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A REVIEW

OF THE CAUSES, TENDENCY, AND PROGRESS OF THE  
REVOLUTION,

WHICH COMMENCED IN OPORTO ON 24TH. AUGUST, 1820,  
AND RIDS FAIR TO RESTORE THE PEOPLE TO THEIR  
ANCIENT RIGHTS, AND RID THE PORTUGUESE MONARCHY  
OF THAT DESPOTIC AND OPPRESSIVE SYSTEM  
UNDER WHICH IT HAS LONG LABOURED.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,

A REPORT

ON THE

STATE OF THE NATION,  
LATELY SUBMITTED TO THE CORTES.

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“ Now is the time, now lift thy soul to virtue !  
“ Behold a crisis sent by Heaven to try thee.”

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LONDON:

TO BE HAD OF RIDGWAY, PICCADILLY; AND RICHARDSON,  
ROYAL EXCHANGE.

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1821.

FOR THE YEAR

A REVIEW

OF THE LATEST REVENUE AND FINANCE OF THE

REVOLUTION.

WITH A HISTORY OF THE REVENUE AND FINANCE OF THE  
AND THE STATE OF THE REVENUE AND FINANCE OF THE  
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IN THE YEAR

A REPORT

OF THE

STATE OF THE NATION

LATELY SUBMITTED TO THE COMMISSIONERS

OF THE REVENUE AND FINANCE OF THE  
AND THE STATE OF THE REVENUE AND FINANCE OF THE

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**T. C. HANSARD, Printer,  
and Stereotype-founder,  
Peterborough court,  
Fleet - street,  
London.**

## REVIEW, &c.

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**I**T was the original intention of the writer of the following pages, to have published no more than a literal translation of the subjoined "Report on the Political State of Portugal," laid before the Cortes by that distinguished patriot, Senr. Fernandes Thomaz, in the Sitting of 5th Feb. 1821, with a view to point out to the assembled representatives of the Portuguese nation, the situation of their country, and the objects to which their earliest attention was to be called. Although, however, in the progress of his attempt, he found himself possessed of a most interesting document, one that exhibited to the world the debased state to which the Portuguese Monarchy was reduced, at a period when the people, by a spontaneous and simultaneous movement, determined they would thenceforwards be governed in a manner more conformable to their ancient rights and charters, as well as more consonant to the acquirements of the age; he, nevertheless, evidently saw it would not, in itself, be sufficient to furnish the British Public

with a satisfactory view of the *causes, tendency,* and *progress* of the memorable event alluded to, the chief motive of the present undertaking.

Notwithstanding the document in question derives additional weight from the circumstance of its being founded on official data, and the facts it contains acquire a fresh lustre from the talents and patriotic virtues of the individual who, from the high situation he held in the Provisional Government, and the distinguished part he took in all the events which led to its formation, seemed peculiarly called upon, to make this exposition to that House of which he has since proved himself so bright an ornament; nevertheless, as it had been drawn up for a particular and limited purpose, it was not sufficiently copious and explanatory, to answer the anxious wishes of the British people, who have always felt a lively interest in all the concerns, and heartily rejoiced at the regeneration and welfare of their ancient allies. It will, therefore, be the object of the present sketch, to trace the origin, causes, and most remarkable occurrences by which the Portuguese Revolution has been distinguished, to the first part of which, the "Report on the Political State of Portugal," will serve as corroborating authority; and an outline of this kind seemed the more desirable, at the present moment, as the early transactions

relating to the changes in Portugal, reached this country at a time when the Press and the public attention were engaged by the Queen's Trial; and the subsequent events, besides, have not met with the consideration they deserved, owing to the space occupied in the daily prints by the succeeding debates in Parliament.

The old ties and relations by which we are bound to Portugal, the immense trade we have uniformly carried on with that country, the number of Englishmen who visited it, during the late war, and, above all, the nature of the noble cause in which its inhabitants are now engaged, are more than sufficient guarantees for the favourable reception of this little pamphlet, which, most assuredly, would have been unnecessary, if the Portuguese language was more generally understood in England, and the public enabled justly to appreciate the patriotic and enlightened labours of the *Campeão* and *O Portuguez*, two periodical works published in London, which have long and unceasingly advocated the rights of their injured country, paved the way to the late Revolution, and since given the most authentic details of the various events by which it was distinguished. These reasons have encouraged the writer in his present undertaking, and, in its prosecution, he solemnly pledges himself, carefully to avoid every thing on which the

fullest reliance may not be placed, as his object is, to instruct, and not to delude.

THE height of power and splendor the Portuguese Monarchy had, at one time, attained, appears almost astonishing, if we consider the smallness of its origin at the time Alphonsus I. was proclaimed King on the Plains of Ourique, as well as the scantiness of its population and territory. Trained up to hardships and the exercise of arms, under their first Monarchs, who had to win the country they were called upon to govern, from Arabian invaders, the Portuguese people early became habituated to dangers and difficulties, and acquired an enterprising spirit that distinguished them among the nations of Europe. In the meridian of this high military character, John I. ascended the throne. He was a wise and valiant prince, and his example inspired his subjects with a love of freedom and glory, and thus was laid the foundation of those stupendous conquests which, in little more than two centuries, they extended in Africa, Asia, and America.

Under John III., the Portuguese had no less than 32 foreign kingdoms, and 433 garrison towns, subject to them; and their enterprise in arms, navigation, and commerce, was unrivalled.



In transatlantic conquests and settlements, they set an example to the rest of Europe, and the renown of the Pahecos, Albuquerque, and Almeidas, became the topic of universal praise and admiration. No one can read, without feelings of enthusiastic delight, the feats they performed in distant and unhealthy climates, contending with the elements, and subduing barbarous hordes arrayed in battle against them. Sensations of awe and wonder are excited by the perusal of their national bard, the inimitable Camoens; and the deeds he records, added to the melody of his numbers, inspire the mind with veneration for the Portuguese name, and fix their heroic actions deeply on the soul.

Courage and military science, however, were not the only valuable traits by which the Lusitanian character was early distinguished. The Portuguese partook in all those principles of civil and rational freedom which marked the annals of their neighbours in Aragon and Castile, and among them the power of the sovereign and the rights of the people, were properly defined. From the very commencement of the Monarchy, they had a representative system, and the Cortes of Lamego, in 1143, under Alphonsus I., seem to have furnished a striking example of those free principles by which the Portuguese nation were then governed, when many important points

relating to the succession of the Throne, the administration of justice, the means of obtaining or losing titles of Nobility, &c. were settled. In the opening of those Cortes, it was, that the sovereignty of the people was avowed, in the memorable words of the Chancellor Alberto, addressed to the national Representatives: "You are assembled here by our Lord Don Alphonso," said he, "whom you have acclaimed as King by the voice of the soldiers on the field of Ourique, in order that you may now aver whether it is your will that he should be King." When the election was ended, the records of those Cortes state, "that the King, holding in his hand his naked sword," said, "you have made me your King and your Companion, and now that you have made me King, is it your will, that we should establish laws by which our country may be governed in peace?" They all answered, "We will that thou shouldst be King, and we wish to form laws for ourselves, to which you are to give your sanction."

Portuguese history is filled with passages of a similar nature, highly illustrative of the nation's rights, and equally as remarkable as the renowned answer of the Aragonese people to their Sovereign. When the Procurator Viegas asked the Representatives of the People whether they would be feudatories of the King of Leon, they

answered, " We are free, our King is free, this country is ours; we have conquered it by our efforts, at the expense of our own blood, and guided by our chief, whom we now call King—wherefore, if any one consents to be governed by a foreign lord, he shall die, and if it be the King, he shall no longer reign over us." The King then answered, " If he should be my son or grandson, he shall not reign." These same principles were acknowledged, renewed, and recorded in numerous subsequent acts, more particularly in that of the 12th April, 1698, in which, after enumerating the rights of the nation, and the duties of the King, it is solemnly declared, " that he who should act contrary to the above, shall not reign, if he be king; and if he be a private individual, he shall die."

In the reign of Alphonsus IV. from 1325 to 1352, the 11th, 12th, 13th, 14th, and 15th Cortes were assembled, which frequency sufficiently proves the careful manner in which the Portuguese people watched over their rights, and withstood the encroachments of the Crown. In the 15th Cortes it was, that the representatives gave so memorable an instance of the courageous manner in which they addressed their kings, as preserved in the Chronicle of the Portuguese Jurisconsult, Duarte Nunes de Leon. " The King," says he, " went from Lisbon to Cintra to

hunt, where he was nearly a month, at a time when matters of great importance were treated in the Council, respecting the government of the kingdom. Struck with such levity, one of the members, in the name of the rest, spoke to him thus, on his re-appearance in the Council:—‘ Sir, you ought to amend the life you lead, and remember, that you were given to us as a King in order to govern us ; and for this reason we give you our tributes, and maintain you in the honour in which you are, and you follow the chase as an occupation, and the government of your kingdom as a pastime ; whereas it is certain, that God will not demand of you an account of the boars and stags you have not killed, but of the complaints you have not heard, and the duties you have not performed, as you now have done ; for, when treating of matters of the greatest importance, you have absented yourself from the Council in which you were so necessary, and gone to the chase, leaving us here idle for so many days, waiting for you. Reform, or, if not, we will seek another king, who may govern us with justice, and not abandon the government of his subjects for the pursuit after wild beasts.’ ”

Thus did the representatives of the Portuguese nation dare to address themselves to their sovereign, when they found him negligent of his duties and forgetful of the principles which had

placed him on the throne. It ought not, therefore, to be deemed strange, that the descendants of that same heroic people should now remind their sovereign of his obligations, and tell him, that he must put an end to oppressive acts, which they can no longer endure; that he must re-establish the laws and charters which his ancestors have trampled upon, and allow his ministers to be accountable for their actions; in a word, that he must observe the very Coronation Oath by which he was himself acclaimed King of Portugal.

When Philip II. of Spain took upon himself the government of Portugal, he pledged, "that he would maintain all their ancient rights and privileges; that the Cortes should assemble as usual within the kingdom," &c.; and in no way could the boasted principle on which the Brunswick family were placed on the throne of these realms, have been practised and consecrated in a more formal and solemn manner, than was done, when the House of Braganza was chosen to wield the sceptre. The edict, published on that memorable occasion, concludes thus:—"The Portuguese, in placing John IV. upon the throne, are justified by every incontrovertible right; the right of succession, the right of representation, and the constitutional laws of the kingdom; rights which are more than sufficient to overturn

a forced and tyrannical possession of fifty years, established and maintained by force of arms."

Two months after the new King had ascended the throne, the Cortes of the kingdom, convened for the purpose of solemnly recording the oath of acclamation by which he had been elected, formally declared to their sovereign, "that they delivered the throne over to him, in order to rid the country of the bad government of Castile." In explanation also of the principle on which they then acted, and for the purpose of transmitting to posterity the legitimacy of those motives by which their conduct was regulated, they left behind them the following declaration: "That the kingdom alone has the right to judge of emergencies, and also absolve itself from allegiance, when the King, by his mode of governing, shall have rendered himself unworthy of the sceptre; because this power was reserved, when the people originally transferred theirs to the King, in order to govern them."

Up to the year 1640, the Portuguese consequently possessed a knowledge and practice of the fundamental principles of civil freedom, which were publicly taught in their Universities, till fanaticism and misrule had shrouded their ancient rights and charters in darkness, and almost obliterated from the memory of succeeding generations, deeds which once made them

the envy of their neighbours. Such was the legacy the Portuguese had inherited from their ancestors; such the principles which had converted their country into a "chosen land—the retreat of freedom." The means by which they had been gradually dragged from this state of civil freedom, by the successive encroachments of power, and the misconduct of corrupt and arbitrary ministers, it would be tedious, and, indeed, unnecessary, now to trace. Suffice it to say, that at the close of the last century, Portugal had lost many of her foreign possessions, the vestiges of her former splendor were gone, her national resources exhausted, her navy dismantled, her arsenals stripped, and the proud spirit of her sons humbled and dejected.

The state of Portugal, from the year 1807, to 24th August, 1820, the commencement of a new era, was wretched in the extreme, and such as scarcely could be conceived by those who have not paid particular attention to the subject. It has been described at some length by the editor of the *Campeão*, in his two last numbers, from which a condensed outline will be sub-joined; or rather some of the most remarkable facts quoted, by which means the charge of speculation will be avoided, as natives must be considered better versed in their own affairs, as

well as more alive to the grievances they endured.

The close of 1807 was a fatal period, and one that ought always to be present before the eyes of the Portuguese, as well to remind them of the calamitous effects of a monstrous and despotie government, as to keep them on their guard, and make them resolve never again to consent to the spoliation of their unalienable rights and political privileges. After being threatened for twelve years with a foreign invasion, and after witnessing the first hostilities commence as early as in 1800, the Portuguese government had been so weak, or corrupt, that they had neither established the solid basis of peace, nor made preparations for war. On the approach of the French, they amassed what plunder they could, and taking refuge on board of ship, they carried away with them all the hopes of their country, a crumbling throne, and the august personages who occupied it. Other governments have, indeed, been so weak and foolish, as not to take the necessary precaution to resist a foreign invasion; but none was ever seen like that of Portugal, in 1807, which, without taking any steps either for peace or war, allows the enemy to reach the very gates of the capital, and then cowardly flies, and still more cowardly ordains the deluded people they were



abandoning, to receive, with the hospitality of friends, the ferocious aggressors of their independence!

