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A FEW WORDS

IN ANSWER TO

CERTAIN INDIVIDUALS

RESPECTING THE

PRESENT STATE OF PORTUGAL,

WITH

SOME OBSERVATIONS

CONCERNING THE

IMPOSITION PRACTISED UPON THE BRAZIL-
PORTUGUESE BONDHOLDERS.

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PREFATORY ADDRESS.

THE following lines were ready for the press, when the revolution broke out in Paris, in July last, and the person charged with the publication was compelled to leave that capital. Such is the cause of the delay.

The events which have since occurred in almost every part of Europe, and the continued indifference which is, nevertheless shown by the English towards the Portuguese Government, have induced the writer to pursue his original intention; and to present, in addition, a few remarks which will be found applicable to the present state of Europe.

THE HISTORY OF THE
CITY OF BOSTON

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FROM THE FIRST SETTLEMENT TO THE PRESENT TIME
BY JOHN H. COLEMAN

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&c. &c. &c.

I should only waste my time in arguing with a set of pretended liberals, who have nothing to lose, but every thing to gain, by revolutions; these brief remarks are intended for those ministers, whose first duty is to make themselves well acquainted with facts, which ought to be the guide of their conduct, for which they are to account to Parliament, and of which their diplomatic agents ought to have properly informed them.

What seems mostly to torment some persons, respecting the King of Portugal, is his having eluded the intrigues of the English government of 1827, for the ministers supposed that they had,

during his stay in London, acquired so complete an ascendancy over him, that, on his arrival in Portugal he would continue to act according to their wishes; this was far however from being the case; for he maintained the fundamental laws of his country, and realized the fondest hopes of the nation; this course which so much annoyed such ministers, as Mr. P**l and others, is what daily endears the Prince Don Miguel to the Portuguese nation.

By what right do they censure that conduct in a prince, which is approved and admired by the people over whom he reigns?

The want of reflexion of some English ministers, (who complain of the conduct held by the Prince Don Miguel, in not having fulfilled the promises which he made at Vienna, in the presence of the English Ambassador at that court,) is the more extraordinary, as those ministers who have read, or ought to have read, the correspondence between Prince de Metternich and Prince Esterhazy, dated Vienna, October 18, 1827, should have held a very different language; for the Prince de Metternich says in his letter, that the Prince Don Miguel, after being named Regent of Portugal, asked for his passports to go to Lisbon, and that they were refused to him, except upon condition of his going through France and England;

a clear proof of the state of constraint in which the prince was held at Vienna, watched, as he was, by Villa Real, who had been sent from London for the purpose of obliging him to come through England, and no less so by Villa Secca and others: the prince thus found himself at last under the painful necessity of acquiescing in all the conditions they were pleased to dictate. I must here state, to the credit of the Prince Don Miguel, that which is not mentioned in the Dispatch of the 18th October; I allude to the answer given by H. R. H., that he would not consent to go through France or England; to which Prince Metternich replied, "that in that case H. R. H. should not leave Vienna, and that notice should be given of this to the Emperor at Rio de Janeiro." His R. H. after remaining a whole week without seeing any one, determined at last to make the greatest sacrifice, that of his personal dignity, in consideration of the state to which the nation was reduced; and submitting to the wishes of his jailors, he consented to go to Portugal, by way of France and England. I now ask those, who are so loud in their declamations, whether a prince, who has been kept for three years in Vienna as a prisoner, and who, after being named Regent of Portugal, is nevertheless treated in so unbecoming a manner, I ask if a prince in such

a situation, may not subscribe to any conditions required of him, as a *sine qua non*, with a view of putting an end to his captivity and to free himself from his jailors; and whether that prince, when he is free from his oppressors, and fully master of his own conduct, can be bound by those promises which were obtained through violent means?

