

PIERRE MARIE KERDU, ABBÉ DE
VERTOT

**THE HISTORY OF
THE REVOLUTIONS
OF PORTUGAL**

Pierre Boisgelin de Kerdu

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Revolutions of Portugal**

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Pierre Marie Louis de Boisgelin de Kerdu

The History of the Revolutions of Portugal

PREFACE

THE study of modern history has been, during a long course of years, greatly neglected in the generality of public schools; but it now begins to be regarded (as indeed it ought always to have been) as an object of the greatest importance. In England, particularly, it constitutes one of the principal branches of both public and private education.

The abbé de Vertot's History of the Revolutions of Portugal has been always esteemed equally entertaining and instructive; and as such more especially calculated for the use of young people. The late events in that country has made it doubly interesting, and nothing now seems wanting to complete so excellent a performance, but to continue the narrative to the present period. This, however, if accurately given, would greatly exceed the limits we propose to ourselves in this little Work: to others, therefore, must we leave so laborious a task, and merely content ourselves with presenting to the public the *annals of Portugal*, from the war which the Portuguese term that of the *acclamation*, to the battle of Veimera. We cannot even pretend to take notice of several of the principal events which happened during that space of time, though we have been particularly attentive in investigating *those* which have given rise *to*, and ended *in* revolutions. We have also endeavoured to give a just idea of the character of the different kings of Portugal, with the talents of the ministers who have defended the royal authority, and the qualities of those who have attacked it.

In regard to the revolution which lately threatened the total annihilation of the throne of Portugal; the events which occasioned it, and those which have happily stopped its progress, are so recent, and so known, that we thought it needless to enter upon the subject.

Such has always been our respect for Vertot, that we have never presumed to interrupt the course of his narrative; except, indeed, the very few notes we have ventured to add, may be liable to such an interpretation.

This celebrated author having passed over in silence many of the monarchs who reigned in Portugal, previous to the revolution he so particularly described, we have added a chronological and historical Table of the different kings from Henry of Burgundy, count of Portugal, to John the IVth, duke of Braganza. We have likewise joined an accurate, historical and critical Catalogue, not only of the works of the greater part of the authors quoted by Vertot in his notes, (whose *names* he only mentions) but of all the most important books since published relative to Portugal and its colonies.

The recent departure of the family of Braganza from Lisbon, and their arrival in Brazil, has called for the attention, and interested the minds of every one. We have therefore been tempted to give a slight sketch of a country which is now become an object of no small curiosity: to which we have added, for the satisfaction of those readers who may be desirous of a more minute description, a list of the principal authors who have made this beautiful, though remote part of the new world, the particular object of their attention.

AN ACCURATE, HISTORICAL, AND CRITICAL CATALOGUE

Of the principal Works published relative to the History of Portugal

Résendius (Andrew, or Louis Andrew). John the III^d appointed him to superintend the education of his two brothers. He published two works, which are much esteemed: the first entitled, *de Antiquitatibus Lusitaniæ*, (printed in folio at Evora, in 1593); and the second, *Deliciæ Lusitano-Hispanicæ*. His brother Garcias published a folio History of John the III^d, in Portugueze.

Vasconcellos (Antonio) has published different works. One of the most esteemed is entitled, *Anacephalosis id est summa Capita actorem regum Lusitaniæ*.

Texeira (Joseph) embraced the cause of the king, don Antonio, and followed him to France, where he was greatly favoured by Henry the III^d, and Henry the IVth. His work, called *Portugaliæ Ortu*, is not in very great repute.

Faria (de Sousa Emmanuel) was born in 1610, and died in 1659. His narratives are more eloquent than historical; he exhausts himself in harangues and reflexions, treating the greatest and the most trifling events with the same degree of importance. His principal characters are always *heroes*, and never *men*. His most celebrated work is divided into three parts; the first, containing the ancient history of Lusitania; the second, the conquests made by the Portugueze in Asia, and the eastern parts of Africa; and the third, the wars which took place in that part of Africa which is opposite to Andalusia, and the kingdom of Algarva. This work is curious and accurate, and has been translated into Italian, French, and English. The same author has published a history of Portugal, terminating at the reign of cardinal Henry. It has gone through several editions; the best of which was printed in folio, in 1730, and is continued to a later epoch.

Brito (Bernard de) a cistercian monk, historiographer of Portugal, was born in 1569, and died in 1612. He published the *Monarchia Lusitana*, 7 vols. in folio, Lisbon, 1597, and 1612. This is a history of Portugal which goes back as far as count Henry, and is elegantly written. Father Antonio, and father Francisco Brandhamo, members of the same society, have continued this history to the reign of Alphonso the III^d. The two first volumes alone were written by Brito, who, however, was the author of the *Panegyrics of the Kings of Portugal, with their Portraits*; and also of the *Ancient Geography of Portugal*. There is likewise another *Brito*, (Francisco) who wrote *Guerra Brasilica*, in 2 vols. folio, printed at Lisbon in 1675.

Brandhamo, and his continuator, have only given a description of the events which took place in Portugal from the usurpation of Philip the II^d to the revolution, with the consequences which attended it in the reign of Philip the IVth.

Birago, of the order of Malta, has written on the same subject. *Brandhamo* wishing to adopt great simplicity of style, becomes very dry, and sinks into a mere newspaper writer; whilst *Birago* writes with more spirit, his style is more equal, his reflexions lively and ingenious, and his characters and descriptions interesting. This work was translated, on its first appearance, into all the European languages. The works of *Birago* and *Brandhamo*, were originally in Italian, and tinctured with a degree of bombast, even in the most trifling relations. They likewise introduced *conceit*s (puns) on several occasions; than which nothing can be more ridiculous, particularly in history.

D'Eryceira (don Fernando Louis de Meneses, count) wrote *Portogallo restorado*, which contains the causes, progress, and consequences of the revolution, till the peace which Castille was forced to

make with Portugal in 1668. This work is written in Portuguese, and with all the delicacy, strength, and energy of which that language is capable. He is sometimes, however, too minute, since he enters into particulars, which, though very interesting to his contemporaries, and countrymen, are but little so to foreigners: his book may, therefore, more properly be termed a selection of excellent materials for writing a history, than a regular history in itself. The Foreign Journal for 1757 contains a catalogue of the numerous works of this author.

Alegrette (count de) wrote the life of John the IIId, in Latin, and in so pure and elegant a style, that an author of the Augustan age need not have blushed to acknowledge. His mode of writing is compact, though clear; copious, but not diffuse. During the whole course of the work, his principal heroes are constantly in view, whilst the characters and different personages who play a part in the scene are perfectly natural and varied.

Barros (John de) born in 1496, died in 1570, was an author who was reputed the *Livy* of Portugal. He lived at the period when the Portuguese first extended their conquests into Asia. His style is simple, but he does not possess that noble and nervous simplicity of expression by which *d'Alegrette* is so particularly distinguished. Barros's work is divided into decades, the whole of which, has never been printed. The greater part of the authors who have written on the Indies, since Barros, have merely translated his work, and that in a very inferior style. They are indeed very poor copies of a tolerably good original. Possevin, and the president de Thou, are warm in their encomiums on Barros, whilst la Boulaye le Goux represents him as a paltry scribbler, whose history of Asia and India is not worth the pains of reading. Both the praise and censure are certainly much exaggerated: several authors, however, have continued this work, and likewise divided their continuation into decades. Barros published the 1st in 1552, and the second in 1563; the 4th never appeared till 1615, when it was published by the command of Philip the IIIId, who gave orders for purchasing the manuscript from Barros's heirs. The succeeding decades, from the 5th to the 13th, are not written by Barros. The best edition of this work was printed at Lisbon, in 1736, in 3 vols. in folio. It has been translated into Spanish by Alphonso Ulloa.

Father du Tarry, (a Jesuit) has copied less from Barros, than any of the authors who have treated on the same subject. His history of the East Indies contains several extraordinary and curious facts, of which Barros, either from ignorance or inattention, has never made mention. The principal subject of the Jesuit's history, is the progress of Christianity amongst the idolaters. This author wants order and taste; but his descriptions are lively, and his reflexions strong.

Lafitau (Joseph Francis) published *Histoire des Découvertes, et des Conquêtes des Portugais dans le nouveau Monde*. Printed at Paris, 1733, 2 vols. in quarto; and in 1734, 4 vols. duodecimo. This work is accurate, and not ill written: which is not the case with the history, by Abbé Raynal.

Mariana (John) died in 1634, aged 87. His history of Spain may be said not only to comprise that of Portugal, but that of the whole world. Notwithstanding the minute, and indeed sometimes inaccurate relations contained in his history of Spain, his imagination is so lively, fertile, and varied; his style so smooth and pithy, that he has ever been regarded one of the first writers of his time and nation. The best Spanish edition of this history is that of Madrid, 1698, 2 vols. in folio.

Quien de la Neufville, born in 1647, died in 1728, wrote the history of Portugal, in 2 vols. quarto, published in 1700, by Anisson, royal printer. This work is carried on no farther than the year 1521. The author has neglected mentioning several very important facts, and taken but very slight notice of many others: his work, however, in other particulars, is an estimable one, and entitled him to a place in the academy of inscriptions in Paris; it also procured him a pension for life from the king of Portugal, of 1500 French livres.

