

CHAP.

II.

1808.

April.

arms had been miraculously given to the founder of the Portuguese monarchy; and the five wounds were represented in the shield by as many round marks or ciphers, two on each side, and one in the middle. Bandarra the shoemaker, who was one of the greatest of their old prophets, had taught them the mystery therein. Place two O's one upon the other, said he, place another on the right hand, then make a second figure like the first, and you have the date* given. The year being thus clearly designated, the time of his appearance was fixed for the holy week: on Holy Thursday they affirmed the storm would gather, and from that time till the Sunday there would be the most tremendous din of battle that had ever been heard in the world, . . for this April was the month of Lightning which Bandarra had foretold. In pledge of all this, some of the bolder believers declared that there would be a full moon

* *Põe dois ós hum sobre outro,
E põe lhe outro á direita,
Põe outro como o primeiro,
Ahi tens a conta feita.*

A Sebastianist was explaining this to P. Jose Agostinho de Macedo, who asked him, now he had made out the 808, where the thousand was? The believer pointed to the flag-staff from which the Portuguese colours were flying on the Mint. . . There it is, straight and upright, behind the five wounds, which the voice of the Prophet has converted into ciphers. . . *Oh loucos e duros de coração em vos render a evidencia! Abri os olhos, miseraveis, que eu vos desengano, quereis esse sinal numerico, esse hum, que designe os mil? Nam vedes alli o páo da bandeira, tam direito, tam posto a pino, tam empertigado por detras das cinco chagas convertidas em cifras pela voz dos profetas; ahi estam, incredulos, ahi estam 1808.*—Os Sebastianistas, p. 1, 98.

Another prophecy gave the date by thirty pair of scissars, the bows standing for ciphers; and the scissars, when opened, each represented a Roman X. I am not sufficiently versed in the arithmetic of the prophets to discover how this is summed up into 1808.

on the 19th of March, . . . when she was in the wane! It was a prevalent opinion that the *Encoberto*, or the Hidden One, as they called Sebastian, was actually on board the Russian squadron!

CHAP.

II.

1808.

April.

Those parts of the old prophecies which clearly pointed to the year 1640, when the event for which they were intended was accomplished, were omitted in the copies which were now circulated and sought with equal avidity. Other parts were easily fitted to the present circumstances. A rhyme, importing that he of Braganza would go out and he of France would come in, which was written concerning the war of the Succession, was now interpreted to point to the Prince of Brazil and Buonaparte; and the imperial eagle which was preserved in the Spanish banners after Charles the Fifth, and against which so many denunciations had been poured out, was the device of this new tyrant. The Secret Island had lately been seen from the coast of Algarve, and the quay distinguished from which Sebastian was to embark, and the fleet in which he was to sail. The tongues of the dumb had been loosed, and an infant of three months had distinctly spoken in Lisbon, to announce his coming. One believer read prophecies in the lines of those sea-shells upon which a resemblance to musical characters may be fancied. The effect of this infatuation was that in whatever happened the Sebastianists found something to confirm their faith, and every fresh calamity was hailed by them as a fulfilment of what had been foretold. The emigration of the Prince and the entrance of the French were both in the prophecies, and both therefore were regarded with complacency by the believers. When the French flag was hoisted they cried Bravo! these are the eagles at the sight of which Bandarra, one of the greatest prophets that ever existed, shed tears! During the tumult in Lisbon their cry was, Let them fire! let

CHAP. II. them kill! all this is in the prophecies. This folly gave occasion to many impositions, which served less to expose the credulity of individuals, than to increase the prevalent delusion.

1808. One Sebastianist found a letter from King Sebastian in the belly of a fish, appointing him to meet him at night on a certain part of the shore. A more skilful trick was practised upon another with perfect success. An egg was produced with the letters V. D. S. R. P. distinctly traced upon the shell; the owner of the hen in whose nest it was deposited fully believed that it had been laid in this state, and the letters were immediately interpreted to mean *Vive Dom Sebastian Rei de Portugal*. The tidings spread over the city, and crowds flocked to the house. The egg was sent round in a silver salver to the higher order of believers. After it had been the great topic of conversation for three days, it was carried to Junot, by whom it was detained as worthy of being placed in the National Museum at Paris. These things naturally excited the contempt and ridicule of the French; nevertheless, when Junot, as if to put out of remembrance the very names of the Royal Family, ordered the ships that were called after the Prince and the Queen to be called the Portugueze and the City of Lisbon, he altered the name of the St. Sebastian also.

