutes,
 without any attempt at disguising them, into the houses where
 they were quartered ; and happy were the husbands and the
 parents who could preserve their wives and daughters from the
 attempts of these polluted guests.

*State of
Lisbon.*

The situation of Lisbon, at this time, is one to which history
 affords no parallel : it suffered neither war, nor pestilence, nor
 famine, yet these visitations could scarcely have produced a
 greater degree of misery ; and the calamity did not admit of
 hope, for whither at this time could Portugal look for deliver-
 ance ? As the government was now effectually converted into
 a military usurpation, it became easy to simplify its operations ;
 and most of the persons formerly employed in civil departments
 were dismissed from office. Some were at once turned off ;
 others had documents given them, entitling them to be rein-
 stated upon vacancies ; a few had some trifling pension pro-
 mised. All who had depended for employment and subsistence
 upon foreign trade were now destitute. Whole families were
 thus suddenly reduced to poverty and actual want. Their
 trinkets went first ; whatever was saleable followed : things
 offered for sale at such a time were sold at half their value,
 while the price of food was daily augmenting. It was a dismal
 thing to see the Mint beset with persons who carried thither the
 few articles of plate with which they had formerly set forth a
 comfortable board, and the ornaments which they had worn in
 happier days. It was a dismal thing to see men pale with

anxiety pressing through crowds who were on the same miserable errand, and women weeping as they offered their little treasure to the scales. Persons who had lived in plenty and respectability were seen publicly asking alms . . . for thousands were at once reduced to the alternative of begging or stealing; and women, of unblemished virtue till this fatal season, walked the streets, offering themselves to prostitution, that the mother might obtain bread for her hungry children, . . . the daughter for her starving parents. Such was the state to which one of the most flourishing cities in Europe was reduced!

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As the general distress increased, tyranny became more rigorous, and rapine more impatient. Many of the convents could not pay the sum at which they had been assessed, their resources having suffered in the common calamity; their rents were consequently sequestered, and the intrusive government began to take measures for selling off their lands to discharge the contribution. The rents of inhabited houses were sequestered, to answer for the assessment upon untenanted ones belonging to the same owner. At the beginning of April a prorogation of two months, for the payment of the last third of the impost, was promised to those who should have paid the first by the end of the month; on the 28th eight days grace was proclaimed for the payment of the first third; after which rigorous distress was to be levied upon the defaulters, not for the first payment alone, but for the whole contribution; and this threat was enforced. Suicide, which had scarcely ever been heard of in Portugal, became now almost a daily act. There is no inhumanity like that of avarice. The Royal Hospital at Lisbon was one of the noblest institutions in the world. Under the house of Braganza it was the admiration of all who knew how munificently it was supported, and how admirably conducted: under the usurpation of the French

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*Observador
Portuguez.*
p. 123.

Ibid. p. 174.

CHAP. more than a third part of the patients who died there perished
 II. for want of food. Meantime the French government, affecting
 1808. to compassionate the misery which it had created, made an
 April. ostentatious display of relieving the poor, and issued billets of
 Observador two francs each, in Portuguese money 320 *reis*; four hundred
 Portuguez, of which were distributed weekly among forty parishes, and
 p. 200. five more added afterwards for a parish which had been over-
 looked. This measure was none of that charity which vaunteth
 not itself. The billets were given only at one place; crowds
 flocked thither in expectation; and the amount of this eleemo-
 synary expense was loudly boasted and exaggerated by the
 French and their partizans, . . . the whole sum thus expended
 scarcely exceeding 40*l.* per week. After a few weeks the billets
 were not regularly paid, and at length they became worthless:
 and this was the extent of the liberality of this execrable
 government in a city where they reckoned their plunder by
 millions! To complete the miseries of this devoted country
 anarchy alone was wanting; and it soon necessarily resulted from
 the barbarous system of the French wherever the immediate
 pressure of their authority was not felt. After the disbandment
 of the Portuguese army, troops of banditti were formed, who
 robbed in companies with perfect impunity. The edict which
 prohibited all persons from carrying arms left the traveller
 entirely at their mercy; and not content with being masters of
 the roads, they levied contributions upon the smaller towns and
 villages.

Neves, ii.
157.

*Evora no
seu Abati-
mento glo-
riosamente
Exaltada,*
p. 5.

*Increase of
the Sebas-
tianists.*

The French, in the pride of their strength, and their igno-
 rance of the national character, despised this poor oppressed
 people too much to be in any fear of what despair might impel
 them to; and one remarkable effect of the general misery tended
 at once to increase their contempt and their security. There
 exists in Portugal a strange superstition concerning King

Sebastian, whose re-appearance is as confidently expected by many of the Portugueze as the coming of the Messiah by the Jews. The rise and progress of this belief forms a curious part of their history: it began in hope, when the return of that unhappy prince was not only possible, but might have been considered likely; it was fostered by the policy of the Braganzan party after all reasonable hope had ceased; and length of time served only to ripen it into a confirmed and rooted superstition, which even the intolerance of the Inquisition spared, for the sake of the loyal and patriotic feelings in which it had its birth. The Holy Office never interfered farther with the sect than to prohibit the publication of its numerous prophecies, which were suffered to circulate in private. For many years the persons who held this strange opinion had been content to enjoy their dream in private, shrinking from observation and from ridicule; but, as the belief had begun in a time of deep calamity, so now, when a heavier evil had overwhelmed the kingdom, it spread beyond all former example. Their prophecies were triumphantly brought to light, for only in the promises which were there held out could the Portugueze find consolation; and proselytes increased so rapidly that half Lisbon became Sebastianists. The delusion was not confined to the lower orders . . . it reached the educated classes; and men who had graduated in theology became professors of a faith which announced that Portugal was soon to be the head of the Fifth and Universal Monarchy. Sebastian was speedily to come from the Secret Island; the Queen would resign the sceptre into his hands; he would give Buonaparte battle near Evora on the field of Sertorius, slay the tyrant, and become monarch of the world. These events had long been predicted; and it had long since been shown that the very year in which they must occur was mystically prefigured in the arms of Portugal. Those

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