In the dispatches of Sir F. Lamb, the English Ambassador at Lisbon, in particular that of the 14th of March, 1828, he says: "His R. H. is incessantly assailed with addresses and deputations, urging him to declare himself King of Portugal; this will certainly depend upon himself, as the Chambers will offer him no resistance: on the contrary, the measure would be a most popular one." It is quite clear that the Portuguese nation earnestly pressed the Prince to declare himself King, and that he made a very unusual resistance to the proposal, and when he found it impossible to resist any longer, he had the delicacy to convoke the three Estates of the Kingdom to decide the question of his rights; and it is worthy of notice, that at the time of the convocation, there was not a single soldier in Lisbon! As to the right of convoking the Cortes, the Prince Don Miguel, as Regent of Portugal, possessed not only the right of dis-

solving the revolutionary Chambers, but of assembling the three Estates of the Kingdom, in strict conformity with the last wishes of the King, his father, as declared in his Carta de Ley of the 4th June, 1824.

An English minister, now out of office, in his answers to some of the most violent liberals, when he ought to have confined himself within the limits of truth, has very unguardedly advanced, that the Prince Don Miguel, after giving the strongest assurances to Austria, England, and Don Pedro, had violated those promises, and that it would be a mistake to suppose that he (Mr. P**l) had the least inclination to vindicate such conduct. To this I reply, that it was Mr. P**l's duty to defend the conduct of the Prince Don Miguel by relating the truth, instead of obscuring it, since it is easy to perceive, from the dispatches of the diplomatic agents of the English government, that violent means were resorted to for the purpose of extorting from the Prince those promises, which it was utterly out of his own power to fulfil. In the confused medley of arguments brought forward by that ex-minister he says, "the circumstances which caused the Prince Don Miguel to break his promises, may be compared to those under which Don Pedro acted towards his father Don Joao VI: Don Pedro

had most solemnly promised his father that he, as well as all the Portuguese in the Brazils, would suffer themselves to be cut to pieces, rather than consent to his being declared Emperor independent of his father and king, but unexpected circumstances occurred which left him no other alternative than that of declaring himself Emperor."

Mr. P**l continues his speech by quoting the dispatches of Sir F. Lamb, which clearly exhibit the spirit and temper of the Portuguese nation. In that of the 28th of March, 1828, he says, "The Prince Don Miguel is incessantly urged to declare himself *absolute* king." In another dated the 2nd of May, 1828, he says, "No one here is opposed to the measure." Mr. P**l added, that "he does not suppose the English Parliament desired a constitution to be forced upon the Portuguese contrary to the wishes and to the sentiments of the people, and that before undertaking a war, they ought to know who was to bear the expense, and whether a war ought to be undertaken at all, for the purpose of giving to a people a constitution directly opposed to their principles and prejudices. A considerable party had attempted to overthrow the present government and had actually landed at Porto, but, although it greatly outnumbered the party which defended it, the constitutionalists were entirely repulsed in their

attempt, owing to the adverse sentiments of the nation." If Mr. P**l considered these facts and the fundamental laws of Portugal, (of which he seems to be sadly ignorant) what could he expect the Prince to do? Was he to say to the Portuguese: "I can be of no use to you; I am much obliged to you; but choose another Sovereign; I renounce all my rights, for I have promised, Lord Dudley, Ward and Company, to govern in the name of Don Pedro?" (*Note 1.*)

With respect to the assertion that the Prince renewed in Lisbon those promises which he had made abroad, I reply, that what the Prince Don Miguel and the nation desired, was to see Portugal free from foreign troops; and in order to obtain that end, there was felt no difficulty in writing to the English government, and to the King of England himself, what was deemed most calculated to please them. If the Prince Don Miguel, in the full enjoyment of his liberty and no longer surrounded by foreign troops, had continued to write in the same manner, then indeed they might complain; not so, however, when a Prince is still a prisoner in his own dominions.