Such was the disgraceful conduct of the Portuguese ministry; but, fortunately, the cry of resistance in Spain, re-echoed along the banks of the Douro; and the noble city of Oporto, destined by Heaven a second time to raise the standard of freedom, then made head against our cruel tyrants. The battles of Vimeiro and Baylen followed, and the success of the French arms gradually changed. In union with their allies, the Portuguese won their independence, though abandoned by their sovereign, and deserted by his ministers—yet their sufferings, during that terrific struggle, would exceed belief. Scarcely was the country free from the presence of an enemy, when those who had been left to watch over us by the fugitive government, and had become the immediate instruments of our own subjection and humiliation, again placed themselves at the head of affairs, not to heal the wounds of the state, but to arm one part of the nation against the other; and sow the country with enmities and dissensions. They adopted a disgraceful system of espionage, destroyed the freedom of the Press which had subsisted during the war, and proscribed such Portuguese periodical works as were published in foreign coun-

tries, when their own was no longer open to them. After the governors of Portugal had succeeded in extinguishing the little light left in the country, they delivered themselves up to all the delirium of arbitrary power. In order to support their own party, and promote their own views, they granted a general amnesty for all kinds of crimes, and during the reign of the Five Tyrants, Portugal beheld justice sold openly, and with impunity, and the highest tribunals of the kingdom converted into auctions for the sale and purchase of honour, lives, and fortune. In order to make up the abominable deficiencies in the treasury, recurrence was had to a fiscal system of the very worst kind; and the people who, after so long and destructive a war, accompanied by the keenest sufferings, had a right to expect relief, were subjected to fresh oppressions and fresh burdens. Unable in this way to satisfy their wants, they had recourse to loans; but this stratagem failed—an administration so abominable, having, by this time, entirely lost the confidence of the nation. They next proceeded to a more gross abuse of power, by attempting to levy forced loans, and had the audacity to go so far as to take estimates of private property. The resolution of the people, however, on this occasion, was more strenuous than the power of tyranny, and the governors were

unable to realise their intended spoliation. By this demonstration on the part of the nation, it was clear, that the existing government, far from being popular, was, in the opinion of the public at large, condemned and abhorred for its injustice and oppression; and those who, in secret, had their country's welfare at heart, now began to entertain hopes of its future regeneration.

By means of this arbitrary and monstrous system, public confidence was gradually destroyed, and the capitalists hid their wealth, in order not to be robbed of it by new contributions. Considerable sums thus disappearing from circulation, and the remainder left being remitted, for safety, to foreign countries, or shipped off to the Brazils, in conformity to the disastrous policy of an ultramarine ministry, the effect produced an alarming scarcity of money as well as a total stagnation of trade, throughout the kingdom. These circumstances, added to the known infidelity and corruption prevailing in all the departments of the public revenue, prevented every body from being paid, and this even was the case with that gallant army which so lately had saved the country, and was now perishing with hunger, or the soldiers begging alms through the streets. Capitals were no longer to be had for the cultivation of the fields, and the farmer, driven to despair, was obliged

to abandon his plough, and withdraw from the former pursuits of his industry.

In candour, however, it must be confessed, that these evils and calamities were not to be attributed to the governors of the kingdom alone, since the ignorant and corrupt ministry at the head of affairs in Rio de Janeiro, was equally to blame. Nevertheless, the former were eye-witnesses of the misfortunes with which Portugal was bent down, and they ought to have suspended the execution, and protested against the orders received from distant authorities, and besides actuated by a policy foreign to the interests of the mother-country, and if their protests were not attended to, resigned their offices.

But, how could we expect those who had been the authors of our calamities in Europe, to have our concerns at heart, now they were firmly fixed in another hemisphere? Infected with the same vices, their measures could not fail to be equally pernicious, from whichever quarter they emanated. Thus, whilst the sons of Portugal were engaged in the very act of repelling foreign aggressors, they saw themselves sacrificed by that monstrous Commercial Treaty, signed in 1810, by which the industry and prosperity of their country was destroyed. When these arrangements were made, certainly the framers of them must have despaired of the salvation of

Portugal, or they never could have acted with such infidelity."

Such is the picture drawn of Portuguese affairs during the last thirteen years, by a native, one well versed in the concerns of his own country; and the colourings have been proved true and correct, by the concurrent testimony of many of our own countrymen. Portugal had, in fact, become the colony, and the Brazils the mother-country; and, besides this unnatural dependence, a foreign power held and exercised an immediate influence over the policy and measures of the local government, and the command of the army was also in the hands of foreigners. At the period alluded to, Portugal, once interesting for her enterprise and martial spirit, from all appearances, seemed sunk under the sullen torpor of unresisted oppression and unrefuted obloquy. Her people had acquired habits of inertness; wretchedness seemed to hang on her destiny; and, in the estimation of other nations, she had lost that place she once so proudly filled. This, however, was no other than the prelude to the volcano that was about to burst forth, as soon as the forbearance of the people had been exhausted, and the cup of their miseries completely filled. That moment, as the writer will now proceed to show, was at hand; repeated and wanton outrage at length united the wishes of all; and

drove them to demand redress. The auspicious day at length arrived; and, as the dawning prospect opened, as link after link was knocked off the chains of Portugal, she was roused from apathy—her faculties strengthened—her powers revived; and, as the sequel proves, she again gradually rose on the political horizon of Europe.

The inhabitants of Portugal being, at length, roused to a due sense of the oppression under which they laboured, the hitherto-smothered feeling of discontent burst forth in the city of Oporto, on 24th August, 1821, in conformity to a pre-concerted plan, when three regiments of regulars and two of militia, deeply impressed by the sufferings of their fellow-citizens, joined in the general cry for a change of system, a constitution, the removal of abuses, and security for the future. Some of the most respectable persons of the city placed themselves at the head of affairs, a military council was formed, and on the same day the following Proclamations issued:

#### PROCLAMATION (No. 1.)

**SOLDIERS!**—One will unite us—let us haste to the salvation of our country. There are no evils that Portugal does not suffer; there are no sufferings that the Portuguese have not borne in the extreme! The Portuguese, without security in their persons and property, demand our assistance: they desire Liberty regulated by Law.

You yourselves, victims of the general evil, are no longer considered as your value and virtue merit!

A Reform is necessary, but it must be regulated by reason and justice; and not by licentiousness.

Contribute to preserve order; repress all tumults; smother the least symptoms of anarchy.

Let us create a Provisional Government in which we can confide; let them call the Cortes, which will be the organ of the nation, and let them prepare a Constitution that will secure to us our rights.

Our King Don John VI., as good as he is benign, and as a friend to his people, who adore him, will bless our exertions.

Long live our beloved King! Long live the Cortes and their Constitution!

### PROCLAMATION (No. 2.)

**SOLDIERS!**—Our sufferings are past bearing! Our country in fetters! All respect for you lost! Our sacrifices frustrated! A Portuguese soldier on the point of begging alms!

**Soldiers!**—This is the moment. Let us haste to save our country—let us haste to save ourselves.

**Comrades!**—Follow me: come with our brothers in arms to organise a Provisional Government, and let them call the Cortes to form a Constitution, the want of which has been the origin of all our sufferings. These it is not necessary to recapitulate now: all of you feel them.

It is in the name of and as a safeguard to our august Sovereign Don John VI. that it will govern.

Our Holy Religion shall be protected: as our exertions are sincere and virtuous, so God will bless them.

The soldiers who compose the brave Portuguese army will haste to espouse our cause, because it is also their own. Soldiers! The power is in our hands; we ought not therefore to allow any disorder. If to each of us our country owes its salvation, let it also owe to each of us its security and tranquillity.

Place confidence in a Chief who never led you in any path but that of honour.

Such were the first pledges given to the Portuguese soldiery and people, by the patriots who stepped forward on this memorable day, with a determination to succeed, or perish in the attempt. Enthusiastic joy reigned throughout the city, and the constituted authorities joined in the measure. No revolution was ever effected in a more peaceable manner—no accident happened—not a single dissentient voice was heard. A Provisional Junta was then formed, and the following Manifesto published:

THE PROVISIONAL JUNTA OF THE SUPREME GOVERNMENT  
OF THE KINGDOM TO THEIR FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN.

If, during the late alarming agitation which roused the nations of Europe and shook the thrones of Monarchs, your army saved our country and immortalized its name, this day it has rendered itself still more deserving of public esteem, by raising us from the abyss into which we had been plunged, and through which we had nearly lost the name of a nation.

An inconsiderate Administration, filled with errors and



VICES, had brought upon us all kinds of evils, by violating our privileges and rights, by breaking down our franchises and liberties, and profanating those praiseworthy customs which distinguished us from the first establishment of the Monarchy, and possibly were the most secure pledges of our social happiness.

The love of country, sacrificed to egotism, was no more than an empty name in the mouths of those ambitious men who occupied the first places in the nation, and who had no other object in view, than to prosper amidst honour and riches, as a reward for their crimes, and the want of talent and experience with which they directed the affairs of the State.

Thus did we unfortunately see our commerce disappear—our industry and agriculture dwindle away—and our navy rot in our ports.

Soon should we scarcely have had a mercantile vessel left; soon would all our navigation have been lost, for which we were so renowned during the time of our past glories, when we visited the most remote seas, and brought back to astonished Europe the riches of the east, as well as those of the two worlds.

The sources of national prosperity being thus shut up, the ruin of our most valuable concerns became a necessary consequence, and, to crown the rest of our misfortunes, our adored Sovereign ceased to live among us. Portuguese! From that fatal day we date our misfortunes; then commenced our orphanage. Then it was we lost all, and soon should we have lost our very name, once so famous in the universe, had we not evinced, that we were still the same by the constancy with which we endured so many calamities and miseries, and by the heroic resolution we have this day taken:

Our forefathers were happy, because they lived in the glorious times when Portugal enjoyed a Representative Government in the Cortes of the nation, and they achieved prodigies of valour, as long as they were obedient to the laws which the latter wisely instituted; laws which were beneficial to all, because on all they were binding. Then it was, they made Africa tremble, conquered India, and astonished the Old World by the acquisition of a new one, still more to extend their fame. Never did religion, the throne, and our country, before experience such important services; never did they acquire more lustre and solid greatness; but all these benefits were entirely derived from the Constitution of the State, because it kept in just equilibrium and perfect harmony the rights of the Sovereign and his subjects, by converting the nation and its chief into one family, in which all laboured for the general felicity.

Let us again enjoy this Constitution, and we shall be again happy. Don John VI. our adored Sovereign, has not given it back to us, because he is ignorant of our wishes; but it is now time to ask it, because the evils we endure, and still more so those we have reason to expect, require a most prompt remedy.

In imitation of our ancestors, let us convene our Cortes, and expect from their wisdom and firmness the measures which alone can save us from perdition, and secure our political existence. This is the will of the nation and of the army thus expressed; and this expression aids the attainment, already too long delayed through timidity or disunion among the lovers of their country. On the glorious field of Ourique, the Army raises its voice, and a Monarchy appears. This day, in the cradle of Portugal, the Army raises its voice, and saves from destruction and ruin this precious deposit confided

to its care, and so long sustained by the valour of their invincible arm.

Portuguese! The step you have just taken towards your future felicity was necessary and even indispensable, and your unfortunate situation fully justifies your proceeding. Be not, therefore, afraid, for most assuredly you commit no treason against the former sentiments of your natural fidelity. No law or human institution was ever made to last for ever, and the example of our neighbours suffices to set your minds at ease. The world is well aware, that our deliberations are not the effect of any personal anger against the Government, or any disaffection against the august House of Braganza: on the contrary, in this way shall we draw tighter those bonds of love, respect, and allegiance, by which we are happily bound to the dynasty of the immortal John VI. and the virtues which adorn the heart of the most beloved of his descendants. The change on which we enter, in no way attacks the stable parts of the Monarchy; the holy religion of our country will acquire more brilliant splendor, and morals will improve by the advantages of public instruction, at present unhappily abandoned; this will create our felicity and that of future ages. The laws of the kingdom, religiously observed, will secure individual property, and the nation will uphold each one in the peaceable enjoyment of his rights, because its object is not to destroy, but to preserve. The same orders, the same places, the same officers, the priesthood and magistracy, will all be respected in the free exercise of the authorities already deposited in their hands. No one will be troubled on account of his opinions or past conduct; and the best combined measures have already been taken to guard against tumults, or the indulgence of personal enmities and revenge.

Portuguese! Rely on the good wishes by which we are

animated. Be on your guard, and watch over the high destinies which await you. Look forward with confidence to the day when you will be competently represented, and enabled to adopt another form of Government more analogous to our wants. We will employ all our exertions to correspond with the confidence you have placed in us, and if the result should be, as we hope and trust it will, a Constitution that may solidly secure the rights of the Monarchy and yours, be assured it will be the greatest and most glorious recompence for all our labours.