The Comte de Novion was succeeded in the police department by Lagarde, the fame of whose rapacities in Venice and other parts of Italy prepared the people to expect in him what they found. The first edict of this new minister commanded the *Corregedores* and *Juizes do Crime*, or Criminal Judges, to make out in the course of the ensuing fortnight a list of all the persons who had emigrated from their respective jurisdictions, specifying in every instance the place of abode both in town and country, the parish and street, the number and the floor of the house. Sequestration of the emigrant's property was to follow as soon as possible; and any person, though father

Neves, ii.
142.

Obs. Port.
p. 275.

Edicts to prevent emigration.

April 7.

or child, or in their default the nearest heir, who should attempt to conceal or cover any part of the property, was to be treated as having criminally taken possession of that to which he had no right. If any person fled after the publication of this decree, his name, with all particulars concerning him and his disappearance, must be sent to the Corregedor, or Criminal Judge, within eight-and-forty hours, by the owner of the house which he had inhabited; or its chief tenant, if it were divided among many; or all its inhabitants if the person dwelt in one of his own, and by those persons also to whom he should have left the keys and entrusted the care thereof. If any of these persons failed in informing in due time, they themselves would be considered as having intended to subtract property destined to sequestration. It had already been ordered that all flags of truce from the British squadron should be fired upon: that any person caught in attempting to reach the fleet should be punished with imprisonment for not less than six months, or with death, according to the circumstances; and that the master of the boat, and all other persons convicted of having consented to assist in the escape, should suffer capital punishment. It was now enacted, that every one having newspapers, letters, or any communication of any kind from the British ships, should instantly deposit them, or give account thereof, at the Intendant General's office, on pain of being treated as an agent of the English; and the same penalty was decreed against every one who should spread news from the fleet, unless he specified his authority and named the person from whom his intelligence came. Notice was also given that an office was opened to receive information against those who were seeking to emigrate, against the boatmen who would facilitate the escape of such persons, and against all agents of the English; and it was added, that on proof of the accusation, Junot would

CHAP.
II.

1808.

April.

Apr. 5.

Obs. Port.
p. 224.

CHAP.

II.

1808.

April.

determine what reward should be given to the informer. Lagarde had taken possession of the Inquisition; the old establishment of that devilish tribunal gave place only to one for political persecution, as if the edifice itself were polluted, and destined always to deserve the execrations of mankind.

Special Criminal Tribunal.

Apr. 8.

The next edict announced the formation of a special tribunal for all criminal cases. It was to consist of a President, who must be a superior French officer; a French *Capitam Relator*, which may be rendered Captain-Attorney-General; four other officers, of whom three must be French, the fourth a Portuguese; one Portuguese judge versed in criminal jurisprudence; and a secretary, who might be of either nation, but must speak both languages. Death was decreed against all who should be convicted of having been engaged in insurrection and popular commotion, or present at an armed assembly, these offences holding the first place: the same punishment for murder, either accomplished or attempted, arson, and robbery accompanied with violence; death or the gallies for burglary; stripes and the gallies for disobeying the law respecting the use of knives and other deadly weapons. It is remarkable, that though the preamble spoke of the insufficiency of the penal laws, all these punishments were, in the edict, sanctioned by references to the Portuguese, as well as to the French Code. But death for the crime of espionage, or for seducing any person to pass over to the enemy, was enacted by Junot's own authority. The sentences of the Tribunal were to be without appeal. In the body of the decree it was said, that inasmuch as robberies had infinitely multiplied both in Lisbon and the whole kingdom, this Court should take cognizance of all offences of that nature, the General in Chief having so decreed in his desire of protecting with all his power the property of the inhabitants: but the Tribunal was never embodied; when any persons were to

be *fusiladed*, a military tribunal sufficed for the summary forms with which these murders were committed.