It is really astonishing how very strenuous ministers are now in exacting the fulfilment of promises forcibly obtained, and what is more

extraordinary, that this should be the feeling of ministers who belong to a party and to a system, which hesitated not to seize four Spanish galleons, before there had been any war with Spain, and which caused Copenhagen to be burnt, while the English were at peace with Denmark: this was called *a measure of precaution*; why then will they not allow the Prince Don Miguel to act with caution, in order to rid himself of his oppressors? Had it not been for Mr. P**l's *pseudo torysm* he would have replied with frankness to all the violent and ridiculous declamations of the liberals H****d, C****n, P****n and the rest; for instead of resorting to subterfuge he would have acknowledged that Mr. Canning had acted in contradiction to his language, and had continually interfered in the internal affairs of Portugal, had finally caused its separation from the Brazils, and promoted the constitutional charter, given to Portugal; services which were rewarded with two peerages.

Would it not be far more becoming of Mr. P**l to say that he could not answer for the errors of a past ministry, and to leave to Lady Canning the task of defending the blunders and faults of her late husband?

Can there indeed be any thing more perfectly ludicrous, than the sending ten thousand bayonets

to Lisbon, and an English Ambassador to the same place with a constitutional charter, from the Brazils, and to hear Mr. Canning repeating, that England did not in the least interfere with that constitution, and that the soldiers were not sent to Lisbon to take part in the affairs of Portugal, *risum teneatis amici?* The truth is, that it was during Sir C. Stuart's stay at Lisbon on his way to Rio de Janeiro, in 1825, that the famous constitutional charter was concocted, to serve the purpose of what the faction called, an indemnity for the separation of the Brazils and which they and the ministers who governed Don Joao VI, wished to obtain in order to free themselves, as they supposed, from the Prince who had already driven them from their revolutionary clubs, and to whom they knew the crown, sooner or later, would belong; by that means they also contented Don Pedro whose strongest ambition was to be acknowledged Emperor and independent, at any price; and dear enough it accordingly cost him. (*Note 2.*) The King was wholly ignorant of that intrigue, for Sir C. Stuart in negociating, as he did, (*Note 3.*) the separation of the Brazils from Portugal, abused the limited power which the King had conferred upon him, in order to effect a reconciliation between father and son; Don Joao

VI having even refused to ratify the treaty of independence, his sanction was at last extorted from him by the most violent threats; these added to his continual terrors and the fancied conspiracies attributed to his son, for whom the King could not conceal his natural predilection, in presence of his ministers, the greatest enemies of the Prince, had the effect of hurrying him to the grave. The King's death having occurred under such strange circumstances clearly showed what the faction had long before meditated, for shortly after they had exiled the Prince Don Miguel, the faction, in concert with Mr. Canning, had done all in their power to obtain from the King through the medium of Sir W. A'Court a constitution for Portugal; a constitution which they considered would be a safeguard for them, against the power of the Prince Don Miguel and a guarantee for the impunity of their intrigues. The King annoyed, at last, by Sir W. A'Court's importunities and anxious to put an end to them ordered his *Carta de Ley* to be published on the 4th of June 1824, in which he says, "I declare in full vigour the ancient constitution of the kingdom, acknowledging the necessity of convoking the three Estates of the kingdom."

It is worthy of notice that the King having, in

the same year named a special commission charged to prepare a project of a constitutional law, adapted to the form of the representative governments, Ex-Palmella alone, who was president of the commission, was the cause of the delay and of its failure altogether, as he strongly opposed its execution; a fact well known to the writer of this pamphlet, and he did so because he was then minister and in power; but eighteen months afterwards, when his power had vanished and his authority failed him, he suddenly became one of the first champions of liberalism and one of the first advocates of constitutions and liberty, he, who had been immured *for twelve months within a prison*, by order of the liberals of 1820! But thus it is with all those boasted liberals, when out of place, they are always like *the fox in the fable!* Such being the case, how can any one say that Mr. Canning was wholly unacquainted with that intrigue at the time of Sir C. Stuart's departure from London for the Brazils? We can *affirm* that the charter Sir C. Stuart brought from the Brazils was manufactured in Lisbon, between the Ex-Palmella, Barradas, Porto Santo and Sir C. Stuart, and that the latter carried it himself to the Brazils: this is the reason, why in the short space of three days after the news of the King's death had