*Oporto, Palace of Government, Aug. 24, 1820.*

The preceding documents deserve to be placed on record, as evincing, in an authentic and clear manner, the object of the Portuguese Revolution, as well as the conduct of those distinguished and patriotic individuals, who, by the public voice, were called upon, to guide the affairs of the new Government, in the grand work committed to their charge. The Manifesto, particularly, is a document of considerable interest, as it explains the causes which led to the heroic determination of the Portuguese army and people, and shows the grounds on which they demanded a Constitution, adequate to their wants.

The effect produced on the neighbouring towns and provinces, by the occurrences in Oporto, was electric. The addresses of the Provisional Government were read with enthusiastic delight, and the sentiments they contained, re-echoed

throughout the country. In vain did the despised and trembling Regency of Lisbon set all the instruments of despotism at work, and denounce vengeance against those "wretches who had contrived this conspiracy, and dared to withdraw themselves from the authority of the Government, lawfully established by his Majesty;" or rather, as they would have answered, the Government which the whole country had pronounced as the destroyer of its happiness, and the author of a great portion of its misfortunes. This proclamation of the Five Regents is dated the 29th August, 1820, and it is a strange mixture of personal fear, the love of power, and the conviction of guilt. Though its authors had witnessed the calamities of Portugal for years, without attempting to redress them, they now, however, venture to tell the people, that they will condescend to "transmit any complaints laid before them, to the King," that on that very day new regulations had arrived from the Brazils," and, in short, add, that they were already doing every thing in their power for the relief of the country, but, that "to convoke the Cortes would be illegal, unless assembled by the Sovereign himself."

In vain did the Regents call on their agents and representatives in the provinces to second their exertions, and put down the rebellion.

Their pledges and offers could no longer be trusted, after the experience of the past. The inhabitants of Portugal, with the exception only of such as thrived on the calamities of the public, had resolved themselves into a rooted principle of hatred to oppression, and abhorrence of that crooked and intricate policy pursued by the delegated Government amidst them. The proclamation of the Regents, now, for the first time, hints at the distresses under which Portugal laboured, but the people are, in the same breath, told, these distresses cannot be redressed and removed, without recurring to the Brazils. No better sanction than this could have been given to the very revolution they were attempting to counteract.

Three days afterwards, that is, on 1st Sept. following, the Lishon Governors issued another proclamation for the sole purpose of convening the Cortes, the same Cortes "to convene which," they had just asserted, "was illegal, unless called by the Sovereign himself." In the interval, however, they had learnt their own danger, and witnessed the general determination of the people. They had been informed, that not a single regiment would support their despotism, or imbrue their hands in the blood of their insulted and injured countrymen. They saw the power they had long abused, ready to drop from their

grasp, and they resorted to a stratagem; mean and despicable, under the hope of retaining it a little longer. They sought to temporize; but, fortunately, the Portuguese people knew exactly what value was to be attached to their pledges and promises. They were aware, that, if the Regents had convened the Cortes, and for which they had no other security than their bare word, it would merely have been for the sake of form, or in such a way as their kings, in the middle periods of the history of Portugal, usually adopted, for the sake only of pageantry and parade. The present insurrection had arisen out of accumulated calamity and distress, and nothing short of a fair Representative system, could insure the relief required. The expedient consequently was treated with the contempt it deserved, and the Regents soon saw they could not even rely on the guards placed near their persons, for individual protection.

The state of public opinion throughout the kingdom, as well as in Lisbon, being ascertained, the Provisional Junta of Oporto determined to proceed on to the capital, in order to complete the grand work they had commenced, without allowing the Regents time to organize a civil war, and by this means avoid the effusion of blood. With this view they sent forward Col. Sepulveda, who, having left Oporto on the 28th

August, was received in the most enthusiastic manner on his route to Coimbra, the people and military every where joining the national cause. Brigadier General Lacerda, Governor of the Province of Minho, and commander of the Transmontanian army, also raised the Constitutional standard, and issued his proclamation from Braga, on 5th Sept. On the 10th, the Provisional Junta took their leave of the people of Oporto, thanking them for their efficacious support and co-operation in the cause, and the tranquillity they had preserved from the first moment of the Revolution. They also addressed a proclamation to the Portuguese nation, in the way of an appeal regarding the views of the Lisbon Regency, in their hasty determination to convene the Cortes, when three days before they had declared this could only be done by the King himself.

In the mean time, the spirit of revolt was fast maturing in the capital itself, where the operation of the same causes could not fail to produce effects similar to those manifested in the other parts of the kingdom. The position of the Regents was singular. They were unable to organize any means of resistance, during a period of more than twenty days; but, on the other hand, they had not been forced to repel any direct attack. Each party was in presence of



the other, calmly waiting what events were about to decide. In Lisbon it was known, that the Oporto Junta, accompanied by a large military force, was advancing towards the capital, in order to afford the inhabitants an opportunity of manifesting their sentiments, and the patriotic party there were anxious to avoid anarchy and the effusion of blood. The Regents, however, had the imprudence to confine the troops to their barracks, seeing their fidelity could not be trusted.

This was a sufficient signal. In the afternoon of the 15th Sept., the regiments of the line in garrison, marched to the Rocio Square, where they were joined by the cavalry, artillery, and militia. In an instant, all classes of the people flocked to the Square, when Count Resende took the command, and was received with loud acclamations. The people manifested their wishes for the formation of a Provisional Government; this was instantly done, and the new members entered on their functions. The first order issued, was to the commander of the Castle of Belem, enjoining him not to suffer any vessel to leave the port without permission. Dispatches were also forwarded to each province, and deputies sent to meet the Oporto Junta and the army of the North, inviting them to enter the capital without loss of time.

In the delirium occasioned by a sudden emancipation from long oppression, and one also that had been accompanied by great public distress, as well as much private vengeance—in the midst of one of those changes which, in other countries, have but too frequently produced civil commotions, bloodshed, and death, the Portuguese people were not guilty of a taunt, insult, or outrage, on a single individual. The whole nation seemed animated by one spirit, all classes joined in the same cry, and all were alike determined on the same object. The people, conversing among themselves, on the event that had just happened, and calculating the benefits expected from it, were heard to say to each other, “We resume our national dignity; our voices will now reach even to the throne; our representatives will do their duty, and prove themselves an honour to the age: they will devise the measures necessary to accomplish the consolidation of our new political existence, and secure to us an equitable administration of justice.” Such were the fond anticipations they exultingly formed to each other, whilst heartfelt gladness beamed on every countenance.

On the 1st Oct., the Oporto Junta entered the capital, a previous arrangement having been made for them, to coalesce with the Provisional Government, established, in the interim, in Lisbon,

so as jointly, and in one body, to conduct the administration of public affairs. This was a day of jubilee to the enraptured people. The roads by which they were to pass were crowded by persons of all ages and sexes. Twelve horses, richly caparisoned, were sent out to meet them, and triumphal arches prepared in the streets. On the 5th, the army of the North, and part of that of the South, also entered the capital, amidst the congratulations of the people, and salutes from the castles. It was a most splendid sight. The brave troops were welcomed with the most enthusiastic transports by the immense population. This was, perhaps, the most interesting moment Portugal had witnessed for years. The energy and patriotic disinterestedness of the Oporto Junta, had secured for themselves the gratitude of the whole kingdom, and endeared them to the hearts of their fellow-countrymen. The army also was beheld with pride and exultation. By their noble conduct they had proved that the character of soldiers had not divested them of the feelings of citizens.

The Provisional Junta of the Supreme Government of the Kingdom was next instituted, composed of the following persons: Messrs. Manoel Fernandes Thomaz; Freire, Principal Decano; A. da Silveira Pinto da Fonseca; Count de Penafiel; Mathias Jose Dias Azedo; Hermano Jose

Braamcamp do Sobral; Frei Francisco de Saõ Luis; and J. J. Ferreira de Moura. The nobles in the country, as well as the constituted authorities, took the oath of obedience to the new Government, and several arrangements were made for the purpose of facilitating trade, the convening of the Cortes, removal of abuses, &c. &c.

It is here necessary to suspend the narrative of events in Portugal, for the purpose of introducing some explanatory information relating to Marshal Beresford, and the British officers employed in the Portuguese service, this being a topic immediately connected with the Revolution. Notwithstanding the disheartening picture drawn by Sir John Moore, in his answer to the inquiries made of him, respecting the possibility of creating a Portuguese force (for it must be confessed that no Government could have been more ignorant of the real state and resources of both Spain and Portugal, than that of England was, at the time the Peninsular war commenced), it was, nevertheless, determined to re-organize that part of the army left in the country, and, in March, 1809, Major Gen. Beresford was sent to Lisbon with more British officers, arms, and appointments. He received his new appointment from the Prince Regent of Portugal, and immediately set to work to organize and discipline the Portu-

guese army, which, most assuredly, at the time, was in a most inefficient state, and the departments, belonging to it, filled with abuses. With this view British officers and serjeants were placed in the several regiments, and to their talents, experience, and activity, no doubt a great part of that steadiness and discipline is due, which distinguished the Portuguese army in its brilliant conduct when opposed to the enemy. This establishment of British officers was, however, always considered as temporary; intended only during the pressure of the war, and indeed to this effect a solemn pledge was given.

The war ended; but this pledge was not redeemed. The Portuguese beheld the command of their army in the hands of a foreigner, and most of their regiments officered by his own countrymen, appointed by himself. They saw this foreign party supported by the influence of the Government, to whom they more immediately belonged, and, besides, actuated by a policy unconnected with the country in which they were serving. The expense of their support was moreover burdensome, and, of course, their presence, and the preferences shown them, were opposed to the advancement of the natives. It would be unnecessary, in this place, to enter into a review of the injuries the Portuguese experienced from the retention of British

officers, and the fatal impressions excited in the public mind through the barbarous and unjust execution of the unfortunate Gomes Freire, and his companions, a name dear to the Portuguese nation, and certainly an event that accelerated the revolution. Suffice it to say, that one of the first measures adopted by the Oporto Junta was, the suspension of British officers, till the meeting of the Cortes, and this was a step expected of them by the nation at large. It was not adopted through any personal hostility to the officers themselves, or the nation to which they belonged, but as a warranted measure of expediency, required by existing circumstances.

Some months previous to the breaking out of the Revolution in Oporto, Lord Beresford had sailed for Rio de Janeiro, and the object of his visit there, as well as the negotiations he was carrying on, were not unknown to the patriots in Portugal, who were meditating on the redemption of their country. On the 10th Oct., that is, immediately after the new Government had been organized in Lisbon, Lord Beresford appeared in the Tagus, on board the *Vengeur*, bringing dispatches from the Rio de Janeiro Government to the late Lisbon Regency, together with the appointment of " Marshal General and Commander in Chief of the King's army in Portugal;" in a word, a commission constituting him the Royal

Representative in every thing relating to military service, and rendering him answerable for his conduct to no one but the King.

An act of greater folly and madness was never committed, than the soliciting and accepting such a command, circumstanced as Portugal then was; nor was the influence of the British Government ever wielded for a more unwarrantable and ridiculous purpose. The Portuguese would never have brooked such an indignity, such an intrigue, however great the merits of his Lordship. Were the examples of the Duke of Schomberg, under Peter II., and of Count de Lippe, under Joseph I., forgotten? Fortunately; his Lordship was not allowed to land, after his more fortunate absence, and he saw the propriety of quietly withdrawing to England. Subsequently, the Cortes, acting on the principle of the employment of foreign officers, in their army, being inexpedient, and opposed to the rights of an independent nation, decreed, that their commissions should cease, and each receive a reward equivalent to his services. For the honour of their own country, it is to be hoped, that the officers in question will be satisfied with this arrangement, and in no way mix themselves up with any of those future plans of hostility against the new order of things in Portugal, attempted by some of the King's Diplomatic Representatives

in Europe, even before the determination and policy of the King himself, respecting recent events, are officially known. Should this determination hereafter prove hostile, it is farther to be hoped, that no British officer will be seen contending against the liberties and regeneration of that country in which they have acquired their laurels, and experienced the most marked consideration.

But, to resume the narrative—The new Government laboured hard and incessantly to correct abuses, counteract dissensions, and re-organize the various departments of the public administration. No better picture of their labours, as well as of the difficulties they had to contend with, could be given, than the one contained in the Report, hereunto annexed. Such an inquiry, and for so interesting a purpose, the Portuguese nation has not witnessed since the time of the Marquis de Pombal. It is, therefore, deserving of an attentive perusal, and infinitely more satisfactory than any thing the writer could add on this subject.

It was the unanimous wish of the Portuguese nation, that the Spanish Constitution should be taken as a model for the one to be framed by the future Cortes, and, in the mean time, that such parts as related to existing circumstances, should be acted upon. This was the most judicious



plan that could be adopted, as it saved time, and prevented the danger of anarchy. The Spanish Constitution had been framed for a people similar to the Portuguese, in almost every circumstance, and, consequently, it was the best guidance they could have. In conformity to it, instructions were issued for the election of Deputies for the Cortes, with such alterations as were necessary to adapt the forms of suffrage prescribed by it to Portugal.