La Clede (Mr. de) was secretary to the maréchal de Coigny. He published the *Nouvelle Histoire de du Portugal*, in 2 vols. quarto, in 1730; and the same work in 1735, in 9 vols. in duodecimo. This history finishes at the peace between the Portuguese and Spaniards in 1668: to which is added, a simple recapitulation of the principal facts taken place from that epoch to the year 1713. La Clede

reproaches Mr. le Quien de la Neufville in his preface, with (as has been already mentioned) passing over, or slightly taking notice of several important circumstances. He also accuses the Abbé Vertot of having written his account of the celebrated revolution of 1640, more agreeably than faithfully. The greatest encomium we can possibly bestow on la Clede, is, that the Portugueze esteem his history of their country, the best which ever appeared in a foreign language.

Those of our readers who wish to be more particularly acquainted with the authors who have written on Portugal, may consult *Méthode pour étudier l'Histoire*, of Langlet de Fresnoi, and likewise that volume of the universal history which treats of Portugal; the notes of which contain the names and works of those authors, from whose authority they have taken their facts. This history unfortunately terminates at the peace of Utrecht. Two works relative to the history of Portugal have lately been published by two authors of that country. The English, who have written their travels into Portugal, viz. Springel, Murphy and Link, have given some very curious accounts of that country, and their works are very deservedly esteemed. We also particularly recommend the perusal of Dumourier's *Etat du Portugal*; this book is, generally speaking, an excellent one; and we have consulted it on several occasions; it must, however, be read with caution; nor must the reader entirely trust even to the quarto edition, printed at Hamburgh, in 1797: since the author must now be too well acquainted with the English and their resources, to believe¹ “that the descent on England, so often prepared by the French government, and so often prevented by the gold and intrigues of the cabinet of St. James's, could not fail of success, if the French seriously attempted it; and that a peace alone can possibly ward off a blow, which must crush the English, and bring forward a revolution of the same nature as that which has taken place in France.”

The same author being likewise at this present moment equally, nay still more acquainted with the *generosity* than with the *resources* of the British nation, we flatter ourselves he will no longer be of opinion,² “that the English *insult even when they seem to oblige*,” and that he, however, will be the last who will verify what he advances, “*that their manner of conferring favours, has caused nothing but ingratitude.*”

Names of the principal Authors who have written on Brazil

PORTUGUEZE

Vandelli (Dominicus). Natural History. Botany.

Andrada (D.) Natural History. Mineralogy. Diamonds.³

Vasconcellos. General History.

Bérredo. General History.

Da Cunha de Azérido Continho, bishop of Fernamburo. History, and Commerce with England.

GERMANS

Faber (Ulicus). General Description, and Travels.

Schmidel (Hulderivus). General Description, and Travels.

Staduis (Joanes). General History, and Travels.

Nicuhof (Johan). General Description, and Travels.

¹ Preface to l'Etat du Portugal, page 17.

² Etat du Portugal, p. 267.

³ In the 37th volume of the philosophical transactions, No. 421, pages 199 and 201, there is a letter concerning diamonds, lately found in Brazil, by *Jacob de Castro Sarmiento*.

Shneider (Johan Gottlop). Natural History. Zoology.

Marcgraf (George). Saxon. Natural and General History.

FRENCH

Lérius (Joanes). General Description, and Travels.

Condamine (Charles Marie de la). Partial Description, and Travels.

Froger (F.) Partial Description, and Travels.

DUTCH

Baro (Roulex). Partial Description, and Travels.

Piso (Guileilmus). Natural History. Botany.

ENGLISH

Knivet. General Description, and Travels.

Lindley (Thomas). Partial Description, and Travels.

L'Histoire générale des Voyages, contains several interesting particulars relative to Brazil. We have consulted the last edition, published by M. de la Harpe, for our account of animals and plants. Our division of Brazil is taken from Pinkerton, and more especially from Mantele; we have also the same authorities for what we say on the governments, population, towns and commerce of that country. D'Andrado's *Mémoire sur les Diamants de Brésil*, has been useful to us on the subject of the diamond mines; and we have likewise consulted l'abbé Raynal and Dumourier.

A CHRONOLOGICAL HISTORICAL TABLE OF THE KINGS OF PORTUGAL,

**From Henry, duke of Burgundy, count of Portugal,
to John IV, duke of Braganza, and king of Portugal**

KINGS AND QUEENS	— The Year of their —				CHILDREN.	ALLIANCES.	PRINCIPAL EVENTS.
	birth	marriage	coronat.	death			
							Henry was count of the canton
Henry of Burgandy, count of Portugal	towards 1060	1094 or	made count	1112	Alphonso 1st king Theresa,	Ferdinand Nuguez, a Portugueze nobleman.	of Lusitania, situated between the Douro and the Minho. He fixed
Theresa, the naturel daughter of Alphonso the VI, king of Castille.		1095	the day of his marriage.		Urraca.	Bermond Paez, count of Trasmare, a natural son.	his residence at Guimaraez, on the banks of the river Ave. Henry entered Spain to assist Alphonso IV, king of Castille and Leon, against the Moors, who rewarded his services by giving him his natural daughter Theresa in marriage, together
Alphonso Enriquez, 1st king, reigned with his mother Theresa till the year 1128.			1112	1185	Henry died young Sancho, king, John, Mafalda,		with the county of Lusitania. Henry afterwards took from the Moors Viseo, Lamego, Braga and Coimbra.
Mafalda, or Mathilda, daughter of Amadeus, count of Maurienne and Savoy.					Urraca.		1139, the battle of Campo Ourique, since called Cabeza de Reis or (head of the king). Alphonso, in commemoration of the victory obtained that day over five Moorish kings, added five small escutcheons to his arms.
					Theresa, afterwards called Mathilda.	The first wife of Alphonso II, king of Arragon. Married first to Philip, count of Flandres, and secondly to Eudes III, duke of Burgundy.	In 1143 or 1147, the states assembled at Lamego, confirmed the title of king, which his army had bestowed on the field of battle at Campo Ourique, and established the fundamental laws relative to the succession of the crown. (See Vertot.)
							1147 the institution (according to some authors) of the two military orders of the Wing and of Avis; the latter was not worn as at present till the year 1162.
Sancho I.	1154		1185	1211	Alphonso, king, La Clede.		1147 or 1148. Capture of Lisbon: The royal residence was at that time at Coimbra.
Donna Dulcia, daughter of Raymond Bérenger IV, count of Barcelona and king of Arragon.					Ferrand or Ferdinand,		1203, capture of Elvas.
				1212	Pedro, Fer- reras.	Joanna, daughter of Baldwin, emperor of Constantinople.	
					Theresa Mafalda or Mathilda, Sancha, abbess of Lorvam,	Aurembiax, countess of Urgel. Alphonso IX, k. of Leon.	
					Blanca, Berengara.	Waldemar, king of Denmark.	1217. A great victory gained over the Moorish kings of Cordova and Badajos.
Alphonso II, surnamed the fat	1185	1207	1211	1223	Sancho, king, Alphonso king	Waldemar, prince of	

BOOKS,
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HISTORY OF THE REVOLUTIONS OF PORTUGAL

THE kingdom of Portugal makes part of the great extent of country called Spain;⁴ most of its provinces bear the names of the different kingdoms into which it is divided: that of Portugal lies to the West of Castille, and on the most western coast of Europe; it is only a hundred and ten leagues in length, and its greatest breadth does not exceed fifty. The soil is fertile, the air wholesome, and the heat of the climate is tempered by refreshing breezes and fruitful showers. The crown is hereditary, and the monarch absolute. The formidable tribunal of the Inquisition is regarded by this prince as the safest and most useful means of forwarding his political views, and as such, employed by him with the greatest success. The Portugueze are naturally fiery, proud, and arrogant, greatly attached to their religion, though more superstitious than truly devout; they regard almost every event as a prodigy, and not only persuade themselves, but endeavour to persuade others, that they are the peculiar favourites of Providence, which never fails to protect them in the most extraordinary manner.

The original inhabitants of this country have never been justly ascertained. Some historians make them the descendants of *Tubal*, and it would be scarcely possible for the most fabulous accounts to trace their origin farther back; every nation, indeed, has some chimerical notions on this head; there is not, however, the smallest doubt, that these provinces belonged successively to the Carthaginians and the Romans; but towards the beginning of the fifth century the whole of Spain became the prey of the Alains, the Sueves, the Vandals, and the rest of the barbarous nations generally termed Goths, when Portugal was sometimes governed by its own appropriate kings, and sometimes subjected to the Castilian monarchs.

During the reign of Roderick, last king of the Goths, in the beginning of the eighth century, the Moors, or more properly speaking the Arabs, subjects of the calif Valid-Almanzar, crossed from Africa into Spain, and conquered a great part of that country, to which they were invited by count Julien, a Spanish nobleman, whose resentment towards Roderick, for the violation of his daughter, induced him to forward by every possible means the designs of the enemy, who extended their dominions from the straits of Gibraltar to the Pyreneans; they could not, however, pierce into the Asturian mountains, where the Christians flew for refuge, and were governed by prince Pelagio, who founded the kingdom of Leon or Oviedo in that spot.

Portugal shared the fate of the other Spanish provinces, and became subject to the Moors, who established a variety of different governments, which on the death of the Great Almanzar became independant, and were transformed into small principalities; these, however, did not long exist, they were disunited by emulation and clashing interests, whilst luxury and indolence completed their ruin.