been known at Rio de Janeiro, the famous constitutional charter, which had been carried to Rio, by Sir C. Stuart, was published in the Brazilian papers and which Sir Charles, as he would have us believe, very reluctantly brought back to Lisbon.

Whatever has been said by Mr. Canning, since that period, and repeated after him by other ministers, can only be considered as diplomatic manœuvring. The paramount object of Mr. Canning, an object to which all others were secondary, was to obtain the separation of the Brazils from Portugal, and to deprive the latter of that transatlantic possession; accordingly, whilst he affected displeasure at the conduct of the English ambassador; he showed the cloven foot, and even after his death the title of Lord was given to Sir C. Stuart and to Sir W. A'Court, in consequence of promises made to them during his administration. That Mr. Canning, therefore, did directly or indirectly protect the installation of the Brazilian Charter in Lisbon, can admit of no doubt; but this is no reason why another ministry should follow his example and that of Lord G****h, and protect a set of revolutionists, who care little for the Charter, for Don Pedro or his daughter; but whose sole desire is to shake off all allegiance to a sovereign, who knew them well, and who defeated their machinations.

I can only entertain a poor opinion of those *would be* liberals who imagine that the Portuguese rebels have been sacrificed to their principles and opinions. What principles are those of 600 soldiers who have followed the rebels, only because they were bought over with the money of which Portugal had been plundered?

All the arguments and sophistry of the opposition destroy themselves, when it is alleged that the revolutionary party in Lisbon, being countenanced by Sir C. Stuart, as well as by Mr. Canning's continued declamations in Parliament, ought to receive the support of Great Britain. I am almost certain that the present government will act otherwise, notwithstanding its language, when acting through a spirit of Parliamentary Opposition; that it will decline the responsibility of supporting Mr. Canning's errors, and discover that the honour of England does not consist in countenancing the faults and follies of a minister. Happy the ministers who are able to detect them and to adopt another line of conduct! It is a strange way of reasoning to call a minister or an ambassador England: is it because a minister has protected the revolutionary party in Portugal that England should approve of such conduct? I have already observed, that the first idea of a charter originated with the Portuguese revolutionists who wished to

obtain it in exchange for the separation of the Brazils, hoping by that means to escape the power of the Prince Don Miguel. Notwithstanding all this, and allowing that one minister or another, has protected the Portuguese rebels, can this circumstance put the English government under the necessity of protecting them for ever, and will English ministers be obliged to continue that protection whatever their opinions may be on the subject? If Mr. P**l, however, had spoken a more candid language, he would have acknowledged that since 1703 the English government has continually interfered in the internal affairs of Portugal, (*Note 4*) naming and deposing Portuguese ministers at its pleasure. Mr. Canning, who in 1826 had the boldness to declare in Parliament that England ought not and should not interfere in the internal affairs of Portugal, was the same person who in 1825, through the English ambassador, so strongly urged the King of Portugal Don Joao VI., to dismiss his prime minister, alleging, as a reason for such an extraordinary demand, that the Portuguese government, or rather the King, had sent some Portuguese agents to Rio de Janeiro, with letters to his son and subject Don Pedro: it being pretended that since the English government had the charge of settling the affairs of Brazils, it was incompetent for the King to communicate with his

son, or to send any agents to Rio de Janeiro; it was hoped by that means to keep the King and the Portuguese in chains; as if the King of Portugal, in consenting to the English intervention between him and his son, had ever consented to relinquish his royal prerogatives, and become a client of the English government, and as if he had not the right of communicating with his son, without the permission of England; however, it is the continual submission of the Portuguese government to the wishes and pretensions of that of England, which has warranted the latter in placing no bounds upon its demands. When Mr. Lamb encouraged the Portuguese to leave Portugal, he interfered in the internal affairs of Portugal! Mr. P**l himself, and his colleagues not long ago, pretended to wrench from the Portuguese government a promise of amnesty to the Portuguese rebels; by what name can this be qualified, except by that of direct interference?