On this plan the elections commenced, and the Portuguese, for the first time, saw themselves engaged in one of the most interesting rights exercised by man in his social state. The whole country presented a busy and animated scene—a remarkable contrast with the gloom and torpor it had exhibited only a few months before. So steady and resolved were the inhabitants on the present occasion, that they seemed as if accustomed to elections, and their only aim was, to choose men worthy of their confidence, and adequate to the important trust about to be placed in their hands.

On the 26th January the Deputies for the European part of the Portuguese Monarchy assembled in Cortes, amidst the hopes and benedictions of the people, and such religious ceremonies as were calculated to add solemnity to the imposing spectacle. On the preceding day a

preparatory meeting had been held, for the purpose of electing a President and Secretary, as well as a Committee, to verify the powers of the respective deputies.

In the morning of the 26th, at 10 o'clock, the Deputies assembled in the majestic church of St. Mary, and after a solemn mass, proceeded to the hall of their sittings in the Palace of Necessidades, which had been fitted up with suitable decorations. The members of the Government took their seats on the right of the President's chair, on the left the Preparatory Committee of the Cortes, and the galleries were crowded with spectators. The returns of members were, for Estremadura, 24; Minho, 25; Tras-os-Montes, 9; Beira, 29; Alem-Tejo, 10; Algarve, 3: Total, 100. The Deputies then took the oath on the Holy Evangelists in the following words:

“ I swear faithfully to fulfil, in the exercise of the powers confided to me, the Duties of Deputy to the Extraordinary Cortes, which are about to frame and adopt the political Constitution of the Portuguese Monarchy, and the reforms and ameliorations which they shall judge necessary for the good and prosperity of the Nation, the Catholic Apostolic Roman Religion, maintaining the Throne of Senhor Don Johu VI. King of the United Kingdoms of Portugal, Brazil, and Algarves, and preserving the Dynasty of the Serene House of Braganza.

This oath, which clearly points out the duties

the Cortes were about to perform, being taken, the House formed, the Archbishop of Bahia acting as President, and Deputy Filgueiras as Secretary. Count de Sampayo, in a clear and impressive voice, then delivered the following speech :

“ ILLUSTRIOUS REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PORTUGUESE NATION !—The happy day is, at length, arrived, for which the Portuguese so anxiously sighed, and which is about to crown their ardent wishes and their flattering hopes—a day ever glorious and memorable, which will form the most brilliant epoch in the history of the Monarchy, and in the annals of the reign of our pious and august Monarch, Don John VI. and which, presenting to admiring Europe the truly prodigious result of an energetical, but peaceable, effort, will regain for the Portuguese, the name and glory which our preceding misfortunes have obscured, and almost extinguished.

“ In your hands, Gentlemen, are now placed, the fate of this magnanimous nation—the happiness of our beloved and common country. The zeal and patriotism of the Portuguese lead them to confide in your virtue and wisdom. They will not be deceived in their choice, nor disappointed in their hopes.

“ The Government, after having at the Holy Altar returned due thanks to the Sovereign Author of all Good, and humbly supplicating him to be pleased to pour down upon you the spirit of wisdom and prudence, so necessary for the due accomplishment of your arduous and sublime duties, comes to congratulate you on your happy meeting, and considers itself as fulfilling one of its most important duties and

noble offices, by recommending to your care and solicitude, the interest and the destiny of an illustrious people, which desires and deserves to be happy.

“ In the minds and hearts of the Portuguese are engraven two fundamental principles, which they have loudly proclaimed to the whole world, on which the public happiness must repose, and which we all swear to maintain—obedience and fidelity to King John VI. and to his august dynasty—the pure and sincere profession of the holy religion of our forefathers.

“ The first insures to us, by the virtues hereditary in the House of Braganza, the sweets of a paternal Government; the second offers us the firmest support of our happiness in the maxims of a Divine morality, which so perfectly adapts and identifies itself with the necessities and sentiments of man.

“ It is on these foundations that the majestic edifice of the Portuguese Constitution must rise, which, keeping in view the sacred rights of civil liberty, of property, and the safety of the citizen, has to trace, with a firm and steady hand, the invariable line of demarcation, which is for ever to divide law from arbitrary will—power from despotism—liberty from licentiousness—obedience from slavery.

“ When this great work has been profoundly meditated, and wisely developed and executed, with the attention which the state and circumstances of the nation require—with the energy which its urgent wants demand—with the prudence and circumspection which belong to the superiority, or (if I may so speak) to the impassible independence of the Legislator—then the Portuguese, restored to their rights and to their dignity, will resume the place which belongs to them among civilised, free, and independent nations; under the shelter

of peace and domestic felicity, they will see those political institutions flourish, which render a nation great and respected. They will form round the august Throne of their Monarch a firm barrier, equally inaccessible to internal passions, the enemies of social order, and the external attacks of any ambitious and usurping power; and, nobly proud of the just and precious liberty, which their Worthy Representatives have known how to acquire and insure to them, they will transmit to posterity the names of the fathers of the country, covered with a thousand benedictions, and accompanied by the most affectionate and most glorious recollections.

“ Such are the happy efforts which the Government anticipates and hopes from your wise deliberations—your enlightened zeal—your consummate prudence, and your eminent virtue. It is shortly to conclude the memorable and difficult functions with which it has hitherto been charged, and, esteeming itself happy in having maintained peace and public tranquillity, it profits by this opportunity, again to address the sincere expressions of its praise and thanks to all classes of citizens to whom, under the favour of Providence, so extraordinary and invaluable a blessing is due. May that all-wise Providence grant, that this heroic nation may attain, and enjoy, for many centuries to come, the felicity which it merits, and which the eminent qualities of its illustrious Representatives so largely promise. May our adored Monarch, condescending to the public wishes, and sanctioning, by his Royal assent, the work of the national wisdom, come and occupy the Throne of love, loyalty, and gratitude, which is prepared for him in the hearts of his people! and may we all, united in fraternal concord, and reciprocally bound by the sacred ties of love to our country, one day rejoice in our happy fate, bless the epoch of our regeneration, and give worthy examples of virtue to our remotest posterity!”

After this speech, which was received in the most enthusiastic manner, His Excellency declared the Cortes to be installed, and the President thanked the members of the Executive Government, in the name of the nation, for their labours and unwearied zeal, during a most arduous crisis. The latter then withdrew, and the House proceeded to business. The choice of President was confirmed in the Archbishop of Bahia, and Senr. Fernandes Thomaz elected Vice-President. The King's portrait was displayed under a canopy at the head of the hall, and in the evening, the city was brilliantly illuminated.

It was a most interesting spectacle, to behold nobles and dignitaries of the church, joined with the other classes, and stepping forward, to promote the grand work of National Representation. It was joyous, to behold the effect these solemnities produced on the people. Many of our own countrymen, Englishmen established in Portugal, declared, that the scenes they witnessed on that day, would have done honour to freemen of any nation.

The Cortes determined, that the Executive Government should be conducted by a Regency of five persons, one of whom was to act as President, and all to be elected out of the Assembly. The Count de Sampayo, Frei Francisco de Saõ

Luis, Jose de Silva Carvalho, the Marquis de Castello Melhor, and Joaõ da Cunha Soto Maior, were chosen, to form the Regency, and the Marquis de Castello Melhor declared President. The following ministers were also named: For the Interior, Fernando Luiz de Souza Barradas; Finances, Francisco Duarte Coelho; War Department, Marshal Antonio Teixeira Rebello; Foreign Affairs, Anselmo Jose Braameamp; and for the Marine, Francisco Maximiliano de Sousa. The members of the Executive and ministers took their oaths, and commenced their functions.

The Cortes and Regency, in perfect concert, immediately commenced their labours, and by their liberal and judicious proceedings, soon acquired the confidence and esteem of their constituents. Their main object, as seen from their oath and declarations, was, to remove abuses, and give to their country a code of fixed and defined laws, in lieu of that monstrous system of misrule and arbitrary power, by which they had been governed for a long period of years; a system so corrupt and debased, that it had brought Portugal to the utmost verge of ruin, and plunged the people in a wide abyss of poverty and misery. After an interesting discussion on the Freedom of the Press, it was declared, that no previous censure should exist, even in matters relating to religion, by which means this invalua-

ble bulwark of civil liberty was there established on the same principles as in the freest nations, and thus the highest political benefit secured to the Portuguese.

The deliberations of the Cortes have hitherto proceeded with the utmost regularity, and, when every thing is duly considered, particularly the want of experience and the novelty of such an assembly as a National Congress in Portugal, the talent, judgment, and moderation therein displayed, are really astonishing. Many members would be ornaments to any deliberative or representative body in Europe; and as a testimony of that cordiality and unanimity of feeling and sentiment prevailing among them, the writer can state, as a fact, that often when a warm debate is ended, one in which great irritation had prevailed, on leaving the Hall, the members opposed to each other during the discussion, embrace, and exchange pledges of reciprocal regard.

The plan of submitting all important questions to the inquiries of a previous Committee was early adopted, and, by dint of application and constant attendance, several momentous debates were, in a short interval, carried through the House. A negative was given to the establishment of an Upper House, the *veto* of the King limited, and the question of British officers in the Portuguese service set at rest. Feudal rights



were also abolished, as well as the establishment of the Inquisition; which, though its power and influence had in great measure been neutralized since the time of the Marquis de Pombal, still existed. An important and liberal decree was also passed in favour of those persons who, through their political conduct and principles, up to the day of the installation of the Cortes, had been under arrest, or in their residence restricted to a particular place. Several other resolutions, for the improvement of both Church and State have been carried, proving, that the Cortes not only act with talent and liberality, but also have the interests of their country at heart; and are determined, fearlessly to pursue the course they had chalked out, and redeem the pledges they gave to the nation on the first day of their meeting.

The deliberations relating to the basis of the Constitution were also conducted with the greatest order and judgment, but, as this work is still incomplete, and the confined limits prescribed to himself by the writer, do not allow him room to enter into details on this subject, he will merely add, that, in the sitting of 15th March, "the General and Extraordinary Cortes of the Portuguese nation, before proceeding to form a political Constitution, recognised and decreed the following principles; as the basis of it, and as

being best adapted to secure the individual rights of the citizens, and to establish the organization and limits of the political powers of the State :” viz. That the free communication of each individual’s thoughts, is one of the most precious rights of man ; therefore, any citizen may express his opinion on every subject without depending on a previous censure, being responsible for the abuse of this liberty in cases which the law determines :—That the Constitution must clearly fix the division of the three powers, Legislative, Executive, and Judicial ; the legislative residing in the Cortes, but subject to the sanction of the King, who is never to have an absolute, but only a suspensive *veto*, according to the manner which the Constitution shall determine. The Executive power was declared to reside in the King and the Ministers acting under him, and the Judicial in the Judges :—That the direct initiative of the laws belongs to the Cortes :—That the Cortes are to name the Regency when it is necessary, and they alone can approve Treaties of Alliance, Subsidy, and Commerce ; allow or refuse the entrance of foreign troops ; and fix the value, standard, weight, and impression of coins :—That a permanent Junta of the Cortes shall reside at the Capital :—That the person of the King is inviolable, but the Ministers responsible :—That the Cortes shall fix the Civil List at the

beginning of every reign :—That there shall be a Council of State, composed of members proposed by the Cortes :—That the imposition of Taxes, and the manner of raising them, shall be fixed by the Cortes alone, &c.

On the 29th March the bases of the new Constitution were sworn to, and the ceremony performed with the greatest solemnity in the Church of St. Dominic. The concourse was immense, and discharges of artillery resounded from the forts and vessels of war. A new mass and other music was performed, composed for this occasion by the distinguished professor, Bomtempo, and in the evening the city was illuminated. A decree of general pardon was also issued, in the terms usual on such days of marked solemnity.

On the 1st January, 1821, a Revolution took place in Para, the northern extreme of the Brazils, and was effected without disorder or bloodshed. The inhabitants and troops united, and issued a proclamation, by which they declared, that they followed the example of their brethren in Portugal, and were resolved to adopt the same Constitutional form of Government. This news was received at Lisbon with great joy. At the commencement of March, a similar determination was manifested in the Island of St. Michael's, and the same had been previously done in Madeira. By the last accounts, these sections

of the Portuguese Monarchy were electing their Deputies to sit in the Cortes. On 10th Feb., the military and inhabitants of Bahia also met, and resolved to adhere to the Cortes of Portugal and the Constitution they might frame, when a local Government was formed, to administer the affairs of the province, instead of the Captain General, appointed by the King; and a few days afterwards, Pernambuco and Maranhão adhered to the same system.