Henry, count of Burgundy⁵, descended from Robert, king of France, succeeded in driving the Moors from Portugal towards the beginning of the twelfth century. This prince, animated by the same zealous spirit of religion which caused the Crusades of those times, entered Spain, decided to signalize himself against the infidels, and began his military career under Roderick de Bivar, that celebrated general, distinguished in history by the name of the *Cid*. He displayed such extraordinary valour in these religious wars, that Alphonso the VIth, king of Castille and Leon, gave him the command of his army. This French prince is said to have defeated the Moors in seventeen pitched battles, and to have driven them from the northern part of Portugal. The king of Castille, anxious to attach so great a general to his service, united him to his daughter the princess Theresa, and at the same time presented

⁴ The dominions of Spain are denominated Old and New Spain.

⁵ Theodore Godefroy, in his treaty on the origin of the kings of Portugal.

him with all the provinces he had conquered as a marriage portion. These the count considerably augmented by fresh victories: he besieged, and took the cities of Lisbon, Viseu, and Coimbra: he succeeded equally in the three provinces situated between the Douro and Minho, which Henry formed into a considerable sovereignty, and though he never took the title of king, he was the original founder of the kingdom of Portugal.

His son, the prince Alphonso, inherited his father's valour, and succeeded him in his possessions, which he even augmented by new conquests. Thus heroes lay the foundation of empires, whilst the weak and cowardly disgracefully lose them. The soldiers of count Alphonso proclaimed him king, after having gained a great victory over the Moors, and the states general, assembled at Lamego, confirmed this august title, which justly descended to his successors.

It was in this assembly, composed of the principal persons of the nation, that the fundamental laws, relative to the succession to the crown, were established. The first article commences as follows: – *May King Alphonso live amongst us, and reign over us!* If he has male issue they shall be our kings; the son shall succeed his father, who in his turn shall be succeeded by his son, afterwards by his grandson; and so on to the end of time.

ARTICLE II

If the king's eldest son die before his father, the second son shall succeed to the crown; in case of his death, he shall be replaced by the third, who shall be succeeded by the fourth, and, in the same manner, by all the remaining sons of the king.

ARTICLE III

If the king die without male issue, and should have a brother, he shall be our king; but he shall not be succeeded by his son, unless the said son should be elected by the bishops and states, in which case, but in no other, we will acknowledge him for our sovereign.

ARTICLES IV AND V

If the king of Portugal should leave no male issue, his daughter shall be our queen, provided she marry a Portuguese nobleman; who, however, shall not bear the title of king till after the birth of a male child. In presence of the queen, he shall always be placed on her left hand, and shall not be permitted to wear the regal crown.

ARTICLE VI

This last law shall always be strictly observed, and the king's eldest daughter shall never espouse any but a Portuguese nobleman, lest the kingdom should become subject to a foreign prince. Should the king's daughter infringe this article and become the wife of a prince or nobleman of another country, she shall not be acknowledged queen; and this, because we will not suffer our people to be ruled by a king who was not born a Portuguese, since it is to our subjects and countrymen alone, without any foreign aid, who shed their blood in our service, and by their valour raised our country to regal dignity.

By the strict observance of the above wise laws, the crown of Portugal remained for several centuries in the possession of the royal family of Alphonso. His successors have since added greatly to the splendour and power of the kingdom, by the important conquests gained in Africa, India, and afterwards in America. The Portuguese have displayed a degree of courage and skill in the conducting

these distant and wonderful enterprises, which justly entitles them to the warmest eulogiums. They have also had the glory of introducing the Christian religion into these conquered countries, where the Portuguese missionaries have greatly succeeded in making known the worship of the true God to the most idolatrous and barbarous nations. Such was the situation of Portugal about the year 1557, when the king, don Sebastian came to the throne. He was the posthumous son of don John, who died before his father, king John the III^d, who succeeded his father the great king Emanuel.

Don Sebastian was scarcely three years old when he became king. His grandmother, Catherine of Austria, was appointed regent during his minority. This princess was the daughter of Philip the Ist, king of Castille, and, the sister of the emperor Charles the Vth. Don Alexis de Menezes, a nobleman who professed the strictest piety, was named governor to the young prince; and the literary part of his education was confided to the care of father don Louis de Camara, a member of the society of Jesuits. Nothing was omitted on the part of these wise and learned preceptors which could possibly contribute to the instruction of the young prince; his mind was early formed to piety, and at the same time he was inspired with every elevated sentiment worthy of royalty. But these noble and Christian principles were carried too far. Menezes continually dwelling on the conquests gained by his predecessors in India, and on the coasts of Africa, whilst the Jesuit never ceased representing to his pupil, that as kings held their crowns from God alone, their only object in government should be, not only to cause him to be worshipped at home, but in the most distant countries, in which even his name was hitherto unknown. Such a mixture of pious and warlike ideas made too strong an impression on a youthful prince naturally lively and impetuous. His every thought was turned towards conquests: he talked on no other subject; and no sooner had he taken the reins of government into his own hands, than he meditated attacking Africa in person. He accordingly held continual conferences, both with officers and missionaries, and seemed decided on adding the title of apostle to the glorious one of conqueror.

The civil war lately broken out in the kingdom of Morocco, seemed a favourable opportunity of signalizing his zeal and courage. Muley Mahamet had succeeded his father Abdala, the last king of Morocco, but his paternal uncle, Muley Moluc, pretended that he had usurped the crown, which according to the law of the *Cherifs*, fell successively to the king's brothers in preference to his own children. This dispute occasioned a bloody war between the uncle and nephew. The former, a valiant prince, a profound politician, and a great general, having formed a powerful party in the kingdom, defeated Mahamet in three different battles, and finished by driving him not only from his dominions, but even out of Africa.

The vanquished prince sought an asylum in the court of Portugal, and represented to Sebastian, that though he had been driven from Morocco, he had still many secret friends in that country, who only waited his return to declare themselves in, his favour: that he had also learnt Moluc was suffering by a lingering malady, which in the end must prove fatal; and that his brother Hamet was too little esteemed by the nation to have any hopes of succeeding him. If, therefore, at so critical a moment, he could be enabled to appear at the head of a small body of troops on the frontiers, he doubted not but his former subjects would replace him on the throne; which, should he recover by the inference of Portugal, he would in future acknowledge himself vassal to that power; into the possession of which he would rather yield his crown, than permit it to remain on the head of an usurper.

Don Sebastian, ever alive to impressions of glory, and whose every idea turned to important conquests, engaged in this affair with more eagerness than prudence, and instantly determined on marching in person to Morocco. He treated the Moorish king in the most distinguished manner, and promised to reinstate him in his dominions at the head of the whole army of Portugal. He, indeed, flattered himself with shortly hoisting the banner of the cross on all the mosques in Morocco; and it was in vain the most prudent members of his council used every persuasive argument to dissuade him from so precipitate a measure. His courage, his Christian zeal, the presumption natural to youth, and frequently the companion of royalty, joined to the voice of flattery, so constantly heard in a court, made him regard this victory as easy as glorious. Thus obstinate in his opinions, and convinced

of his superior abilities, as if sovereign knowledge must necessarily attend on sovereign power, he refused listening to the voice of his ministers and council, he crossed the sea, and undertook with an army of scarcely thirteen thousand men, to dethrone a powerful monarch, esteemed the greatest general in Africa.

Moluc being informed of the designs and landing of the king of Portugal, waited his arrival at the head of his whole army. His cavalry consisted of forty thousand, most of whom were old and experienced soldiers, even still more formidable from the conduct and capacity of their leader, than from their personal valour. As to the infantry, it was only composed of ten thousand regular troops; and he placed very little dependance on the crowds of Arabs and militia which had hastened to his assistance. These, indeed, were much more inclined to pillage than conquer, and were always ready to fly or to declare in favour of the victorious party. Moluc, however, employed these troops to harrass the Christian army, and being spread throughout the country, they were constantly skirmishing in sight of the camp. They had secret orders to fly from the Portugueze; with a view of drawing them from their intrenchments on the sea-shore, and at the same time keeping up the blind confidence of don Sebastian by affected marks of fear. That prince, more brave than prudent, daily perceiving the Moors unable to stand before his troops, commanded them to quit their intrenchments, and marched against Moluc with the certainty of success. The barbarian monarch seemed at first to retreat, as wishing to avoid a decisive battle; few of his troops appeared in sight, and he even made different proposals to don Sebastian, as if he mistrusted his forces and feared for the event of the war. The king of Portugal, from the idea that the difficulty consisted, not in conquering, but in coming up, to the enemy, continued the pursuit. But no sooner did Moluc perceive the Portugueze sufficiently distant from the shore, and consequently from their fleet, than he collected his army in the plain, and formed his cavalry in the form of a crescent to enclose the whole of the Christian forces. His brother Hamet commanded this corps; but having no great idea of his courage, he took care to inform him, that he owed this distinction to his rank alone, assuring him at the same time, that should he be cowardly enough to fly, he would strangle him with his own hands, and that he had no choice left but conquest or death. The state of his own health was such, and his weakness was so great from the effects of his long consuming illness, that he expected every moment to be his last; he therefore determined that the day of his death should be the most glorious of his existence. He himself arranged the order of battle, and gave his commands with as much clearness and presence of mind as if in perfect health. He even looked forward to the events which would probably take place after his death, and gave particular orders to the officers around him, that should it happen during the heat of the combat, the news should not be suffered to transpire; that to keep up the confidence of his soldiers, his aid-de-camp should approach his litter as usual, and appear to take orders as if he was still in existence. Such courage and magnanimity can never be sufficiently admired. It seems, indeed, that this barbarian prince had so arranged his designs, and given his orders in his last moments, that even death itself could not rob him of victory. After having taken these measures, he was carried through the ranks, where his presence, gestures, and discourse, all tended to exhort the Moors to fight for the defence of their religion and country.