I wish the English radicals of both Houses of Parliament would consider that the result of a war (*Note 5*); against Portugal would be attended with far greater difficulties than they imagine, especially when Spain and Portugal have no longer a paramount source of apprehension before them, the fear of losing their colonies; since the English have aided them to declare themselves

independent; and it should be borne in mind that no sooner did England effect the separation of the Brazils from Portugal, than she lost her greatest power and influence over the latter, and Portugal may now safely bid defiance to England, whose maritime power can no longer molest her. Let those gentlemen tell us at what period England had the power to subdue or even to enter Portugal, without the consent of the Portuguese, since Sir A. Wellesley could only land at Figueira in 1808, with the assistance of the Portuguese, although their not having stipulated any conditions, was the unfortunate cause of the infamous and disgraceful convention of Cintra.

To all boasting radicals, as well as to the *gin-shop* newspaper writers, (*Note 6*), who are so loud in their calls for *war, war, &c.*, who assert that with 5,000 English soldiers, Portugal would be restored to the *soi-disant* constitutionalists, I answer by requesting they will try the experiment, certain as I am of their finding a *warm* reception; for as many English soldiers as would have the audacity to land on the Portuguese shores, would be met by as many thousands of Spanish and Portuguese adversaries, and this would perhaps be the signal for the union of Spain and Portugal, which have been so long separated for the sole advantage of England.

Who knows what might befall the English in the Peninsula, were both nations thus to unite! What happened there to Buonaparte, though preceded by an army of 400,000 men? Was it not there that his downfall began, and England was saved from invasion? I am, however, fully persuaded that those who used in former times to say in Parliament, that England had no right to interfere in the internal concerns of another country, will be consistent with those principles, and that the Duke of Wellington, as better informed on the affairs and feelings of the Portuguese and Spanish nations, will tell them that, to the good will and numerous sacrifices of the Portuguese he is indebted for his fortune and renown, and Great Britain for her salvation, since it was in Portugal that he began his course of victories; the only crime of the Portuguese being that of rejecting an infant which a faction pretended to force on them as their Queen, and of elevating to the throne the Prince to whom it belonged, by the fundamental laws of the kingdom. The Duke of Wellington must remember that the majority of the faction (the same who forged a decree of regency in the name of a king already dead, and who offered to the Emperor of Brazil, a throne which could not in any way belong to him), are the same who fought

under the banners of Massena and of Soult, against the Anglo-Portuguese army.

As to the sympathy which Mr. P***l says he finds in England in favour of the little Princess of Gram Pará, it is a sympathy acquired by reading those papers which have been bought with the sums belonging to the Brazilo-Portuguese Bondholders. (*Note 7*). Is it not a great pity that she does not excite among the Portuguese any such sympathy?

My Lord H*****d will allow me to address a few remarks to him, on some expressions he has been pleased to make use of concerning Portugal and her King, and which, I must say, do not display much refinement of manners, or any proof of good breeding. First of all, I must assure his Lordship, that the Prince Don Miguel is and will remain King of Portugal, in spite of his non-approval or that of the company. Secondly, that the House of Hanover is now seated on the British throne, by what his Lordship calls an act of usurpation; that is to say, by the decision of the English Parliament; whereas, be it observed, the Portuguese called to the throne the Prince who had a claim to it as his birth-right, whilst the English Parliament, in depriving James the Second and his family of the throne, only yielded to a Whig conspiracy.