The new Intendant was active in issuing edicts. Lisbon was infested by dogs, who, belonging to no one, found subsistence in the filth and offal which were cast into the streets. The police guards were ordered to kill all whom they met in their rounds; the French soldiers were invited and entreated to assist in delivering the city from this nuisance, and the rabble were tempted to exert themselves by the promise of fifty *reis* per head: as long as the premium was paid, these poor animals were hunted down without mercy; the French however soon became weary of the expense, and the butchery then ceased after more than 2000 had been killed. Another edict forbade old keys to be exposed for sale at the old iron stalls, because of the obvious facility which they afforded to thieves. These measures affected to reform glaring evils, though not of importance, and against which there were already existing laws; but Lagarde's chief attention was directed to the two objects of securing the intrusive government and enriching himself. There soon occurred a curious specimen of his administration of justice. A quarrel took place in the Mouraria between a Portugueze soldier and three Frenchmen, and the Portugueze was killed. The scene of this transaction happened to be the worst part of Lisbon, and it occasioned a great tumult among the inhabitants of the *Rua Suja*, or Dirty Street, and three other such sties of filth and iniquity: more French collected; the mob had the advantage, and the riot was not appeased till a French serjeant of grenadiers was killed, a soldier mortally wounded, and three others severely cut by the knives of the Portugueze. Upon this an order appeared from M. Lagarde, decreeing that twelve of the inhabitants of these streets, being persons who bore the worst character there, should be apprehended and imprisoned for three months, unless they declared

CHAP.
II.

1808.

April.

Measures of
Police.

Apr. 9.

Apr. 11.

CHAP. who were the chief instigators of the disturbance : that all the
 II. common strumpets who lodged in these four streets should quit
 1808. them within four days, on pain of having their heads shaved
 April. and being banished from Lisbon ; and that all eating and
 drinking houses in the said streets should be shut up for six
 months, unless the owners would give information against some
 person concerned in the affray. The result of the order was,
 that every strumpet who could pay a six-and-thirty was suffered
 to continue in her abode as not having been concerned in the
 riot : that the taverners paid from one to five pieces each,
 according to their means ; the victuallers from eight milreis to
 two pieces ; the twelve hostages from twelve milreis to six pieces
 each ; and the sum total which M. Lagarde extorted from these
 wretches as the amends for two Frenchmen killed and three
 wounded amounted, according to an exact account, to 862 mil-
 reis ; moré than five times the weekly sum distributed by the
 intrusive government among the starving population of Lisbon.

Obs. Port.
p. 250, 256.

Deputation
of Portu-
guese to
Bayonne.
Apr. 22.

Obs. Port.
p. 249.

By another edict all gunpowder, artillery, fire-arms, and
 weapons of every kind, in the possession of merchants or other
 individuals, were ordered to be carried to the arsenal, and de-
 posited there till the owner having obtained a licence for his
 ship to sail, should want to embark them. As soon as they were
 delivered in, the best pieces of cannon were spiked and the
 musquets disabled. Such precautions were now become more
 needful for many reasons. May is the month in which * pro-
 visions are always dearest in Portugal ; and at this time Buona-
 parte's plots against Spain were drawing toward their com-
 pletion, and the ferment which had arisen in that country
 extended to Portugal. The Spanish troops from Alemtejo were

* O mez de Maio foi sempre de muito respeito em toda a península. He o mez da fome, e basta esta circumstancia para se lhe abaixar a cabeça.—*Neves, ii. 231.*

all removed to Lisbon, and so divided as to be completely within the power of the French; and to amuse the Portuguese people with hopes, reports were circulated that the contribution was remitted, and that the sequestered property would be restored. Halcyon days were now to succeed. There was to be nothing but prosperity for Portugal. A deputation had been sent to Bayonne to offer the homage of their countrymen to Buonaparte. The persons appointed for this were either those who were thought dangerous in their own country, or useful in France. They were the Marquises of Penalva, Marialva, Valença, and Abrantes, father and son; the Counts of Sabugal and Arganil; Viscount de Barbacena, the Inquisitor-General, the Bishop of Coimbra, the Prior of Avis, D. Nuno Caetano Alves Pereira de Mello, D. Lourenço de Lima, Joaquim Alberto George, and Antonio Thomas da Silva Leitam. On the Prince's birth-day, when the streets were strongly patrolled lest that anniversary should call forth any expression of popular feeling, a letter from this deputation was made public. It assured the Portuguese, that if any thing could equal the genius of the Emperor Napoleon, it was the elevation of his soul, and the generosity of his principles: that with a truly paternal affability he had manifested those principles in his use of the rights which circumstances gave him. His army had not entered Portugal as conquerors. He bore no enmity to their Prince, nor to the royal family; he sought only to connect them with the rest of Europe in the great continental system, of which they were to be the last and closing link, for he could not tolerate on the continent an English colony. It depended upon the Portuguese themselves to shew, by their conduct in this respect, whether they were now worthy still to form a nation, or must be annexed to a neighbour, from whom so many causes tended to divide them. The Emperor knew and lamented the privations which,