The battle commenced on each side by a discharge of cannon, when the two armies moved forward and charged furiously. Presently the combat became general, and the Moorish infantry, principally composed, as has been already mentioned, of Alarbs and other vagrants, easily gave way to the Portugueze, whose courage was animated by the presence of their king. The duke d'Aveiro even succeeded in driving back a corps of cavalry to the quarters of the king of Morocco; who, on perceiving his soldiers in confusion, and shamefully flying, jumped from his litter, and burning with rage and indignation, decided, though almost in the agonies of death, to drive them back to the charge, his officers vainly opposed his design, and he forced a passage through the ranks with his sword; but this effort entirely exhausted his little remaining strength, and he fainted in the arms of his equerries, who bore him back to his litter; when, putting his finger on his mouth to enjoin secrecy,

he immediately expired; but though his death was so sudden, that there was no time to convey him to his tent, both armies remained ignorant of his fate.

Hitherto success seemed to attend the Christians; but the Moorish cavalry having formed a large circle, drew together by degrees, and closing their ranks, entirely surrounded don Sebastian's little army. The Moorish cavalry then proceeded to charge the Portuguese cavalry on every side, whilst the latter, overpowered by numbers, fell back on the infantry, and falling amongst them, overwhelmed the whole with confusion and dismay. The infidels immediately took advantage of the open and disordered state of the battalions, and rushing amongst them with their scymitars, easily obtained a complete victory over troops already more than half subdued by astonishment and terror. The field of battle then became a scene of slaughter; nothing but carnage presented itself on every side; wretches on their knees begging for life, whilst others sought their safety in flight, but, so hemmed in were they, that it was impossible to escape, and death attended them from every quarter. The rash Sebastian fell a victim to his imprudence: but whether from ignorance of his rank he was killed in the general flight, or whether he sought death sooner than survive the numerous persons of distinction murdered by the Moors, whom he had himself led to destruction, has never been ascertained. Muley Mahamat, the original author of the war, endeavoured to save himself by flight, but was drowned in passing the river Mucazen. Thus perished, in one fatal day, three great princes. Their deaths indeed were different, Moluc losing his life by illness, Mahamet by water, and Sebastian by the fate of arms⁶.

Sebastian was succeeded on the throne of Portugal by his great uncle cardinal don Henry, the brother of his grandfather, John the IIIId, and the son of king Emmanuel. But this prince being a priest, in an infirm state of health, and more than sixty-seven years of age, all those who had any pretensions to the crown, regarded him merely as the guardian of their rights, each individual therefore endeavoured to prepossess him in his or her favour.

The candidates on this occasion were numerous, and the greatest part were descendants, though in different degrees, from king Emmanuel, Philip the IId, king of Spain, Catherine of Portugal, the wife of don Jacques, duke of Braganza, the duke of Savoy, the duke of Parma, and Anthony, knight of Malta, and grand prior of Crato, were all equally solicitous to bring forward and establish their pretensions. Different publications appeared in the name of these princes, and the civilians employed in the cause, endeavoured to regulate the order of succession in favour of their respective clients.

Philip the IId, was son to the infanta Isabella, the eldest daughter of Emmanuel. The duchess of Braganza was descended from don Edward, son of the same Emmanuel. The duke of Savoy was the son of princess Beatrix, the empress's sister. The mother of the duke of Parma was Mary of Portugal, daughter of prince Edward, and the eldest sister of the duchess of Braganza. The grand prior was a natural son of don Louis de Beja (second son of Emmanuel,) and Violante de Gomez, surnamed the *Pelican*, one of the most beautiful women of the age she lived in, and to whom, Anthony affirmed, his father was secretly married. Catherine de Medicis also entered the lists, and grounded her pretensions to the crown on being descended from Alphonso the IIIId, king of Portugal, and Mathilda, countess of Boulogne.

Even the pope himself endeavoured to reap some benefit from the king's being a cardinal, as if the crown in that case must necessarily be guarded as a benefice devolving on the court of Rome.

These foreign claimants were not very formidable, the greater part being not in a situation to support their pretensions. The succession therefore laid principally betwixt the king of Spain, and the

⁶ There is a vulgar tradition relative to don Sebastian, whom some Portuguese believe to be still alive. This gave rise to lord Trawley's laughable speech of "what can one possibly do with a nation, one half of which expect the Messiah, and the other half their king, don Sebastian, who has been dead two hundred years?" This tradition also caused another piece of pleasantry, which was attended by very dreadful consequences. The queen of Portugal, standing at the window, attended by her court, perceived a great water-spout rise in the air. "Ah!" laughingly exclaimed she, "here is the king, don Sebastian, returned amongst us." "That cannot be, madam," replied the counte d'Obydos, one of the first noblemen in Portugal, "since don Sebastian reigns over us at present;" alluding to don Sebastian Carvalho, the prime minister. Two hours after this ill-timed jest, the counte was imprisoned in the dungeon of St. Julian's tower. – (See *Dumouriez, Etat du Portugal.*)

duchess of Braganza. The latter was greatly beloved; and her husband, though not in a direct line, was descended from the kings of Portugal. She, however, claimed the crown in her own person, being born a Portugueze, and all foreign princes, as mentioned in the beginning of this work, being excluded from the dignity of king, by the fundamental laws of the nation. Philip agreed to this principle, as far as it tended to the exclusion of the dukes of Savoy and Parma; but he would never accede to a king of Spain being deemed a foreigner in Portugal, particularly as this small kingdom had been more than once subject to the kings of Castille. Each party had it separate supporters. The cardinal king was beset with constant solicitations; but he could not venture to decide in an affair of such importance; neither was he too well pleased with hearing eternally of his successor. He was desirous of living long, and reigning quietly: he therefore referred the discussion of the candidates' claims to a junta, who was not to decide the succession till after his demise.

The death of this prince, who only enjoyed the regal dignity seventeen months, involved the country in disputes and confusion. The friends of the different claimants were warm in their exertions in their favour; even the most indifferent felt anxious for the decision of the junta appointed by his late majesty in his last will and testament. In the mean time, Philip the IId, well aware that causes of such importance were not terminated by the opinions of civilians, sent a powerful army into Portugal: this was commanded by the celebrated duke of Alba, who presently decided the affair, in his master's favour.

It does not appear in history that the duke of Braganza took up arms to support his claims to the crown. The grand prior alone employed every possible means to oppose the Castillians; he had been proclaimed king by the populace, and took the title, as if it had been bestowed on him by the states general of the nation. His friends raised a military force in his behalf, but it was presently cut to pieces by the duke of Alba: the superior skill, indeed, of the Spanish general, surmounted every obstacle; and the Portugueze, disunited among themselves, without generals to command them, destitute of regular troops, and with nothing to support their courage but their natural animosity to the Castillians, were defeated on many different occasions. The greater part of the cities and towns entered into separate treaties, from the dread of being given up to plunder. Philip was acknowledged legitimate sovereign, and took possession of the kingdom as great nephew and heir of the deceased king; he, however, regarded the right of conquest as his securest title, and both he and his successors regulated their conduct on the same principle, since Philip the IIIId, and Philip the IVth, his son and grandson always treated the Portugueze much more as a conquered people, than as natural subjects. This kingdom therefore became, as formerly, a mere province of Spain; and that without the Portugueze ever being in a situation even to attempt freeing themselves from the Castillian yoke. The grandees of the nation never ventured to appear with a magnificence suitable to the dignity of their birth, lest they should excite suspicion in the breast of the Spanish ministers; since, at that epoch, riches, birth, or superior merit, were sure to entail mistrust and persecution on their possessors. The nobility might be said to be confined in their country houses, whilst the people were oppressed by taxes.

The count-duke d'Olivares, prime minster to Philip the IVth, king of Spain, was of opinion, that newly conquered countries could never be too completely reduced: he was very well aware, that notwithstanding all his efforts, the old and natural antipathy between the nations was such, that the Spanish dominion must ever be odious to the Portugueze, who could never behold, without indignation, important posts and governments filled either by foreigners, or by men raised from the lowest situations, whose only merit consisted in being entirely subservient and devoted to the court. The count-duke therefore thought he could not more effectually secure the authority of his sovereign, than by preventing the nobility from taking any share in public affairs, and so completely impoverishing the people that they could have neither the courage nor the power to take any steps towards a change of situation: he also took care to employ all the younger part of the nation, and indeed all others capable of bearing arms, in foreign service, and that from the politic motive of

removing dissatisfied and turbulent spirits, lest they should be tempted to disturb the peace of the government.

This plan, if followed to a certain degree, might probably have succeeded, but the state of affairs at the court of Spain, and the severe and inflexible disposition of the prime minister having carried matters too far, it produced a contrary effect. They no longer kept any terms with the Portuguese, and did not even condescend to make use of the usual pretences to extort money from the people, but enforced payment more in the style of contributions from a conquered enemy, than taxes lawfully levied from faithful subjects. The Portuguese therefore, having nothing more to lose, and perceiving no hopes of either ending or mitigating the misery of their situation, without a change of government, began to reflect on means of freeing themselves from a dominion, which always appeared unjust, and was now become tyrannical and intolerable.