My Lord H*****d ought to be rather more consistent in the principles which he so often proclaimed in Parliament in 1803, "that to the people alone belonged the right of choosing their own sovereign." Why then will not his Lordship allow the Portuguese to choose their sovereign? Who are the best judges of the rights of the Prince Don Miguel? the Portuguese nation, or an assemblage of such men as Lords H*****d, C*****n, P*****n, Messrs. B*****t, O'C*****l, &c..? What comparison can there exist between the Prince Don Miguel and Buonaparte? The Prince Don Miguel has been called to the throne, by the laws of his country: Buonaparte, by the force of arms. The Prince Don Miguel is the descendant of a long and illustrious race of kings: Buonaparte was the son of a notary at Ajaccio. My Lord H*****d, however, according to his liberal principles, was extremely indignant at the English government not acknowledging his favourite Emperor. The Prince Don Miguel, according to my Lord H*****d, is an usurper, and Buonaparte was a legitimate sovereign. Such are the ideas of legitimacy of those gentlemen, self styled liberals. In short, my Lord H*****d, is one of those who, twenty years ago, shewed themselves the warm

friends of the then Prince of Wales, for no other motive than to induce that Prince to place himself at the head of the opposition, against the government of his royal father.

As to the list of the twenty-four individuals, which my Lord H*****d asserts to be in his possession, I advise him to keep it very carefully, for, by the three whom he has named, the remainder may be easily guessed at: the three I mean are the Ex-Palmella, Funchal, and Villa Real. Without adverting to the folly of calling the Ex-Palmella the *coadjutor* of Lord Wellington in bringing the war to a conclusion; *risum teneatis*; I shall confine myself to relating a fact which will clearly show the character of Lord H*****d's clients, which is that Ex-Palmella, when Ambassador in London, was in the habit of asking decorations and commanderships of the Prince Regent of Portugal, (afterwards Don Joao VI.), for English officers and others, *in the name of the Prince Regent of England*, to which the Prince Regent of Portugal always acceded, although he thought it was very extraordinary that His Royal Highness should make such requests, not having yet sent him the order of the *garter*, though the Prince Regent of Portugal had already sent him the three Portuguese orders. The writer

of this pamphlet can vouch for the truth of this fact, having heard it related by His Majesty Don Joao VI.

I sincerely regret, for many reasons, the untimely death of His Majesty George IV.; but, more particularly, because he would have been able to justly appreciate the honourable conduct of the Ex-Marquess of Palmella.

As to Funchal and Villa Real, I am fully convinced that Lord H*****d must be very ill informed, or very obstinate in the defence of such characters; the education and principles of the Souzas Coutinhos never were favourable to liberal institutions, their only wish was to see the first places of government occupied by members of their families, an object in which they succeeded until the death of Don Joao VI., owing entirely to their maxims of absolutism, and to their intrigues; and as a proof how remote they ever were from liberalism, they were each imprisoned or exiled during the constitutional government of 1820; now, however, as the Prince Don Miguel was not to be deceived by them, they have followed the example of the fox in the fable, and of my Lord H*****d, who is an old *Fox*. We must say, however, that we should scarcely have supposed, that one of the first champions of liberalism, would have praised three Portuguese

renégadoes, for their well known attachment to England. To my Lord of the *Comité Directeur* and others of the same stamp, I shall also observe that the Prince Don Miguel is, and will continue to be King of Portugal, without requiring in the least the approbation of the self-styled liberals of other countries; and that his recognition is an object of much more interest to Great Britain than to Portugal. If my Lord of the *Comité Directeur* and his colleagues do not understand this, let them turn over the pages of history, and inquire of the English who have long been established in Portugal, which has most benefited for the last century and a half, whether England or Portugal; and which is most likely to lose now by the present indifference shewn towards the Portuguese government.