CHAP.
II.

1808.

May.

Obs. Port.
p. 262.

*Letter from
the Deputa-
tion.*

CHAP.

II.

1808.

May.

in common with the continent and America, Portugal endured during the temporary interruption of her commerce; but this was the consequence of a struggle, the result of which would amply compensate for them. The weight of the contributions had impressed his heart, and his goodness had dictated a promise that it should be reduced to just limits, compatible with their means. These intentions of the Emperor, the deputies said, would, they doubted not, excite in the Portuguese the greatest gratitude. They meantime would continue to fulfil near the person of the Emperor, and conformably to his orders, the duties of a mission which had no difficulties, since the goodness of Napoleon united with his wisdom to simplify their dearest interests.

*Junot made
Duke of
Abrantes.*

Upon the publication of this letter, the heads of the first corporate bodies were made to understand, that they must wait upon Junot, whom Buonaparte had created Duke of Abrantes, and request him to transmit the expression of their gratitude to the Emperor for the gracious reception with which their deputies had been honoured. The Dean of the Patriarchal Church spoke in the name of the clergy; the *Desembargador do Paço* and High Chancellor for the magistracy: both these speeches were remodelled by the intrusive government, and then printed; so that men who were groaning over the miseries of their country, were made appear to that country as if they crouched to lick the feet that trampled upon her. The Conde da Ega, one of the most devoted partizans of France, spoke for the nobles. Junot in reply told them, that Portugal, under the protection of the great Napoleon, would soon be replaced in that rank to which a Vasco da Gama and a Joam de Castro had raised it by their conquests; a Luiz da Cunha and a Pombal by their policy; and he desired that a Junta of the Three Estates might be assembled forthwith, to express the wishes of all

classes in a manner worthy of the nation, and worthy of the monarch to whom they addressed themselves. The intention of this meeting was, that the Portugueze should request to have Junot for their king, a business which Ega was to manage in the Junta. This intrigue was unexpectedly counteracted by another, of which Carrion de Nizas, a French officer of cavalry, M. Verdier, a French subject born and always resident in Portugal, and the Desembargador Francisco Duarte Coelho, are said to have been the prime movers. Carrion de Nizas had the reputation of being the best informed man in the French army. M. Verdier was a man of great knowledge and extraordinary talents, fond of the country in which he had passed his life, but too enlightened not to perceive and lament the abuses by which it had been debilitated and degraded. He was too far advanced in years, and too wise a man, to wish for those sudden and violent revolutions, of which the evil is great, certain, and immediate, and the good contingent and remote. Such a revolution however had occurred, and he was perforce involved in it, having been called from a numerous family at Thomar, where he had a large cotton manufactory, that Junot might avail himself of the knowledge which he was known to possess.

Whatever may have been the motives of the French officer in opposing Junot's pretensions to the crown, those of M. Verdier, and the Portugueze who acted with him, cannot be mistaken, and ought not to be condemned. Unlikely as it appeared that the House of Braganza should recover the throne, they desired in this dissolution of government, to build up the best system which circumstances seemed to allow; and for this purpose they drew up a paper which they entrusted to the Juiz do Povo, Jose de Abreu Campos, that he might produce it at the assembly. The Junta of the Three Estates was but a mere

CHAP.
II.

1808.

May.

*He hopes to
be made
king of Por-
tugal.*

*Neves,
T. ii. C. 42.*

*The Juiz do
Povo pro-
poses to ask
for a king
of Buona-
parte's fu-
mily.*