The preceding narrative of events in Portugal, and some of her dependencies, and the circumstances and results by which they have been followed, will serve to show the nature and tendency of the Revolution, or rather change of system, that has taken place, of which the causes have been already explained. Fortunately, Portugal possessed men of enlightened minds and decided patriotism, though yet untried; and it was doubly fortunate, that the administration of public affairs fell into their hands. They had their country's welfare at heart, and this has been proved by the whole of their subsequent conduct. Aware of the difficulties which existed with regard to the King, and fearful also of the misrepresentations of those by whom he was surrounded, as early as Oct. 6th, they addressed a letter to him, giving him a complete detail of all that had happened, with the accompanying docu-

ments, and appealing to his heart as a benificent Sovereign, in the following words :

“ Such, Sire, is the short sketch of the principal events which commenced and ended in the short period of thirty-two days, without spilling a drop of blood—without a single disorder or misfortune;—events which do honour to the nation, and the history of your Majesty’s reign ; and have excited the admiration of the people of Europe, by plaecing the noble and generous character of the Portuguese in its proper point of view.

“ One thing alone remains, to crown the unanimous wishes of the Portuguese people, and bind them still more to your august House—one thing alone is wanting, to consolidate their regeneration and felicity, and put the seal of greatness to the grand work that has been begun, and this is, that your Majesty will deign to listen to the prayers of your people, and accept their wishes for your Majesty’s return and presence, or that of a member of your Royal Family, who, in your royal name, may govern us and approve the Constitution of the Cortes, for which the nation so ardently sigh.”

Such were the sincere sentiments of loyalty and attachment the new Government manifested to their absent Sovereigo, and such the anxious wishes expressed for his speedy return. This

testimony alone would acquit them of the charge of being actuated by Jacobinical and subversive views, with which their enemies have sought to asperse their proceedings.

Among the innumerable benefits the Portuguese have already experienced from their late change, the Liberty of the Press stands pre-eminent, and, from the commencement, has been working wonders. This privilege,—for even then it scarcely could be considered a right,—they had enjoyed during their late contest against the French, that is, when it was deemed necessary to rouse the people, call forth the resources of the country, and repel a foreign invasion. Then it was, they were allowed the Liberty of the Press; and, no doubt, it was used as a most successful engine; but, no sooner was the grand object achieved, than they were deprived of it, and again confined to the miserable *Gazeta do Governo*, the only one printed in the capital of Lisbon. The writers, whose labours, during a momentous struggle, had been so useful, were either compelled to leave their country, and seek an asylum in London and Paris, or return to their closets, and in privacy pursue their studies, amidst a thousand dangers.

As soon, however, as the press was declared free, numbers of literary men left their solitude, and resumed their labours. Several periodical

papers were started, as well as a variety of minor publications, and they have successfully continued to rouse, instruct, and unite the public mind. Among them, *O Portuguez Constitucional*, *O Patriota*, *O Liberal*, *O Mnemosine Constitucional*, *O Pregoeiro Luzitano*, *O Observador Constitucional*, printed in Lisbon, deserve particularly to be mentioned. In Oporto, and the other large cities, Journals, also, were seen vying with each other in talent, and in their efforts to promote national reform. Various works and pamphlets, of public interest and utility, have besides been printed; in short, no greater contrast could be exhibited than between the energy and bustle now reigning throughout Portugal, and the dreary silence that lately prevailed, when a little miserable Gazette of half a sheet, and besides filled only with promotions and the occurrences at Court, was the only vehicle of public information to a whole kingdom.

An Academy of Short-hand was also established, for the purpose of instructing persons in the art of taking down reports of public debates, and it is astonishing with what accuracy the proceedings of the Cortes are now printed. A *Gabinete Literario*, founded by a Society of Portuguese Patriots, was opened, for the receiving and reading of foreign Journals, and all kinds of useful works, and as a means of spreading information.

This establishment has met with great encouragement from the enlightened part of the Portuguese community ; and in many other respects, the Government has felt particularly anxious, to improve the minds of the people. The purpose of education most assuredly is, to fit us for the enjoyment of civil rights, by moulding us to the performance of civil duties. National education, therefore, can only be an object of jealousy and mistrust, when these rights are withheld ; nor can it be deemed useless or dangerous, except by those governments whose tenure is by the sword, or which, in the people, find no obligation but fear, no duty but obedience.

Under this impression, the new Government of Portugal have proved themselves resolved to do every thing in their power for the improvement of the people, and make up for the lamentable defects of the old Government in this respect. Particular care has also been taken, to publish monthly statements of the Treasury receipts and expenditure, by which means the people have been enabled to see the application of the monies collected for the service of the nation. This is a satisfaction they never enjoyed till now, though they had sufficient means of knowing that the public monies were often misapplied. In short, during the period of their service, there is not an object of public utility the Executive have neg-



lected; and the scope that was left for their labours, may be easily deduced from the subjoined Report, to which reference has already been made.

The work of regeneration and reform has hitherto proceeded in Portugal without any opposition, so great has been the enthusiasm of the people, and the general conviction, that a change was indispensably necessary. The Government, however, as well as those who have their country's welfare at heart, are not ignorant that the country contains many enemies to the new order of things, because those who enjoyed privileges, and had been the supporters of the old Government, could not fail to be affected by it. Still they have not dared to evince any positive hostility, or attempt cabals; but their secret views became more manifest after an important debate which took place in the Cortes on the 31st March, of which some notice must here be taken.

The project of a decree had been formed for appropriating certain portions of church property to the payment of the public debt, and more particularly some useless benefices, &c. of the patriarchate, one half of the revenue of which was deemed superfluous. In the course of the debate, it was argued, that this ecclesiastical establishment was unnecessary, being one never adopted by other Catholic countries, more

powerful and populous than Portugal. Its revenue at present was immense, and its object useless. These facts acquired a greater degree of weight from the circumstance of the patriarch himself having refused to accept the bases of the Constitution, by which a bad example was set to the disaffected. In consequence of this, the Cortes came to the following determination: "The General and Extraordinary Cortes of the Portuguese nation, considering, that he alone is a member of a society, who is disposed to submit to the fundamental law of that society, declares, that every Portuguese who refuses to take the oath, simply and without any reservation whatever, to the Constitution and to the bases of it, ceases to be a citizen, and is immediately to quit the Portuguese territory."

It may naturally be expected, that a Revolution so extensive as that which has occurred in the affairs of Portugal, must be viewed with dislike by some classes of men, whose relative situation in the state in which they live, is materially altered. The privileged orders, that is, the nobles and clergy, are now divested of certain distinctions, to which they have long been accustomed; but these are too empty in themselves to authorize them to plot against the general welfare, or oppose the public will. The Portuguese nobles and clergy are still left on a better

footing than those of other monarchies, with the exception of Russia, and the Aristocracy of Portugal, like those of England, must be now content to partake freely with the people in the blessings which flow from a well-understood liberty. The higher orders of the nobles and clergy, with some exceptions, cannot forget that they are not entitled to much consideration from their countrymen, owing to the part they took during the late invasion of the French. It is well known who were the most submissive agents of Junot, as well as his meanest flatterers. The deputation of nobles to Buonaparte, in April, 1808, his answer, as well as the compliments and professions made to his representative on the 17th of the following May, by the heads of the Portuguese church, are yet remembered. What, then, will the people say, if they now find, that the nobles and higher orders of the clergy are plotting against their newly-acquired liberties? In times like the present, and in a country constituted as Portugal is, decisive and energetic measures, followed up with determination, must be resorted to with those who thwart the Government. The resolution above alluded to, and of which complaints have been made, is similar to the one adopted by the King of Spain, in March, 1820, when it was enacted, "that every native of Spain who shall refuse to swear fealty

to the Political Constitution of the Monarchy; or who, in doing so, shall make any protests or reservations contrary to its spirit, is unworthy of the name of Spaniard, is deprived of all public honours and employments, and renders himself liable to be banished from the territory; and if he be an ecclesiastic, he shall forfeit his church revenue."—Notwithstanding, the Governments of Spain and Portugal, similarly situated in so many respects, may feel it proper and expedient to use temperate precautions against bodies either disaffected or exasperated, when those expedients are taken as fresh provocations, and used as handles for conspiracy and cabal, it is natural to expect that, armed with power as they are, they will act in their own defence, and when temperate and lenient measures fail, resort to stronger and more energetic ones.

A great deal of secret faction, no doubt, exists in Portugal; but the ardent and benevolent mind will hope, that the sacred cause of liberty may still continue there to achieve a spotless triumph, and leave to its enemies no subject of reproach. It is also to be hoped, that both the King and nobles, as well as the clergy, will know their real interests, and act on the principle, that these cannot be promoted by being opposed to the wishes of the mass of the nation. In all bonds of allegiance the Sovereign and subject stand

mutually committed ; and no one class of the community can prosper by the degradation of the other. The predicament in which the King is placed, is rendered infinitely more trying, owing to the disposition prevailing in the whole of the Brazils, as proved by recent events there ; and should he take a wrong step, the consequences will be of a most awful nature. He has it still in his power to reign over a happy regenerated and loyal people ; but should he, through the instigations of interested persons, or lending himself to a policy estranged to the country to which he belongs, prefer hostility, either in the shape of interior re-action, or the invited presence of a foreign force, who can answer for his crown, even in the Brazils? It is a truth, sanctioned by experience and the testimony of the wisest men who have lived, that " the highest felicity a people can ask, or God can give, is an equal and well-ordered system of Government." The real object of the late change in Portugal is manifested by the professions and conduct of those who have been called to the head of public affairs, and what they aim at, is not only sanctioned by the fundamental statutes and charters of the realm, but also demanded by imperious necessity. Supported, as it is, by the public voice, to oppose it or to plot against it is posi-

tive treason to the state, and legally punishable as such.

To the King of Portugal, as well as to his nobles and clergy, not only the affairs of their own country, but that of the whole Peninsula, nay, of the whole continent of Europe, present a most momentous lesson. On the one hand, we behold the people of almost every country determined on reform; and, on the other, we see a war waging against all governments originating with the people, or in which they seek to take part. Each party seems equally determined—the relative situation between governments and people, throughout Europe, is, consequently, of a nature that threatens a wide explosion, if the former continue blindly to persist. In all the great continental states, notwithstanding the restraints to which the Press is subject, much unavoidably transpires, to prove the real state of public feeling and opinion. The latent discontent that prevails cannot be concealed, and it is clear, that a hostile spirit is growing up against those governing establishments which are rotten and decayed, or have been outstripped by the acquirements of the age. To account for this fact, it is only necessary to advert to the irresistible progress of knowledge, which is every where rapidly undermining ancient prejudices, and to the re-

luctance of governments to adopt a policy more conformable to the increased illumination and liberality of the times. It is, therefore, reasonable to presume, that opportunity, only, is wanted, to combine the elements of opposition into one formidable mass, and to give to them a simultaneous impulse. Consequently, if this view of the connexion between governments and their subjects be at all correct, the former have indeed cause to tremble. Unfortunately, however, they mostly seem too ignorant, or too infatuated, to be sensible of their impending danger. Were they not blind and bigotted to the last degree, they would perceive, in the recent events in Spain, Portugal, and even Naples, notwithstanding, in the latter place, the results, for the moment, have been disastrous, enough to convince them of the necessity of conciliating, instead of coercing, and of bending before a power which they cannot control.

If the equilibrium of states continues thus to be destroyed; if governments and people are thus kept in a state of warfare against each other, and the former obstinately persist in trampling on the rights of the latter, the consequences must be fatal. Wherever we turn our eyes, we already witness sufficient to justify our anticipation, that in the natural course of things, a momentous change will, ere long, inevitably take

place in the political state of Europe. In many of even the Northern parts of the continent, deep-rooted dissatisfaction prevails, and the manifestation of this disposition in the most open and undisguised manner, is only prevented by standing armies, and the employment of an extensive police. In Spain and Portugal, however, the two countries in which despotism ruled with its heaviest and most degrading rod, where the forbearance of the people was, at length, exhausted, the expected re-action has taken place, and brighter days have followed. Hence have the other nations of Europe a double encouragement before their eyes, and it will be followed, if governments continue blind and unjust.

It is, therefore, sincerely to be hoped, that the King, nobles, and clergy of Portugal, will not add outrage to injustice, by fanning the embers of a civil war, or allow their country to be polluted by the presence of foreign troops, and those, besides, the degraded slaves of ambitious despots. Even the delay on the part of the King, to manifest his sentiments, and make known the policy he intends to pursue, is in opposition to his interests, as it implicates him with his subjects, who behold warlike preparations, and have heard the declarations from the crowned heads, affecting to legislate for other independent nations. The views and wishes of the Lisbon Government



cannot be mistaken; and if there is blood spilled, it will rest on the shoulders of the King and his advisers. The whole Peninsula affords a practical exemplification of the effects of tyranny and opposition to the general will. This example hitherto proves, and no doubt will continue to prove, that the people must eventually succeed when they are in the right, and persecution will always be obliged to crouch in abject submission to those it has injured, and, for a time, cast down. It is, therefore, to be hoped, that the great events by which that portion of the European continent has lately been distinguished, will have the desired effect in those quarters where it ought to operate most deeply. The demand of both Spaniards and Portuguese is neither wild nor visionary, but the sober, deliberate, and resolute act of a people fairly and firmly asserting their rights; and it must be the wish of every just and manly heart, that the blessing they have so nobly gained, they may be enabled to bequeath to their posterity.