I must now add a few words in answer to an apostate of royalism; but who has paid dearly for the confidence which he bestowed upon the French revolutionists, in the hope of revenging himself of M. de Villèle.

M. H***e de N*****e, not having sufficient courage to own his faults, ought at least to keep quiet and never to aspire to celebrity. M. de N*****e, suffered himself in Lisbon to be made an instrument of a revolutionary faction, when his first duty, as representative of the King of

France, was to do all in his power to annihilate that revolution, which once already had turned him out of France, and laid him under the painful necessity of gaining a livelihood in the United States, as a schoolmaster.

I always thought that Mr. de N*****e, had been deceived by intriguing rebels, but I am grieved to find myself mistaken, for he acknowledges in his famous speech in the Chamber of Deputies, that he advised Don Joao VI, to go on board of an English ship, the *Windsor-Castle*, and from thence to send for his son the Prince Don Miguel, when he put him under confinement, and sent him to Paris, accompanied by the French secretary of embassy, Mr. Gros; and what is still more revolting, this was the behaviour held towards a Prince who drove the revolution from Portugal, and paved the way for the Duke of Angoulême to Cadix; since, had it not been for the courage of the Prince Don Miguel, on the 25th May 1823, the Spanish Cortès would have sought a refuge at Lisbon, and Mr. de N*****e, would never have been sent as Ambâssador from the King of France. Mr. de N*****e himself acknowledges that he has had the unpardonable weakness of giving the ascendancy to England by making an English *man of war*, a prison for kings. It must be said however to the ho-

nour of the English government; that it caused Sir Edward Thornton to be recalled from his situation, and it is also true that the King of France had the dignity to order Mr. de N****e's name to be erased from the diplomatic list; although Mr. de N****e, thanks to the support of the liberal party, attained the rank of minister of marine; in which situation he plainly showed how deep a stake he had in royalist principles.

Let me now follow Mr. de N****e, in his famous speech, in the Chamber of Deputies.

“ Will they say, (the partisans of the usur-
 “ pation), will they dare to affirm that the Prince
 “ was not free at Vienna? I reply to such a gross
 “ insult offered to His Majesty the Emperor of Aus-
 “ tria, by men who have no respect for any thing,
 “ that it is sufficient to read the dispatch of Prince
 “ Metternich to Prince Esterhazy, dated 18th
 “ October 1827, to be convinced of the fallacy
 “ and of the absurdity of such an accusation.”

There are arguments *contraproducentes*. It is really pitiful to quote as a defence those dispatches which prove the contrary: I mean, that the Prince Don Miguel was not free in Vienna.

“ All the Portuguese nation proclaimed Don
 “ Pedro absent from the kingdom; and it was only
 “ after having entered it by deceitful means, that
 “ Don Miguel, armed with terror, could make him-

“ self proclaimed King, by means of a faction. I
 “ shall ask those distributors of crowns what voice
 “ has been heard in favour of the Prince Don Mi-
 “ guel at the death of Don Joao VI? Nevertheless
 “ since his usurpation, how many hearts beat in
 “ Portugal, in the Brazils and at Terceira, where
 “ the Portuguese honour has sought a refuge; for
 “ that young Princess &c. &c.”

It is the *maximum* of boldness and impudence to give the name of nation to a faction and *vice versa*. How could a voice be heard at the death, or rather at the murder of the King Don Joao VI, in favour of the Prince Don Miguel, when the same who kept the death of the king as a secret, from the 6th to the 10th of March, were the greatest enemies of his son, those who forged a decree of regency to exclude the Queen, to whom they knew it belonged until her son's arrival at Lisbon, and who had taken the most violent measures to prevent the nation from declaring herself in favour of the Prince Don Miguel. (If not, let Mr. de N*****e tell me what he calls the imprisonment of an honorable Portuguese, who said that the King had not signed the decree of regency, as he was already dead; and that also, of another, who publicly declared that it was to the Prince Don Miguel the throne and the kingdom belonged.) They are the same men who

sent a deputation to the Brazils, to offer to the Emperor what did not belong to him, by the fundamental laws, and what he had even abdicated. Independent of that, what does Mr. de N****e call the thousands of Portuguese who, wishing to avoid a civil war and shedding the blood of their countrymen, sought a refuge in Spain, where they proclaimed in every place the Prince Don Miguel King of Portugal?