Margaret of Savoy, duchess of Mantua, was at that time governess of Portugal, but though dignified with the title of vice-queen, her power was very limited; and the secrets of the state, with indeed an almost unbounded authority, were entrusted to Michel de Vasconcellos, a Portuguese, who, though entitled secretary of state to the vice-queen, was in reality an absolute and independant minister. This man received his instructions directly from the count-duke, whose creature he was, and to whom he had made himself not only agreeable, but necessary, by skilfully obtaining frequent and considerable supplies of money from Portugal; and by a spirit of intrigue, which facilitated the execution of his most secret intentions, he also created dissensions amongst the nobility, which he artfully fomented by affecting to shew particular marks of favour to one party, to which such distinctions were still more grateful from the resentment and jealousy it caused in the other. Such divisions amongst the first families of the nation, were calculated to ensure the safety and quiet of the minister, who had good reason to believe, that whilst the heads of those families were employed in planning schemes of private revenge, they would never be tempted to undertake any thing inimical to the government. The duke of Braganza alone, throughout the whole of Portugal, was in a situation to cause the Spaniards the smallest uneasiness. This prince was of a mild and amiable disposition, but rather inclined to indolence; his understanding was more solid than lively; in business he constantly attended to the main point, and presently made himself acquainted with every thing that he thought worth the pains of acquiring, though in general he was an enemy to application. His father, don Theodorus, on the contrary, was impetuous and fiery, and had left no means untried to transmit to his son his natural antipathy to the Spaniards; whom he always regarded as usurpers of a crown which properly belonged to himself: he therefore endeavoured to inspire the young prince, not only with sufficient ambition to desire the possession of that crown, but with spirit and courage to undertake so great and dangerous an enterprize. Don John, indeed, had imbibed all the sentiments of his father, but tempered by the natural gentleness and moderation of his character, he undoubtedly detested the Spaniards, though not sufficiently to induce him to make any great exertions to punish their injustice. He was not devoid of ambition, and always cherished hopes of one day filling the throne of his ancestors; he, however, waited that event much more patiently than his father, and, though decided not to lose sight of so important an object, he was careful how he risked the loss of a most delightful existence and the possession of immense riches, for the uncertain prospect of a crown. This conduct, though very different from the views of don Theodorus, was the most prudent; for had he pursued the plans of his father, his designs would certainly have been frustrated. The count-duke watched him so narrowly, that had his inactivity and love of pleasure been merely a mask to cover deeper views, he would presently have been discovered, and his fortune ruined for ever; for it never could be supposed the court of Spain would have suffered so powerful an enemy to remain quietly in the bosom of his country.

The most refined politician could not have acted more prudently in regard to the Spaniards, than don John; and this, merely by following the bent of his own inclinations. He was, indeed, perfectly convinced, that though his birth, riches, and claims to the crown, could not justly be imputed to

him as crimes, they would be esteemed as such by political judges, in whose eyes the most powerful must ever be the most criminal. He therefore decided on adopting a line of conduct which should banish all suspicion from the breasts of the Spaniards: fortunately this plan was not only the most prudent, but the most agreeable to his feelings; which led him to avoid entering into public affairs, and devoting himself entirely to pleasure. Villa Vicosa, the usual residence of the dukes of Braganza, became the seat of every social amusement; the hours were passed in sporting and feasting, and the society composed of people whose taste led them to enjoy the pleasures of the country, whilst they diffused mirth and happiness to all around. Thus nature and fortune conspired to favour don John; the first endowed him with qualities suitable to the temper of the times, whilst the latter enabled him to employ those qualities to the greatest advantage; though not sufficiently brilliant to alarm the Spaniards with the idea of his one day attempting the throne, they were solid enough to make the Portugueze look forward to a mild, wise, and just government, should they themselves be induced to rise up in his favour.

Notwithstanding the uniform prudence of his conduct, an affair afterwards took place which made him in some degree suspected by the prime minister, though don John had not the smallest share in the business. The people of Evora, made desperate by fresh taxes, rose in arms, and in the fury of seditious rage, some of the most violent declaimed against the tyranny of the Spaniards, and publicly breathed forth wishes in favour of the house of Braganza. It was then perceived, but too late, how greatly Philip the II^d. had erred, in permitting so rich and powerful a family to remain in a newly conquered country, over which their right of reigning was but too clearly proved. So circumstanced, the Spanish council decided on removing the duke of Braganza from the kingdom; he was accordingly offered the government of the Milaneze, which he refused, alledging that neither his health, nor his acquaintance with Italian affairs, would allow of his accepting so important and difficult an appointment. The minister appeared to acquiesce in these reasons, whilst he endeavoured to hit upon another method to engage him to visit the court. The king's projected journey to the frontiers of Arragon, to punish the rebellious Catalonians, was a plausible pretence for his joining the party; he therefore wrote earnestly to exhort him to join the Castillian troops at the head of the nobility of his country in an expedition which must end gloriously, and in which the king commanded in person. The prime minister, with a view of weakening the power of the Portugueze nobles, had already published an edict of Philip the IVth, commanding all hidalgos to repair immediately to the army raised against the Catalonians, on pain of losing their fiefs dependant on the crown; he therefore hoped, that the duke of Braganza, as hereditary constable of Portugal, could not be dispensed from marching on the occasion. The duke, however, mistrusting all propositions on the part of the court, and seeing through the artifice of its proceedings, entreated the minister to induce the king to accept his excuses, on account of the enormous expences which must be incurred by a person of his dignity, and which he declared he was entirely unable to support.

Such repeated refusals began to alarm the minister; he was, indeed, perfectly well acquainted with the mild and peaceable disposition of the duke, yet he could not help fearing, that his claims to the throne having been forcibly held up to his view, the temptation of reigning might in the end have surmounted the natural indolence of his character.

Securing the person of the duke was an object of so very great importance to the king his master, that he was determined on using all possible means to succeed in his design; but so great was the attachment of the Portugueze to the family of Braganza, that open force could not be attempted; he therefore sought to seduce him by the most flattering caresses, and to draw him from his retreat by professions of the sincerest friendship, and marks of unlimited confidence.

War having broken out between France and Spain, and some French vessels having appeared off the coast of Portugal, the minister thought it a favourable opportunity for the execution of his plan. A general being necessary to command the Portugueze troops dispatched to prevent the French from landing on the coast, Olivarez conferred this appointment on the duke of Braganza, with full

power to fortify towns, increase or remove garrisons, dispose of vessels in all the different ports, and, in short, to act as if the whole kingdom of Portugal was subjected to his authority alone. In the mean time, he sent secret orders to don Lopez Ozorio, who commanded the Spanish fleet, to put into the same port as don John, on pretence of distress of weather; and having induced the latter to accept an entertainment on board, to weigh anchor, and make sail immediately for Spain. Fortune, however, did not smile on the minister; for the Spanish admiral being overtaken by a violent tempest, which destroyed some of his vessels, and dispersed the rest, found it impossible to approach the coast of Portugal. These different disappointments did not, however, discourage the count-duke; who attributed to chance alone the failure of his plan; since, had don Lopez once entered the port, don John must inevitably have been taken. Another scheme soon presented itself to the artful minister, who wrote to the prince in the most affectionate and confidential terms: he even appeared to regard him as a coadjutor in the ministry and government of the state; deploring the misfortune befallen the Spanish fleet at a moment when the enemy was particularly formidable, and adding, that the coasts of Portugal being left unguarded, the king wished him to visit in person, those places and ports throughout the kingdom, which might probably be insulted by the French; sending him at the same time an order for forty thousand ducats, for the purpose, if necessary, of levying additional troops, and defraying the expences of his journey. The minister did not neglect, in the interim, to direct the governors of the different citadels, most of whom were Spaniards, to secure, if possible, the person of the duke, and send him off instantly to Spain.

Such marks of confidence, and such exaggerated professions of regard, were too little conformable to the character of the minister, and to his usual mode of conduct, for the duke of Braganza to believe them sincere; this prince therefore mistrusted his design, and contrived to draw him into the very snare which had been laid for himself. He wrote to the count-duke that he accepted with the greatest pleasure and gratitude the appointment of general, that he flattered himself his conduct would justify his majesty's choice, and prove him worthy of so honourable a mark of distinction. He now, however, began to entertain hopes of the possibility of regaining the throne of his ancestors; he accordingly took advantage of his situation to bestow places and employments on those of his friends who might hereafter be useful to his cause, and disposed of the money received from Spain in gaining new partizans, and securing them in his interest. He also took care to be accompanied by such a numerous retinue on visiting the different places and forts, that not the smallest shadow of hope remained to his enemies of ever succeeding in making themselves masters of his person.

The supreme authority with which he had been invested, did not fail to excite the jealousy of the whole court of Spain; every one expressed his disapprobation in the highest terms, and the king alone being in the secret of the prime minister, attempts were made to injure him in the opinion of that prince, to whom he was represented as a favourer and ally of the house of Braganza. His enemies warmly accused him of imprudence in giving the command of the Portugueze troops to a man, whose claims to the throne of Portugal were of a very serious nature, and who, being thus armed with power to assert his right, might probably be tempted to turn those very arms against his sovereign. The king, however, was still more confirmed in his resolution of adhering to the prime minister's plan, on perceiving that no one had the smallest suspicion of the motive of his conduct.