*In the Sitzings of the Portuguese Cortes, held on 5th Feb. 1821, Senr. Fernandes Thomaz, Deputy for the Province of Beira, submitted to the House the following*

## REPORT

ON THE

## POLITICAL STATE OF PORTUGAL,

*Which was ordered to be printed.*

GENTLEMEN ;

THE first day of Oct. 1820, when we beheld the Provisional Governments of Oporto and Lisbon united into one, was, in Portugal, the memorable era of a new public administration, then entrusted to the Provisional Junta. As a partaker in their honourable labours, and as their organ in the arrangements of the interior government and department of Finance, it seems to be an obligation peculiarly incumbent on me, to explain to you the proceedings of the Junta, in the difficult task thus confided to their charge. For your information, I will, at the same time, take a rapid view of the state of the kingdom, as far as regards the two interesting departments already

named ; and I should be happy, if I were able to lay before you and the nation which you represent, this short, but candid Report, in a manner adequate to the importance of the subject, and to which I have now to claim your particular attention.

The causes which produced our happy revolution, fortunately, are not unknown to any one of our fellow-citizens, because each one, in the sphere in which he moved, felt himself oppressed by the enormous weight of misfortunes by which Portugal was afflicted ; and, at the present day, where shall we find a single individual who is not convinced, that the last period of the political existence of this wretched country had arrived, if the hand of the Omnipotent, by destroying the mad projects by which we were beset, had not snatched the sacred deposit of power from the brink of the precipice, in order to confide it to your care and vigilance ?

Evils, of every kind, were experienced in all the branches of national economy, because ignorance and immorality had contaminated and corrupted the whole. Being the errors of ages, and strengthened by the lapse of time and the empire of habit, they could not be suddenly removed. The corruption, spread, as it was, through the whole of the political body, could not be completely extracted, unless by slow and

general remedies, because the venom had, at the same time, infected the whole mass of the blood, and preyed on the vital system.

Thus the Government, merely provisional from the period of its creation, and besides weak, owing to the certainty of its short duration, was unable to act with that energy requisite for reforms, more particularly as at every step it found itself compelled to steer clear of the threatening waves of faction, the more impetuous in midst of the contending elements which mark the first stages of a revolution. The Government was therefore compelled to confine itself to little more than the correction of local or more glaring abuses; because measures of general influence over the welfare of the nation were beyond its reach. In this respect, therefore, Gentlemen, you will see, that more is left in charge to you, than at the time fell to the lot of the Government to perform.

Unprovided with a special report on each one of the administrative branches, yet, nevertheless, divested of the means to do this in so short a space of time, it was not safe, nor, indeed, advisable, to alter the form of one or the other department, because all, more or less, contained abuses, all required reform, and respecting all, complaints were made. The greatest part of these complaints, however, were levelled at the

conduct of some of the administrators, against whom the public opinion was decidedly pronounced, pointing them out as the cause of the evils experienced; and it became necessary to respect public opinion, because the evils really existed, and it was clear the laws were no longer observed.

Readily to find men of known character, and, at the same time, possessed of the requisite talents in order to take the places of those it was necessary to remove, did not in fact appear easy; but it was still less so, to find them versed and experienced in the affairs which were to be confided to their charge, because, under the old system of government, merit and distinguished acquirements were rather titles to persecution than claims to employment. In consequence of this, the men most worthy of serving their country, then lived in retirement and obscurity. To know them and justly appreciate their merits, time was requisite, yet the necessity of remedying abuses was so urgent, that it became expedient not to let the least favourable opportunity escape.

Such, Gentlemen, was the origin of the several Committees created for the various branches of public administration. This method, in fact, appeared the best, because it united double advantages. It distributed among many the cares and

fatigues, so superior to the strength of one individual, as the necessary labours must now increase, owing to its being necessary in the various departments to institute long and minute inquiries, with a view to lay correct reports before you. This plan at the same time gave to these labours all the publicity required, and thus excited in the public that confidence which is the surest support of governments, as the nation beheld the most conspicuous citizens, in their several classes, employed in these pursuits, and the men, most distinguished for their probity and love of country, watching over its political welfare.

#### AGRICULTURE.

The Committee of the *Terreiro Publico*, or Corn Market, was the first created with a view to inquire into this interesting branch; and a correct, and at the same time, carefully constructed Report, now published, and respecting which, due information will be communicated to you, points out the state of this department, which, if only well-regulated, may, one day or other, cause the Agriculture of our Southern Provinces to flourish, and enable them to supply the capital without injuring the commerce of our own peo-

ple, or driving away those foreigners who come to bring us articles of which we stand in need.

From the period of the establishment of the above Committee, the farmer began to breathe, because in the *Terreiro Publico* he found a ready sale for the fruits of his labour, receiving, till the same were disposed of, advances adequate to his most necessary expenses.

But, Gentlemen, it was not possible to adopt any general measures with regard to Agriculture. Till the period of our glorious conquests in Africa and the East, Agriculture firmly sustained the social edifice, because the Portuguese then considered this the permanent source of their riches and the basis of their solid grandeur. Those times, however, passed by, for at the present day little more is left us than the remembrance of what we once were.

The evils, therefore, noticed in this most important branch of public prosperity, although they belong to the general system, are to be attributed to a particular cause, of which it is necessary to take special notice, as it never can be deemed prudent to attack the effects and leave the causes subsisting. You know, Gentlemen, that the Portuguese Monarchy rose at a period when the grossest ignorance had spread, throughout Europe, the frenzies of superstition, as well



as the errors inseparable from it. Our first monarchs, anxious to extend their possessions, supposed they had performed every thing necessary, when scarcely had they done more than snatch from the power of the Moors the territory they occupied, persuaded that the nation necessarily must prosper, because the altar of the true God had been raised over the ruins of the Mahometan creed.

After doing prodigies of valour in the field of battle; after gaining these fertile lands inch by inch, and which once scattered abundance among inhabitants hitherto protected by the efforts of the Arabs, and retained by the mildness of their habits and intercourse, religion, joined with policy, unhappily inspired our kings with that fatal policy of endowments and distributions of lands which subsequently stripped the people of all, and impoverished the state.

In vain did some of our monarchs, actuated by more benign feelings towards their people, encourage and support Agriculture. In vain did the Portugueze soldier, after laying aside his lance and sheathing his sword, come to follow the toils of the plough, and with the sweat of his brow, moisten that same land which shortly before had been sprinkled with his blood and conquered through his bravery, because thereon he already found seated a barbarous lord, who im-

posed on him the most galling conditions, obliging him to pay a large proportion of the fruits he gathered, and, besides, subjecting him to exactions which clashed with reason, and even shocked humanity.

The ecclesiastical corporations, as well as many of the grandees of the kingdom, owe their immense riches to little else than the unbounded privileges they have enjoyed, and no doubt similar also was the origin of those odious *Foraes*, or laws and regulations by which the signoral and other dues on land are defined, which weigh so heavily on the unhappy agriculturist.

One of our monarchs did indeed devote his cares to the correction of these abuses; yet still the knowledge which prevailed during his reign was such as did not clash either with the admission of the Jesuits or the establishment of the Inquisition; and the reforms he instituted consequently could not fail to be affected by the nature of the times. In consequence of this, it was, that when more recent attempts were made to examine and revise privileges, fees, and tenures of land, deriving their right and nature from the primitive grants and contracts, so many absurdities in point of fact appeared. Nevertheless, still do we find existing in this shapeless and barbarous legislation, those positive robberies and real usurpations, legalized and upheld, which the

dexterity of court favourites, or the cunning ambition of the holders had enabled them to introduce. If, through unfortunate necessity, it was no longer possible to disregard the time of prescription and overturn those customs which the lapse of ages had constituted into law, certainly it ought to have been deemed expedient to conform the decisions as much as possible to the principles of morality and equity, which ought to be respected even in presence of authentic titles, because the object in view was, to remedy abuses.

It was then hoped that the relative situation of the wretched tiller of the ground would be forever settled, by his rights as well as his obligations being clearly designated; but, unhappily, this was not the case. The confusion which had arisen, partly out of the want of method, and partly out of that obscure system which the nature of the times made it necessary to follow, since the disputes between the lords of lands and the persons settled upon them had become interminable, left in the reform of the *Foraes*, or statutes relating to land-tenures, a new opportunity for fresh robberies and usurpations, and consequently sowed the seeds of fresh and eternal law-suits, which always have been, and still are, an actual scourge to humanity, and a constant source of injustice and iniquity, destructive to the happiness of large portions of the population.

Gentlemen, it is in your hands to deliver Portugal from so dreadful a calamity, commencing by this important branch, to lay the foundations of the happy regeneration of our country. The Agriculture, if not the only one, is, at least, the surest plank by which we can be saved from the tremendous shipwreck that was about to overwhelm our national existence. When you shall have judiciously determined the amount and number of the imposts, as well as the manner of collecting them in; when your economical and political views have been extended to internal as well as external trade, and, in short, when, in respect of the army, you shall have introduced those desirable reforms necessary under our present circumstances, then it is we may expect Agriculture to go on, progressively acquiring new strength, and advancing unshackled towards that state of perfection of which this branch is susceptible among us; and our agriculturists, like those of the other enlightened nations of Europe, divested of usages filled with abuses and errors which a defective education has hitherto induced them to venerate as eternal truths, will be taught to adopt those methods which experience, joined with science, has proved to be more easy and advantageous in the preparation and management of lands. The establishment of artificial meadows, and the consequent improvement of

our flocks, and breeds of horses, now in a state of total neglect, owing to our want of attention to the veterinary art, and our common pasture-grounds, will then also become the result of well-combined measures.

But, Gentlemen, it will not suffice to remove these indirect obstacles; it is necessary to strike at the root of the evil, and do not any of you be withheld by the consideration, that this object is to form part of the general reform of system; as, besides its being possible to commence by this particular part of our legislation, it has so small a connexion with the other, that it may be taken away, or left subsisting, without affecting the rest. On the other hand, the nation is already prepared for this great event, because, from the year 1810, the King himself conceived the glorious project of diminishing or suppressing the *Foraes*; and in 1812 those persons best versed in these matters were named to give in reports, and form the necessary plans, for the execution of this important measure. By availing yourselves of their labours, and even of their estimates, if it should be so deemed expedient, you may put the finishing hand to this truly grand and majestic work, which will render your names immortal, if, as it is to be hoped will be the case, this reform has policy and justice for its basis, and combines, as much as possible, the general interests

with those of individuals. The people of Portugal, Gentlemen, confide in your consummate prudence as well as your known wisdom; and their hopes will not be deluded.

I will not, however, close this subject without informing you, Gentlemen, of a particular circumstance with regard to the importance of our vineyards. Notwithstanding the want of care, and the little industry with which, almost in the whole of Portugal, the planting and cultivation of the vine is carried on, and the wine prepared; notwithstanding the fatal measures and unfortunate arrangements of commerce made by the Court of Rio Janeiro with other nations, the exportation of Portugal wines, from the year 1808, when the government was established there, till the end of 1819, has nevertheless been equal to 152 millions of cruzados (£.17,100,000), from which fact you can easily judge how important and advantageous it will be for the public, if you devote your attention to this object, by adopting judicious measures, in order to improve, as much as circumstances will allow, the only branch that can in any way turn to our favour the general balance of our trade with the Brazils, as well as with foreign markets.

It is painful, although incumbent on me, to tell you, Gentlemen, that notwithstanding in former times we had become such great agriculturists

that we actually exported grain, unless the accounts and memoirs transmitted down to us by our national writers are incorrect; nevertheless, the importation of this article alone into Portugal, from the above fatal period of 1808 to that already stated, has exceeded 192 millions of cruzados (£.21,600,000); an enormous sum, and one that must at all times astonish us, notwithstanding we make allowances for the Peninsular war having occurred in the above period; when, consequently, we were obliged to support allied armies which received the greatest part of their supplies through our ports.

#### COMMERCE.

The present state of Commerce, and the evils experienced by the nation in this particular branch, arise out of causes which it is not necessary to trace to remote times, although it must be acknowledged they are equally to be attributed to errors of no recent a date.

In the middle of the last century a great man, who, for the glory of the nation, filled the first place in the ministry, sought, in this most important branch, to adopt those reforms and improvements which the vastness of his elevated and well-combined projects had conceived.

His mind, truly creative, as it were, had al-

ready traced out the grand work now entrusted to you, Gentlemen, and for this reason no branch of the public administration escaped him; but, alas! in the backwardness of the times, the habits of the nation, and in the spirit and enmities of a corrupt court, he met with obstacles of every kind to the execution of the glorious enterprise, of which his wide and enlightened policy pointed out to him the necessity, and he boldly foresaw the possibility of its realization. In the mean time, if he did not perform all his great soul had undertaken, he, at least, prepared the materials for the raising of that edifice of which it falls to your lot now to lay the foundations, because he pointed out to us the road by which we are again to attain the rank of a nation.

The great progress we made in Commerce, during the preceding reign, nevertheless, may be considered as the result of his well-directed labours; because the Portuguese merchant, who, by means of a mercantile education and a system prepared through the medium of useful laws and regulations, had been converted into a dexterous and enterprising speculator, then knew how to avail himself of the circumstances of Europe, and rendered Portugal the emporium of the world.