These circumstances were all very favourable to the designs of the duke of Braganza, whose high employment authorised him to travel throughout the whole of Portugal, and it was in this journey he laid the foundation of his future grandeur. The magnificence of his equipage and attendants dazzled the eyes of all beholders, and he listened with the most obliging attention and affability to every one who addressed him. He curbed the insolence of the soldiery, whilst he bestowed the most flattering praises on the officers, whom he engaged in his interest by rewarding them to the utmost of his power. Such suavity of manners charmed the nobility, whom he received with the distinction due to their different degrees of rank and merit; he, in short, did so much good wheresoever he passed, and acted with such kindness and generosity, that he gained still more friends, from the hopes they

entertained of his future favours, than from those he actually bestowed: thus every one who beheld him, thought to insure their own happiness by offering up vows to Heaven for his restoration to the throne of his ancestors. The friends and followers of this prince were equally anxious to support his reputation, and neglected nothing which could possibly establish it on the most solid foundation. On this occasion none was more active than Pinto Ribeiro, the steward of his household; he indeed, took the most efficacious steps towards putting the machine in motion, and forming a regular plan for the aggrandisement of his master. Naturally active, vigilant, and a consummate politician, he burned with impatience to see the prince on the throne of Portugal, when he, no doubt, flattered himself he should have no small share in a government which he had so greatly contributed to establish. The duke, indeed, had frequently confessed to him, that he should be happy to take advantage of any opportunity that might offer itself to become master of the crown; but that he could not possibly decide on undertaking so great an enterprise, like a needy adventurer who had nothing to lose. He, however, consented that Pinto should sound the disposition of the people, and gain friends to his cause, provided he made no engagements for his master, who was to appear entirely ignorant of every thing which passed on the occasion.

Pinto had long been very assiduous in finding out, and adding to the number of mal-contents in Lisbon. He never failed whispering complaints of the present government throughout the city, and expressed himself with more or less warmth, according to the character and rank of those with whom he conversed: these precautions, indeed, were scarcely necessary, for such was the general hatred of the Portugueze towards the Spaniards, that there was no danger of any secret being betrayed by the former which might tend to the destruction of the latter. Pinto never failed remarking to the nobility, the high and honourable employments held by their respective families when Portugal was governed by its legitimate sovereigns; but nothing affected and offended that class equally with the *arriere-ban* convoked by the king for serving in Catalonia; this expedition was represented by Pinto, as an exile, from which there would be great difficulty in returning; that, independantly of the enormous expence, they would be treated with the greatest haughtiness by the Spaniards, whose secret interest it was to expose the bravest of the Portugueze to the most imminent danger; and that, without affording them an opportunity of sharing in the glory.

Whenever chance led him into a society of merchants and citizens, he exclaimed against the injustice of the Spaniards, who had ruined Lisbon, and indeed the whole of Portugal, by the transfer of the India trade to Cadiz. His conversation constantly turned on the extreme misery to which they were reduced by so tyrannical a government, and of the happiness of those people⁷ who had so gloriously emancipated themselves from such servility. To the clergy he represented the frequent violation of the immunities and privileges of the church, and that the most considerable benefices and dignities were become the prey of foreigners, instead of the just reward due to the merit and learning of the natives of Portugal. With those whom he knew to be already discontented, he dwelt on the excellent qualities of the duke, his master, purposely to sound their inclination on the subject, deploring at the same time the indolent character of that prince, and expressing his sorrow that the only person who could effectually remedy such grievances, should be so little attached to his country, and so indifferent to his personal aggrandisement. Whenever this conversation appeared to make an impression on his hearers, he flattered one party with the glorious title of deliverer of his country, whilst he excited the indignation of those who had more particularly suffered by the ill treatment of the Spaniards; and held forth to the rest the most advantageous prospect from a change of government. Thus, having succeeded in stirring up the minds of the people in general, and in securing a particular party in his interest, he at last assembled a numerous body of nobility, at the head of which was the archbishop of Lisbon⁸, of one of the first families of the kingdom⁹. This prelate was learned,

⁷ The Dutch and Catalonians.

⁸ The first assembly took place on the 12th of October, in the garden of Antonio d'Almada. The archbishop of Lisbon was not

skilful in business, a favourite of the people, and hated by the Spaniards; whom he in his turn equally detested, from the preference they shewed to the archbishop of Braga¹⁰, a creature of the vice-queen, on whom they had bestowed the dignity of president of the chamber de Paço, and whom they even allowed to take a share in the affairs of the government. Amongst the people of distinguished rank, who composed this assembly, don Michel d'Almeida claims particular notice; this venerated old nobleman had ever been peculiarly esteemed for the superior merit of his character; he gloried in preferring the honour and happiness of his country, to his own personal interests; he was afflicted and enraged at seeing it thus reduced to servitude by an usurper, and had constantly and courageously persevered in these noble sentiments; nor could the entreaties of his family, nor the advice of his friends, ever induce him to go to the palace, or pay his court to the ministers of Spain, to whom such uncommon firmness did not fail to make him an object of suspicion. Pinto therefore did not scruple declaring himself more openly to a man of whose principles he was so perfectly well assured, and whose sentiments, if in favour of his party, would be of the greatest weight with the rest of the nobility. Don Antonio d'Almada, the intimate friend of the archbishop, with don Lewis his son, made part of this assembly; as did also, don Lewis d'Acugna, that prelate's nephew, who was married to the daughter of don Antonio d'Almada. Mello, grand huntsman, don George, his brother, Peter de Mendoça, the grand chamberlain, don Rodrigo, with several other officers of the royal household, whose hereditary posts were mere useless titles, since the kingdom of Portugal had become the prey of a foreign power. The archbishop, naturally eloquent, addressed the assembly, and drew a most frightful picture of the distressed state of the nation, since it had been subject to the dominion of the Spaniards: he represented in strong colours the cruelty of Philip the IId, in destroying a great number of the nobility, in order to ensure his conquest; adding, that he had not even spared the clergy; witness the celebrated brief of absolution¹¹ obtained from the pope for having put to death two thousand priests and friars who stood in the way of his usurpation; that, since those dreadful times, the Spaniards still persevered in the same system of politics, that they had condemned to death, on various pretences, several persons of superior merit, whose only crime was their attachment to their country: that neither the life nor property of a single person in the present assembly was in safety; that the nobility were treated with every mark of contempt, and never allowed any share in the government, or named to any employments; that the clergy had been composed of the most unworthy members, since Vasconcellos had taken upon him to bestow benefices as rewards for the services of his creatures; that the people were loaded with taxes, the country destitute of husbandmen, and the towns deserted by soldiers, who were forcibly carried off to Catalonia; that the late orders received for the nobles to repair to that country, on pretence of arriere-ban, was the finishing stroke of the prime minister's politics, who wished by these means to rid himself of the principal persons of the nation, whom he regarded as the only obstacles to his pernicious designs; that the least evil they had to apprehend was, a tedious banishment; that they would thus grow old, miserable, exiles in the interior of Castille, whilst a new colony would take possession of their property as a right of conquest; that as to himself, the frightful prospect of such accumulated misfortunes, would make him pray for a speedy death, sooner than behold the total destruction of his country, were it not for the hope that so great a number of distinguished persons as were then present, would never have assembled in vain.

This harangue greatly affected the assembly, and revived the recollection of former miseries. Every individual brought forward some instance of cruelty in Vasconcellos. Some had been deprived of their property by his injustice, whilst others complained of being dispossessed of hereditary employments and governments, in favour of his friends and followers. Several had been unjustly

present at the opening of it, and the conspiracy was in a state of great forwardness before he made his appearance. Vertot is not always very accurate in his account of these different assemblies.

⁹ d'Acugna.

¹⁰ Don Sebastian de Mattos de Norogna.

¹¹ Connestagio.

imprisoned as suspected persons, and others regretted their fathers, brothers, and friends, who were either detained in Madrid, or sent to Catalonia as hostages for the fidelity of their countrymen. In short, there was not one amongst them who, in the general cause, had not likewise some private injury which called for vengeance. The Catalonia business was an object of universal indignation; since nothing could be more clear, than that their complete destruction, and not the want of this aid, was the motive which induced the court of Spain to send them so far from home. All these considerations, joined to the flattering hope of revenging such repeated injuries, decided them on taking effectual measures to throw off so heavy a yoke; and foreseeing no possible means of mitigating their misery, they reproached themselves for their patient submission, which they began to regard as mean and cowardly, whilst all agreed in the pressing necessity of driving out the Spaniards, though they differed in the mode of government they should afterwards adopt.

One part of the assembly lent towards a republic¹², nearly on the same model as that established in Holland; whilst the other preferred a monarchy. Of the latter, some proposed the duke of Braganza, others the marquis de Villa-Real, and a third party the duke d'Aveiro, all three princes of the blood royal of Portugal. Each gave his opinion on this occasion according to the affection he bore these different princes, and his own private interest; but the archbishop, ever devoted to the family of Braganza, skilfully took advantage of his sacred character to represent in the most energetic terms, that the choice of government was not arbitrary, since they could not in conscience break their oath of allegiance to the king of Spain in favour of any other than the lawful heir to the crown, which was universally known to be the duke of Braganza; they had therefore no choice left, but to acknowledge him as king, or patiently remain for ever under the government of Spain. He next proceeded to set forth the great power, immense riches, and considerable number of vassals belonging to that prince, from whom nearly one-third of the kingdom held their lands; adding, that there could be but little hopes of driving the Spaniards out of Spain, unless they chose him for their chief; and to induce him to accept so important a post, it would be necessary to offer the crown to his acceptance, even were it not his incontestable right as first prince of the blood. The archbishop did not fail expatiating on the amiable qualities of the duke, dwelling particularly on his prudence, wisdom, and the mildness and goodness which distinguished all his actions: he, in short, made so strong an impression on the minds of his hearers, that the universal voice was in favour of Braganza; and they decided, before they parted, to leave no means untried to engage him in their project. The assembly then broke up, after having fixed particular days and hours for future meetings, in order to deliberate on the best steps to be taken for the speedy and happy execution of this design.

Pinto no sooner perceived this favourable turn of affairs, than he wrote to his master, entreating him to move towards Lisbon, where his presence would so greatly tend to animate the conspirators, and where he would be enabled to concert with them the proper measures for succeeding in so arduous an undertaking. This truly able man was indeed the master spring which set in motion the whole machine, and that without appearing to have any private interest in the business, or any other motive than zeal for the public good: he even expressed his doubts whether his master could ever be induced to enter into a plot so repugnant to his natural disposition, which led him to avoid all hazardous enterprizes, or indeed any thing which required attention and perseverance; thus raising difficulties, which prevented all possible suspicion of any secret intelligence between him and the duke, and were at the same time of a nature to be easily over-ruled; exciting, rather than otherwise, the spirit of the people to pursue their design with redoubled ardour.

The duke, in a few days after receiving Pinto's letter, quitted Villa Vicoso, and arrived at Almada, a castle in the neighbourhood of Lisbon, from which indeed it is only separated by the Tagus. This journey was not calculated to raise suspicion, and appeared taken in the course of his other visits

¹² The conspiracy once formed, there was never any question of a republican government, nor of bestowing the crown on any other than the duke of Braganza.

to the different fortresses in the kingdom. He was escorted on this occasion by so many people of distinction and officers of the army, and his equipages were in such a style of magnificence, that he appeared much more like a sovereign taking possession of his dominions, than a mere governor visiting the places committed to his charge. On arriving so near the capital of Portugal, he judged a visit to the vice-queen absolutely indispensable. The great court of the palace, and all the avenues leading towards it, were on this occasion thronged with people, anxious to see him pass, and the whole body of the nobility waited upon him to accompany him to the vice-queen; the whole city, indeed, wore the appearance of a public festival, and such was the joy his presence inspired, that nothing appeared wanting to place him on the throne, but a herald to proclaim him king, or sufficient resolution in himself to claim that title as his due. This prince, however, was much too wise and prudent to trust the completion of so great a design to the transports of a light and inconstant people, who generally gave way to first emotions, very different from that persevering approbation so necessary in an enterprise of so momentous a nature. He, therefore, after taking leave of the vice-queen, returned to Almada without passing through the town, or even visiting the palace of Braganza, lest he should give umbrage to the Spaniards, who were already but too much alarmed at the testimonies of joy expressed by the people.

Pinto did not fail remarking to his friends the cautious, nay, timid conduct of his master on this occasion, representing that they ought not to neglect the opportunity of his visit to Almada, to enter into a full explanation of their design, and even to insist on his accepting the crown, as the only means of redeeming his country from utter ruin. This advice being approved by the conspirators, Pinto was entreated to use his influence with his master, to give them an opportunity of explaining their intentions in person, a commission he joyfully accepted. The duke of Braganza was prevailed upon to consent to the interview, on condition that only three of the deputies should be admitted to his presence at the same time, not chusing to explain his sentiments before a more numerous society.

Michel d Almeida, Antoine d'Almada, and Mendoça being chosen for this purpose, were secretly admitted in the night to the prince's closet; when Almada represented to him, in the strongest colours, the miserable situation of the kingdom, in which all ranks of people were equal sufferers, from the cruelty and injustice of the Castilians; that even the duke himself, notwithstanding his princely dignity, was not safe from their malice, since he could not possibly be blind to the various plans formed by the prime minister to effect his ruin; that in order to escape such deep laid schemes, he had no other resource than mounting the throne of his ancestors, and that to assist him in achieving so great a design, he was deputed by a great number of the most distinguished persons in the kingdom, who made an offer of their services, and were ready to sacrifice their lives and fortunes to promote his interest, and to revenge the cause of Portugal on the tyrannical and usurping Spaniards. Almada then proceeded to prove, that the situation of Spain was greatly changed since the days of Charles the Ist and Philip the IId, when that country gave the law and spread terror throughout the whole of Europe, that the same monarchy, which at that time formed such extensive views of empire, could now scarcely preserve its own domains from the frequent and successful attacks of France and Holland, with which it was then at war. That the greatest part of its forces were employed in Catalonia; that it was in want of troops and money, and was governed by a weak prince, who himself was governed by a minister universally and deservedly detested by the whole of the kingdom. He next set forth the alliances the duke might reasonably expect to form with the greatest part of the princes of Europe, who, as natural enemies of the house of Austria, would assuredly grant him their protection; that Holland and Catalonia ought to teach him what may be expected from a great minister¹³, whose sublime and elevated genius seemed wholly bent on the complete destruction of the same family: that the vicinity of Portugal to the sea would enable him to receive all necessary assistance; in short, that the greatest part of the Spanish garrisons having left the country to augment the army in Catalonia, he

¹³ Cardinal de Richelieu.

could never have so favourable an opportunity to prove his right to the crown, to secure his property, life, and family, and deliver the nation from slavery and oppression.

The duke of Braganza, though inwardly charmed with this discourse, replied with his usual calmness and moderation, and though he did not absolutely refuse the proposal of the deputies, he said nothing which could make them believe he was decided on accepting it. He, indeed, assured them, that he was convinced as well as themselves of the deplorable state of the nation, and that his own situation was far from secure: he praised their zeal for the good of their country, and expressed the high sense he had of their views in his favour; but that he could not help doubting the time was not yet come for such violent measures, which, if not taken effectually, were ever attended by the most dreadful consequences.

This answer, the only one they could possibly obtain, was accompanied by such amiable and caressing manners, and by such polite acknowledgments to each deputy, that they had every reason to believe their commission was far from disagreeable to the duke; but that the only steps he could be induced to take in the business, would be to give his consent, when, through their endeavours, the success of the enterprise should be no longer doubtful.

The duke, after this interview, arranged fresh plans with his faithful Pinto, and returned to Villa Vicoso oppressed by feelings he had never before experienced, and which prevented the enjoyment of those pleasures he had formerly tasted in his retired situation. His first care on arriving at home, was to communicate all which had occurred to his wife. This princess, who was a Spaniard, and the sister of the duke de Medina Sidonia, a grandee of Spain, and governor of Andalusia, discovered from her cradle the most elevated sentiments, which by degrees became an immoderate passion for every thing noble and glorious. Her father, having early perceived that her understanding was equal to her courage, neglected nothing which could possibly contribute to the cultivation of such striking qualities. Her education was superintended by persons of the first abilities, who did not fail to inspire her with those sentiments of ambition which are esteemed by the world the index of a noble mind, and as such judged the first of qualities in a prince¹⁴. She had applied herself from her earliest youth to the discrimination of characters, and could discover by the most ingenious and delicate means, the secret sentiments of those with whom she conversed: she was indeed become so skilful and penetrating, that even the designs of the most artful courtier could not escape her observation. In short, she was not only possessed of sufficient courage to undertake the most difficult enterprise, if it appeared to her great and glorious, but endowed with abilities to ensure its success. Her manners were dignified, yet easy, and her sweetness joined with majesty, inspired all who beheld her with love and respect. She easily acquired the manners of the Portugueze, and might very well have been mistaken for a native of Lisbon. Her first care on her marriage was to obtain the esteem and confidence of her husband, and she succeeded perfectly in her design, by her exemplary conduct, solid piety, and obliging compliance with his favourite pursuits. Indifferent to all the pleasures natural to her age and quality, she passed every leisure hour in cultivating her understanding, and adding fresh force to the natural strength and justness of her judgment. The duke of Braganza felt himself happy in the possession of so truly accomplished and amiable a woman; his esteem for her qualities, and confidence in her judgment, were unbounded; and he never could have been prevailed upon to take any decisive steps in so momentous an affair as the one in question, without her knowledge and advice. He therefore informed her of every particular relative to the conspiracy, the names of the conspirators, their ardour in the cause, and every thing which had passed, both at Lisbon and at the conference at Almada; adding, that immediately on the news of the Catalonian expedition he had foreseen that the nobles were resolved to rebel sooner than quit the kingdom, and that should he refuse the proffered dignity, it was to be feared they would chuse another chief; yet still he could not

¹⁴ *Ad hæc politicas artes, bonos et malos regiminis dolos, dominationis arcana, humani latibula ingenii non modò intelligere mulier, sed et pertractare quoque ac provehere; tam naturâ quam disciplinâ mirificè instructa fuit.* Caetan. Passar. de Bello Lusitan.

help owning that the greatness of the danger filled him with apprehensions. The idea of ascending the throne of his ancestors, when viewed at a distance, had indeed dazzled, and agreeably flattered his imagination, but now, when the moment was arrived for trying his fortune, and risking so perilous an undertaking, he could not look forward without fear to an event which might terminate in the destruction of himself and family: that very little dependance could be placed on the temper of an inconstant people, whom the smallest difficulty discourages, and that it was not sufficient to have the nobles of his party, unless they were supported by the grandees of the kingdom; but so far from flattering himself with their interest in his favour, he had every reason to believe they would prove his most cruel enemies, since the jealousy natural to mankind would never allow them to submit to the authority of one who had hitherto been their equal.