But, scarcely, Gentlemen, did our political situation oblige us to enter into the great struggle which, in its progress, overturned the most se-



cure throes, when our misfortunes continued to increase with the same rapidity that distinguished the movements of so eventful a period, and the Commerce of Portugal, by a gradual decline, sunk back into that melancholy state which had marked its infancy, one, as you will have an opportunity of seeing, that could not be more ruinous and dejected.

Various are the causes to which the obstacles of internal Commerce may be attributed among us. The want of public roads, and the wretched state of those we have, possibly are among the chief causes; and each one of you is not ignorant that in this respect our want of attention had risen to such a point, that it would be incredible, if we did not see the sad effects everywhere before our own eyes; for, in great measure, we are allowing the only good, and formerly magnificent road we have between the capital and Coimbra, to go to ruin. You are not unaware, Gentlemen, that without roads the productions and articles of industry are almost lost in the general mass of our social interests, because the expenses of conveyance frequently exceed the value of the merchandise. To add to our misfortunes, we do not, as we might, possess canals and other means of inland communication, and these considerations acquire a new degree of weight, when we reflect on this alarming truth. Our rivers, Gentlemen,

during a good part of the year, remain without being navigable; and fatal experience shows, that, if our hydraulical laws are not altered, the ruin of our interior navigation will be infallible, as long as the same causes are suffered to exist.

The duties and imposts which the merchandise, and even the productions of our own country, often of a particular spot or district, have to pay, either on their entry into or their issue from the same, and frequently in both cases; the taxes and market regulations; the restrictions imposed by the municipal legislation of the *Camaras*, or Corporations; and, above all, this continual tendency of the wealth of the country to flow into the capital and the next largest city of the kingdom, must confine in few hands, if not paralyze the commerce of the provinces, which otherwise might become of great importance, even through the active and profitable intercourse Portugal keeps up, by means of her frontier towns, with the Spaniards, our neighbours and good allies.

Our foreign Commerce also had declined so sensibly, that it bordered on total ruin. The impossibility of preparing the returns for the last year, has, however, prevented me from being able to do more than lay before you the results of the two preceding ones. In 1818, the amount of merchandise we received from those nations with whom we carry on trade, exceeded

49,200,000 cruzados (£.5,535,000 sterling), leaving a balance against us of more than 6 millions of cruzados ; but, in the following one, this was still greater. In 1819 we did not receive more from foreign markets than 37,209,000 cruzados (£.4,186,012 10s. sterling), when the difference resulting against us was nearly equal to 8 millions of cruzados ; an alarming one, in fact, if we consider the nature of the imports on which the above sum was expended : nor is our astonishment lessened, when we consider, that the entries inwards, of merchant vessels in Lisbon and Oporto, from 1818 to 1819, decreased in the proportion of 416, and those outwards, as much as 238.

But it is time to call your attention to the kingdom of the Brazils and our other settlements, and this I will do, by entering into some minute details, in order that you may be able to comprehend the state of our existing relations with our ultramarine brethren, who certainly have an equal right with us to an amelioration of their lot, and the enjoyment of their liberty.

In 1818 Brazil commerce left a balance against Portugal of 4,265,000 cruzados (£.479,812 10s. sterling), the exports to that kingdom being 19,849,000 cruzados (£.2,233,012 10s. sterling), and the imports 24,115,000 cruzados (£.2,712,937 10s. sterling).

In 1819 our exports were 16,366,200 cruzados (£.1,841,175 sterling), and our imports 18,729,000 cruzados (£.2,107,012 10s. sterling), by which means, a balance of 2,425,000 cruzados resulted against Portugal; but it ought particularly to be noticed, that, in the export amounts, corresponding to these two years, considerable quantities of gold are included.

With Asia our commercial relations are still less advantageous, as far, at least, as regards the comparative nature and value of exports and imports; because a large proportion of the articles we receive from that quarter, are purchased with gold and silver coin: nevertheless, in 1818, the balance against Portugal was 263,000 cruzados (£.29,587 10s. sterling), but in 1819 it exceeded 1,644,000 cruzados.

From the settlements in Western Africa, however, we have always received less than we send there, so that in 1818 a balance resulted in our favour, equal to 620,000 cruzados (£.69,750 sterling).

Our Commerce also with the Madeira and Azores Islands, has been in our favour, and in 1818 left a balance equal to 478,000 cruzados (£.53,775 sterling), the exports amounting to rather more than 1,173,000 cruzados (£.131,962 10s. sterling), and the imports to 700,000 cruzados (£.78,750 sterling). In 1819 the exports, how-

ever, were 1,326,000 cruzados (£.149,175 sterling), and the imports 775,000 cruzados (£.87,187 10s. sterling), leaving a balance of 551,000 cruzados (£.61,987 10s. sterling).

Here you have, Gentlemen, the last statement of our Commerce with the kingdom of the Brazils and our other settlements, and it will not escape your sagacity, that, under the critical circumstances in which we are placed, it is necessary to pay particular attention to our establishments in Africa, and islands adjacent to Portugal. Who knows, some day or other, to what an amount our resources and means may be carried? Who can tell what will be the extent of our future dominion, and the future situation of our commercial relations with the Ports of Brazil and Asia? In politics, Gentlemen, an hour destroys the best combined plans, those which for years seemed to do honour to the human mind. The fate of nations very frequently depends on causes which do not seem to have merited the consideration of the statesman, and, in the mean time, experience teaches, that nothing ought to be disregarded or overlooked, when the object is, to promote the permanent felicity of nations.

In conformity to the result that has just been laid before you, it would appear, that, in the two years pointed out, viz. 1818 and 1819, the

general balance of the commerce of Portugal with foreign nations, the Brazils, and our other dominions, has been against us, nearly to the amount of  $21\frac{1}{2}$  millions of cruzados (£.2,418,750 sterling); and that, as the same effects may be expected from the same existing causes, our calculations would be lost in the abyss of doubt, if we were to attempt to form a conception of the wretched situation into which this kingdom must, unavoidably, be hereafter plunged, if we were to go on as before.

It is, however, a consoling circumstance, to know, that the failures and bankruptcies in our trading towns have, nevertheless, proportionably been less frequent than in those of foreign nations; and this standard evidently points out the superior advantages of climate and soil, and evinces the latitude left for such prudent and energetic measures as your wisdom may deem it advisable to enact, with a view to raise our commerce to that state of splendor of which it is susceptible, by removing those shackles imposed by the existing regulations, and without leaving the door open for the easy and ruinous introduction of contraband trade, which, to the eternal shame of those who governed, had reached a most scandalous height.

Neither will it escape your notice, that it is necessary to protect and encourage our naviga-

tion, which, you are aware, has experienced incalculable losses, through the ill-combined, and, possibly on this account, unfortunate enterprises of our ministers. It is of importance to reflect how much we have been humiliated in the eyes of Europe by the impotent state to which our navy has been reduced, which, at the present day, cannot cause that national flag to be respected, which once waved triumphantly in all those seas into which the Portuguese formerly carried the terror of their arms.

#### MANUFACTURES.

Our national Manufactures, as it was natural to expect, have shared in the general misfortunes; indeed they could not fail to be particularly affected by them, as the introduction of foreign articles necessarily must depreciate our own, even bring them into disrepute, and consequently take away their consumption. You are not unaware, Gentlemen, of the great progress and improvements in manufactures, made by those nations which happily have known how to apply the arts to their knowledge of physics and chemistry, by which means manufactures have been brought to that state, which it would almost seem impossible to exceed,—one in which they may be considered as having attained a point of perfec-

tion, both in the economy of time and expenses, so advantageous to those who devote themselves to this species of commerce.

Among us, however, our backwardness in this most important branch, is but too apparent, notwithstanding what is said by some of our own people on this subject, one on which we ought not to suffer ourselves to be deceived. Divested of means, protection, and unable to find consumption for the product of his labour, the Portuguese manufacturer in vain has sought to turn his industry to account, by displaying those talents he had received from the hand of Nature. Capable of the greatest things, even the smallest were not within his reach, to which he might apply himself; and hence the reason that has prevented him from competing with the foreigner in his own markets. The two largest Woollen Manufactures we had in Portalegre and Covilha being stopped, the enterprising artisans who therein began to make themselves deserving citizens of their country, now are seen begging alms, to the great regret of every mind actuated by sensibility.

The Government was informed of the complaints of the manufacturers, and the unfortunate state to which the two provinces of Beira and Alem-Tejo were fast verging, in consequence of the only channels being closed through which they gave vent to their woollens, and scattered



abundance through the neighbouring provinces; but the Government considered, that an affair of such great importance ought not to become the object of a temporary measure, and it was thought that an attempt to produce more lasting effects, might, perhaps, embarrass you, when you came to undertake those reforms necessary in this important branch, and which your prudence might deem it essential to enact.

The consultations and inquiries with regard to these manufactures, will be laid before you, as well as those relating to the manufactures of silk and others of the kingdom, in order that the Committee, to whom you may be pleased to entrust these labours, may proceed with a full knowledge of the subject.

Without statistical and other returns of all the materials constituting our social edifice, it is not possible to obtain the whole of the information necessary for the improvement of the manufactures of the kingdom. The state of our population was sensibly affected by the Peninsular war and its fatal results, and you, Gentlemen, are well aware, that it would not be prudent to take away that proportion of labourers we may require for our agriculture and commerce, as well as other purposes; because all are, at the same time, so many pillars to the state, and it would

be difficult to leave one subsisting, if the others were thrown down, or even shaken.

According to the principles of true economy, it might, perhaps, be easy to demonstrate, that the establishment of certain manufactures among us is rather an injury than a benefit, and much more so, as long as we do not possess the machinery which so greatly facilitates the advancement of labour; but this is an object deserving of your attention, and the nation hopes that the result will be productive of general advantage.

I shall conclude this topic by observing, that our laws and regulations, relating to manufactures, are another fresh proof of our errors, and a want of attention to our real interests. A confusion, that seems to have been studied, reigns throughout the whole of the system. At every step the enactments contradict each other. The execution of those same regulations which served as the basis of the plan adopted, in practice becomes difficult, or is attended with no advantages. In the Custom-House regulations, there is no uniformity or judgment in those exemptions which ought to operate as an encouragement in favour of certain manufactures; and in the tribunals this confusion is increased, because each wishes its own ideas to be adopted and its measures followed, when, at the same time, they

are, in fact, diametrically opposite to each other; because, among them there is no accordance on the subject of what constitutes the *materia prima* of manufactures. What will astonish you still more is, Gentlemen, that hitherto they do not among themselves agree as to what constitutes a manufacture. The consultations they have proposed to Government, and which will be laid before you, will convince you of this fact.

#### REVENUE.

A subject of great importance now calls for your attention, as it is time for me to speak of the national Revenue. It is unnecessary to inform you, that, at the expiration of the late Government, on the ever-glorious day of 15th Sept. ult., the balances in the coffers of the public treasury were such as not to exceed those a merchant of a small fortune might have in his own private affairs.

The Government, as it was natural to expect, early experienced considerable difficulties in meeting the expenses of the state, and they conceived, and even went so far as to propose to some of the most creditable merchants of the capital, a loan of 4 millions of cruzados, because the urgency to pay the arrears of the army, to whom more than 8 months pay were due, seemed

to justify such a measure, as being the only one that could relieve us from the pressure of the moment.

Days passed on, and that vivifying spirit with which the new order of things animated some of the public functionaries, gave the most flattering hopes to the Government, that, before your meeting, they would be in a situation to liquidate the most exigent demands; and more particularly, as the Treasury Committee, created in Oporto after the happy occurrences of 24th Aug. 1820, daily evinced proofs, that the talents and judicious measures of the honourable and meritorious citizens of whom it was composed, would be of the greatest service, as was the case from the commencement of their functions. You know, Gentlemen, that the army was paid, that the expenses were met, and that by this means the nation had an opportunity of seeing what its resources may become, when the advantageous situation in which we have been placed by Divine Providence, is properly improved.

*A Committee was then formed for the Liquidation of the Public Debt.* The Government adopted this measure, because their first care was, that the Treasury should acquire credit, and by this means secure the confidence of the nation. It is, in fact, necessary, that the nation should contribute towards the public wants; but these it

should previously know and appreciate, and more particularly, that it should, on the one hand, be convinced, that the payment of what is due to it is one of those same public wants, and; on the other, that the national burdens are fairly distributed and applied, according to their nature and original object.

To bring all these labours into one common centre, by giving to them a certain degree of indispensable regularity and uniformity, in order to secure and facilitate to the creditor the liquidation of his debt, without injury to the revenue, also entered into the motives which determined the Government; and a minute account, furnished by the above-mentioned Committee, and to which you can refer whenever it shall be so deemed expedient, manifests, by the advantages already gained, those which may still be expected.

It will therefore suffice to observe, Gentlemen, that as it is your obligation to make the necessary improvements on behalf of the nation, it will be impossible to proceed with security, without knowing what it owes, and what is owing to it.