These considerations, joined to the great power of the king of Spain, and the very little confidence to be placed in the assistance of foreign princes, nearly overbalanced in the mind of the duke the desire of royalty; but the duchess, possessed of more firmness, and fired with ambition, entered immediately into the whole design of the conspiracy. The prospect of so great an enterprise excited the natural courage of her character, and awakened every aspiring sentiment in her bosom. She asked Braganza¹⁵ in what manner he would act, in case his refusal of the crown should end in Portugal's becoming a republic, and how he would conduct himself between that new form of government and the king of Spain? to which the duke replied, that he should ever remain inviolably attached to the interests of his country. Your resolution then, returned the duchess, dictates to me the answer I ought to make, and the one you yourself should give to the deputies; and since you are thus willing to expose yourself to the greatest dangers as a subject of the republic, surely it will be much more advantageous and glorious to take up arms in defence of a crown, which is your lawful right, and which the people and nobles burn with impatience to place on your head. She next proceeded to represent in the most forcible manner his incontestable claims to the throne of Portugal, remarking, that in the miserable situation to which that country was reduced by the Castilians, it was criminal in a man of his power and rank to remain inactive, and that his children and latest posterity would have cause to reproach his memory, for having thus, through weakness and timidity, neglected so favourable an opportunity. She dwelt particularly on the charms of royalty, and the delight of reigning over a country where now he was a mere subject, continually exposed to danger; that nothing could be more easy than possessing himself of the crown, and even without foreign assistance; since he was sufficiently powerful in Portugal to drive out the Spaniards, especially at the present fortunate juncture of the rebellion in Catalonia. She, in short, held up such brilliant prospects to his view, that he was determined to be guided by her advice, and decided upon joining the party: but the duchess, equally with himself, was of opinion it was more prudent to wait till the number of conspirators should be increased, before he made a positive declaration of his sentiments; and that he should not appear openly in the affair, till the plot was ripe for execution.

The court, in the mean time, was not a little alarmed by the joy expressed by the Lisbonians at the presence of Braganza, and which had made no small impression on the mind of the minister, who began to suspect the holding of private meetings in that city; certain reports also, which generally are whispered about on the eve of great events, considerably increased his apprehensions.

The king called several councils on the occasion, and resolved on crushing all hopes of a revolution in Portugal, by immediately summoning the duke of Braganza to Madrid, as the only chief of a party to be dreaded in that country. The count-duke, therefore, sent off a courier to that prince, informing him that his majesty required his presence, being desirous of learning from his own mouth the precise state of the troops and fortresses in Portugal; adding, that his friends were anxious to see him at court, where he might be assured he would be received with every distinction due to his birth and merit.

¹⁵ Some authors say this question was asked by Paes, the duke's secretary.

A thunder-bolt could not have more dreadfully dismayed the duke than this intelligence. The earnest intreaties and different pretences which had hitherto been employed to entice him from his native country, confirmed him in the idea that he was obnoxious to the government, and his destruction certain. But now the case was still more desperate; proffered employments, and feigned caresses were now changed to absolute orders, which, if disobeyed, would be enforced by violence. Apprehensions of his designs having been betrayed took possession of his mind; and as all those who form great projects believe the whole world employed in watching their motions, and diving into the secret recesses of their hearts, this able, though in some respects timid and suspicious prince, believed himself involved in the greatest of all possible calamities. He, however, wishing to gain time, dispatched, by the advice of the duchess, an intelligent and faithful gentleman belonging to his household, to assure the prime minister of his immediate attendance on his majesty, giving him at the same time secret orders to endeavour as much as possible to invent different excuses for the arrival of his master being so long delayed; the duke hoping by these means to avert the storm hanging over his head, and to accelerate the success of the conspiracy. Immediately on the gentleman's reaching Madrid, he acquainted the king and prime minister that he only preceded his master, who would instantly follow him; and hiring a large hotel, he furnished it magnificently, engaged a great train of domestics, whose liveries he had already provided, lived at a considerable expence, in short, neglected nothing to prove that the duke's arrival was hourly expected, and that he intended appearing at court with a splendour suitable to the dignity of his birth.

In a few days afterwards, this gentleman pretended to have received an account of the duke's being seriously indisposed; but this excuse being soon worn out, he next presented a memorial to the prime minister, requesting, in the name of his master, that his majesty would be pleased to regulate the rank he was to hold in the court of Spain; and he flattered himself this affair might take some time in deciding, from the opposition it was natural to suppose would be made by the grandees in support of their claims; but the prime minister, who suspected such frequent delays, and who burned with impatience to see him at Madrid, quickly surmounted all these difficulties, by engaging his majesty to decide in favour of the duke, and that in the most honourable and distinguished manner.

No sooner had the conspirators learned the orders received by the duke, than, fearing he might take alarm too suddenly, they dispatched Mendouça to revive his drooping spirits, and to determine him at once on nobly and courageously joining their party. The choice fell preferably on this nobleman, as being governor of a fort near Villa Vicososa, which would prevent the Spaniards from suspecting the secret purpose of his journey. The duke being engaged in the pleasures of the chace, was joined by Mendouça, and taking an opportunity of riding together into the thickest part of a wood, the latter represented the perils he would inevitably encounter should he venture to the court of Spain; that by thus putting himself into the hands of his enemies, he would for ever blast the hopes of the nobility and people; that considerable numbers of the first gentry were decided to sacrifice their lives and fortunes in his cause, and only waited for the avowal of his sentiments, to shew themselves; that the moment was at length arrived, when he had no choice left him but death, or a crown; that all farther delays were dangerous, and that he must be aware an affair of such importance, confided to such a variety of people, could not long be kept secret from the Spaniards. The duke no longer hesitated, but agreed in the sentiments of Mendouça, and commissioned him to declare to his friends, that it was his fixed resolution to place himself at their head.

Mendouça returned immediately home, to prevent any suspicions of the cause of his journey on the minds of those who might probably have seen him with the duke; and merely wrote to the conspirators that he had been on a hunting party, and had found the game for a long time very shy, but that at last he had had good sport. In a few days afterwards he returned to Lisbon, where he acquainted his friends with all that had passed; and the duke wishing to see Pinto, he set off immediately, having first received the necessary instructions for informing his master of the nature of their plan, and the means of putting it into execution. Pinto also acquainted him with the divisions which had taken

place at the court of Lisbon, where the vice-queen complained in the bitterest terms of the pride and insolence of Vasconcellos; declaring that she could no longer permit the dispatches from the court of Spain being first addressed to him, whilst dignified by a vague title, she remained wholly powerless. Her complaints indeed were the more justly founded, as being a princess of superior merit, she was in every way capable of exercising the authority committed to her charge. This she perfectly knew, but she did not so easily perceive that the distinguished qualities of her head and heart were the principal reasons of her being allowed so small a share in the government. Pinto did not fail to remark on this occasion, that nothing could be more favourable to his master's designs than this misunderstanding, since the disputes in the palace would take up the attention of the Spanish ministers, and not allow them time to attend to his proceedings.

The duke of Braganza, on the departure of Mendoça, sunk once more into his usual indecision; the more the plot advanced towards its execution, the more his uncertainty increased. Pinto used every possible endeavour to prevent his wavering, and even added threats to argument and entreaty, declaring he should be proclaimed king in spite of himself, and that the consequences of his irresolution would be risking greater perils, and suffering still more considerable losses. The duchess joined with this faithful domestic in reproaching him with the mean cowardice of preferring the security of a frail existence to regal dignity; till at last the duke, blushing at being surpassed in courage by a woman, yielded to her arguments. He was, indeed, pressed by continual letters from his agent at Madrid, who declared, that he could no longer invent excuses for his absence, nor would the prime minister any longer accept them. Perceiving, therefore, no time was to be lost, he determined on commencing his operations without delay. He, however, sent an answer to Madrid, desiring his gentleman to try to gain time, by representing to the count-duke d'Olivarez, that he should already have been in Spain, had he not wanted money for the journey, and for appearing with the splendour suitable to his rank in the country; but that the moment he should be able to procure a sufficient sum for such purposes, he would set off immediately for court. His next care was to consult with the duchess and his faithful Pinto, on the properest methods to be taken for securing the success of his enterprise; and the duke at last decided that his first attack should be on Lisbon, which being the capital, would, when once secured in his interest, naturally influence the rest of the kingdom, and that the moment Lisbon declared in his favour, he should cause himself to be proclaimed king in all towns within its jurisdiction; that those of his friends who were governors of forts and strong places should do the same; and that the conspirators should stir up the people of the small towns and villages in their different lordships, so that in so general and sudden a commotion, the few Spaniards remaining would be at a loss on which side to turn their arms; that he would send his own regiment into Elvas, the governor of which was wholly in his interest; but that he was as yet uncertain in what manner he should possess himself of Lisbon, a great deal depending on the opportunities which might offer themselves when he should commence his attack; he was, however, of opinion, that their first attempt should be on the palace, in order to secure the person of the vice-queen, together with the whole of the Spaniards, who might serve as hostages to enforce the surrender of the citadel, which might otherwise greatly annoy the city, when once in their possession. The duke then gave Pinto credential letters for Almeida and Mendoça, in which he informed them that the bearer being perfectly well acquainted with his intentions, he merely wrote to express his hopes that they would remain faithful to their promise, and be firm and vigorous in the moment of its execution. This done, the duke immediately dispatched Pinto to Lisbon, after having bestowed upon him such marks of confidence and esteem, as gave him no room to doubt, that whatever might be the future grandeur of his master, he should always preserve the same place in his favour.

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