By the same act, the *Junta of General Direction for Supplying Provisions to the Army*, was extinguished. This Junta had already been abolished in 1811, but it still continued to be en-

trusted with some items and payments, in which it distributed certain inconsiderable contracts received from the Treasury, and employed its agents in Lisbon and the provinces, in liquidating some few outstanding bonds. The Government considered this show and parade as useless, after the creation of the Committee, also entrusted with the liquidation of these accounts, and because they were fully convinced that very few of these bonds remained to be settled ; nor could their astonishment fail to be great, when, in a consultation held with the Committee, they were informed, that many thousands of these bonds had still to make their appearance. It therefore turned out, that the Junta had been liquidating these bonds for nearly 19 years, as that is the period of time this board has existed, on the footing on which it was found.

The *Accomptant's Office belonging to the Commissariat*, was also abolished. The regulations of this department are perhaps among those which we have instituted with most perfection and better system ; but it is adapted only to a state of war, and pre-supposes the existence of a Treasury, in which money is never wanting, and these two hypotheses now no longer exist.

By the regulations alluded to, there are, in the Commissariat, two kinds of accounts ; the one relating to transactions of the day, and the other

to details and balances already given in by the persons formerly employed. The former will continue in the same old routine, because the provincial administrations and chiefs of brigades have still their clerks, who draw them out regularly; the others, being deposited in the Accountant-General's Office, for the purpose of being adjusted and paid; the Government thought it proper they should remain there till you, Gentlemen, determine what measures are to be adopted in this respect.

It might possibly be easy to show, that no great loss would ensue if, at the present moment, we were to consider the accounts relating to the subaltern branches as passed and approved; but you, Gentlemen, will do what may appear to you most advisable in this particular, under the persuasion, that what has already been done in these accounts has cost many thousands of cruzados, and to do it over again will cost much more; and that, finally, in the few cases in which it may be expected that the balances will turn out in favour of the nation, we lose the expenses incurred by the revision, and even the balance which we may have had the curiosity to ascertain, because, during the time of war, to which periods these accounts refer, the persons employed in this department were almost all taken from the most indigent classes of society; and it is necessary to

admit, as certain, that very few of them at present, are in a state to make up any deficiency that might be adjudged against them.

It afterwards also became necessary to create the *Committee of the Public and National Treasury*.

The Government, Gentlemen, was anxious to prepare, by means of careful inquiries and a knowledge of facts, those reports which are necessary for you to succeed in your measures of improvement; it was desirous of causing the revenue to be collected in with more exactitude; it sought to put a stop to the abuses which might exist in the expenses and payments, and, finally, it wished that all the officers and persons employed in this department should fulfil their duties with that energy and activity that now breathes throughout the nation.

It is, indeed, true, that the Treasury, by the form of its creation, has an Administrator or President; but the Government was apprehensive that he would be unable to take charge of all these cares: To watch over so many and such different objects; to enter into an investigation of so many minute and particular concerns, with a view to draw up the statements and returns which were to be laid before you, appeared too much for one single person, because the machine is great, complicated, and besides deranged. It, therefore, judged, that, under the existing cri-



tical circumstances, it was much better, at the same time, not to lose sight of those regulations and measures which ought to be adopted, in order that no delay or omission might be experienced in the receipt of funds, and providing for the expenses of the nation.

The plan of creating a Committee, therefore, appeared the only alternative that could prudently be adopted.

In 1761 the fundamental laws were enacted for the Public Treasury, which was then substituted in lieu of the ancient exchequers of the kingdom. At that time those laws were most assuredly the best which could have been instituted, if the new system had only been regular and uniform. A new plan was, in fact, devised for the keeping of the accounts; many books were procured; and many officers employed; but the whole of this parade was scarcely attended with any other result, than enabling each one to be wanting to his duties with more method and less dread of punishment; for, by increasing the formalities and obstacles to the dispatch of business, and converting the legislation of this department into a kind of secret only known to those interested in it, their decisions acquired the force of oracles, and it was equally expensive to obtain them.

In order to form a correct judgment on this subject, it will suffice to observe, that often the

funds were appropriated to wrong uses, and speculation also became the order of the day, because every thing afforded the means of speculating.

The distribution of the taxes imposed was performed with the greatest irregularity and inequality, because the complicated methods for this purpose adopted, gave rise to doubts, and left room for abuses, the removal of which was always difficult and very expensive. These evils consequently arose out of the continued observance of the old regulations made for the purpose of determining the form of the distribution and collection of the direct and indirect taxes. Political economy, at the present day, Gentlemen, as you are fully sensible, converts useful knowledge into a regular system, and this is indispensable to the legislator, because it points out to him, with all possible evidence, in what the true and solid riches of a nation consist, and which are the most efficacious means by which they can be obtained and rendered permanent. In former ages, however, among us, political economy was little else than the observance of certain maxims, consecrated by inveterate habits, and this was called the science of statistics. True it is, that some of these maxims were the result of well-seasoned reflection and experience; but this was afterwards changed or degenerated, as soon as it came in contact with the false and deceitful ideas of a

passing and apparent felicity, because in practice it did not tend to promote the real interests of the people.

In this respect, Gentlemen, you consequently have much to reform, because much is wanting to simplify the system, by, at the same time, dividing the attributes of the magistrates and officers. The territorial judges, at present, are the distributors and exactors of the taxes: they administer civil and criminal justice, and they have, at the same time, in their charge, the police of their respective jurisdictions: it is therefore evident that great injuries must arise from the union of so many powers in one single person. It will suffice to read the powers and duties now confided to the care of the presiding magistrates, and particularly to the district ones, in order to be convinced, that it is impossible to find greater disorder, confusion, backwardness, and defects in the execution of the laws, and the statutes with which they ought to comply; indeed, nature has not given to any man sufficient capacity to perform so much.

The Customs, and offices for the collection of Taxes, require, Gentlemen, very peculiar measures; for there abuses, errors, and even crimes, seem to have taken up their special abode. The Government wished to have devised some reforms in this particular, but it found itself surrounded with

difficulties, from the moment it came to look into this branch, because it soon saw that it would never be able to remedy one evil, without opening the door to a hundred more. Hence may a correct idea be formed of the wretched footing on which those establishments now stand.

In the offices for the collection of taxes it is, that the duties on the fish taken in our seas and rivers are generally paid. Fisherman and beggar, for nearly half the year, are synonymous terms in almost the whole of Portugal. No nation might require salt fish from foreign markets less than us. Nature has made us rich, and our own defects of judgment alone have reduced us to poverty and misery. In want of nothing in order to be happy, we are compelled to purchase almost every thing, and still live in wretchedness.

Gentlemen, the Revenue requires the earliest and most active measures. The waste greatly exceeds any idea that can be formed of it, however exaggerated this may be. There is no department, indeed, in which material reforms must not be made. Little was received, but that little again fell into unclean and often unfaithful hands. The Treasury is now exhausted, and the necessity of incurring new and much greater expenses increasing with the new order of things, the means of meeting them have not hitherto increased.

The estimates for last January show, that a million and half of cruzados are requisite to pay off the arrears of the Army and Navy, and from thence you may presume how much we want in this month, and also in the course of the year. Great arrears are also due to the Civil Department. Deposits made in the Treasury, and of which use was afterwards made, have not been paid. The Charity Funds belong to this class of sacred debts, and which likewise have not been refunded. Thus many creditors have lost their patience, and with it the hopes of being paid.

In such an order, or rather disorder, of things, what must be the result? the want of credit, and consequently of every thing. The time in which the Government of Portugal relied on miracles is gone by, and our country, Gentlemen, has now only to trust to your wisdom.

Before I close this article, it is, however, necessary to inform you, that no vessel arrived from Rio de Janeiro, without bringing over some decree or order for levying new taxes, payment of money, pensions, or some other such favours. At the beginning the Government complied with every thing, and ordered all to be executed; but afterwards it relaxed, fully convinced, that it was not possible that the King could be duly acquainted with the truth, when such orders were issued, because he must have known full

well that the Treasury, even in more prosperous times, could not bear such burdens. The conduct of the Government, therefore, in this respect, was conformable to the laws of the kingdom, because the latter ordain, that the orders of the King are to be disobeyed, when they appear to have been obtained through a deviation from the truth.

#### GOVERNMENT.

The arrangements made in Alcobaca, on the 27th Sept. ult., gave to the Government that form under which it has since acted. The President withdrew, because the state of his health required rest. The person who succeeded him, for the same reason solicited his own removal, or at least a leave of absence, that might exempt him from serving till the meeting of the Cortes. All this was granted to him; but the day afterwards, he did not wish to accept of one thing or the other. No one in Portugal, at the present day, is ignorant of the fatal events which made known the cause and object of this inconstancy and change. The Government, secure in the path in which it had begun to tread, and fully sensible that the salvation of our country was the first law of the state, acted with that circumspection and firmness which appeared indis-

pensably necessary in such critical and delicate circumstances. It ordered the Vice-President to withdraw from the capital to his estate, because he could no longer fill the situation he had left, without overturning the Provisional Junta, which derived its legitimacy from the fundamental act of its creation; and three days before, the whole of Lisbon had evinced, in the most energetic and decisive manner, that they wished to have no other Junta. This was, in fact, at that period, the public right of the kingdom. To change it, or to oppose the will of a great capital, which, through the efforts of the most heroic patriotism, was contributing to the salvation of our country, would have been to expose it to a series of evils, of which no one could foresee the result or duration, since a civil war would have been infallible.

The notes and official documents collected together on this important circumstance, are retained in the secrecy of Government, as explanatory proofs, and by the competent department they will be presented to you, in order that you may, Gentlemen, when accurately informed of all that has happened, take such steps as shall appear most advisable.

Notwithstanding this unfortunate occurrence, the genius of evil, even on this occasion, was unable to mar those destinies to which we were

about to rise. The public peace was not disturbed, and on the following day scarcely was any thing said on the subject. Nevertheless, a few indiscreet men, such as in the first heat of a revolution usually allow their imaginations to be inflamed, sought to bring themselves into notice by writing and speaking in terms which could not fail to excite uneasiness, because they attacked the Government, and disputed its legitimacy, imputing to it excesses and abuses, which might have caused it to lose its consideration if they could have been substantiated. It then became necessary to separate these evil-minded persons from the company of the good; some had proceedings instituted against them, which will be laid before you, because it was impossible to adopt any other plan than that of keeping them in confinement, in order to prevent consequences which it would not be easy to remedy, if one day or other they should produce the effect intended; others, after due reports from the police had been obtained, were ordered to leave the capital for their own homes, whence they had come with pretexts which no longer existed.

Such, Gentlemen, were the measures taken by the Government with regard to the public tranquillity. That same God who watches over the welfare of Portugal, has now given to our regeneration a particular character; for factions



have not yet appeared, or, at least, sought an opportunity of showing themselves. On this subject, however, we must not deceive ourselves. Each one of you is aware, I am confident, that they secretly exist among us, and on this account we ought always to be on our guard. If, one day or other, they should break out, the force of their explosion will not fail to be in proportion to their previous compression.

But you are not ignorant, Gentlemen, that the means of preserving the people in peace is to administer justice with rectitude. The power of the law is the only one that can insure respect, because thence emanates the whole authority of the Government, as well as its strength and security.

In Portugal mere whim or self-interest too frequently dictated the sentence of the magistrate, because he was enabled to do this without any responsibility. In this department, the same as in the rest, great abuses exist, though none perhaps requires to be reformed with more promptitude and greater care. The existing scandal is general, consequently general also ought to be the satisfaction given, as well as the amelioration.

Reason and truth do, indeed, require that many men, illustrious for their knowledge as well as their virtues, should be considered worthy of

the situations they fill in this department, as their actions have entitled them to the veneration and respect of the nation. You, Gentlemen, ought to honour them, by continuing to employ them in their present situations, and to raise them to those they may afterwards deserve by their talents and virtues. It is, however, necessary to give a new form to the trials and judicial proceedings, and it is essential to facilitate and secure the ready administration of justice, by every possible means. If in the social system this is indispensably requisite, in order to constitute the happiness of the citizen, why is he to come to such a distance for the decision of his suit? Why shall not the weak be able to call in to his aid the authority of the law against the great and powerful, in that very same place in which the infraction occurred?

Gentlemen, the judicial and administrative laws, in a word, all, require the most circumspect and complete reform. They are now so numerous, that it is impossible to know them, or even to comprehend them, yet we are still ignorant of the most interesting of the social relations. For example, this is the case with regard to commerce.

It is, indeed, true that the rights of the most enlightened nations of Europe have, in this respect, become the subsidiary right of the kingdom; but who does not know that many abuses and

objections arise out of this method of judging the actions of the citizen? How can he know laws enacted in another country? Ignorant of them, and possibly unacquainted even with their existenee, with what justice can we impute to him his want of observance of them?

When, Gentlemen, a Government treats the interests of its people in the manner you have heard, and which, unhappily, is but too true, causing or affording an opportunity for such great evils to take place, no one can fail to confess, that it is a bad Government, and, in such a case, it would, indeed, be an astonishing thing, to see any one arrogant enough to dispute whether the nation possesses the right to choose or institute a better one.

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T. C. HANSARD, Printer,  
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