What boldness to prostitute the sacred name of Portuguese honour by giving it to a set of wicked and insolent demagogues at Terceira!!!

Mr. de N****e's speech is but a compound of pedantic sophistry, ending in quotations from the ancient laws of Lamego, which Mr. de N****e has not read or does not understand; for, if he did, he would not be so forward in stating that the Cortès of 1828 had changed the order of succession to the throne of Portugal. The order of succession, according to the fundamental law, is that when a Prince goes to reign in a foreign country, he loses all right, as well as his successors, to the crown of Portugal, the right falling to his brother or sister. The laws of Lamego say by the mouth of King Alphonse Ist, that "a stranger shall never be King of Portugal, "since it was our subjects, and fellow-countrymen who, by their own strength, without

“foreign assistance and at the risk of their lives,
 “made us king. And in case the king has no male
 “heir, but has a daughter she shall be queen after
 “her father’s death, on condition that she will
 “marry a Portuguese, to avoid the possibility of
 “strangers ever becoming sovereigns of Portugal.”

And in the Cortès held at Lisbon in 1641 (restoration of Portugal), it is declared art. 1st:
 “that the succession shall never belong to a
 foreign prince, even if he were the nearest relation
 to the king who last held the throne, and that in
 case the king should be called to the possession
 of another kingdom and of another crown, he will
 be obliged to reside in Portugal; and if he has
 two or more sons, the eldest will go to reign in
 a foreign country and the second be King of
 Portugal and will alone be acknowledged king.”
 It is further declared in the Cortès of Coïmbra,
 1385, “that the pretender to the crown, in order
 that he may merit that honour, must be valiant,
 illustrious, excellent in himself and of good
 morals, that he must be agreeable to the people,
 and above all he must watch over the defense and
 preservation of the kingdom.” (*Note 8.*) Now
 after all this, and after the treaty of independence
 of the Brazils of 1825, can Mr. de N****e deny
 that Don Pedro is in all respects an alien to
 Portugal, independently of his being detested in

Portugal, as the man who, by an unlimited ambition, weakened Portugal and deprived it of its finest possession, and that the conditions of the law of Lamégo, of 1143, and of the Estates of Lisbon in 1641 are, every way, applicable to the Emperor of the Brazils. Mr. de N*****e has taken up the position of the Portuguese rebels, for they offered the throne to Don Pedro, and would even offer it to the vilest slave, to prevent the Prince Don Miguel becoming King. Mr. de N*****e, through a party spirit has forsaken his royalist principles; and perhaps he may have contributed his share to the expulsion of the rightful Sovereigns of France, of which we firmly believe he must long since have repented. Those Portuguese rebels are the same who, in 1822, offered the grossest insults to Don Pedro: in 1825, however, when he usurped the Brazils from his father and from the Portuguese nation, defrauding them of their rights, and reducing the Portuguese monarchy to a third of its former extent, those same rebels, whom Mr. de N*****e has the impudence to call the *Portuguese honor that has fled to Terceira*, applauded that patriotic work. Mr. de N*****e, knows full well the reason of such inconsistencies, for he has followed in the same path.

POST SCRIPTUM.

Will not those who have so inconsiderately spoken against the usurpation of the Portuguese throne, convince themselves that the Portuguese will not have any other sovereign than the Prince Don Miguel? If those persons do not know the fundamental laws of Portugal, by which the Prince Don Miguel has been called to the Portuguese throne, they ought at least to consider that nearly three years have elapsed since the king first ascended the throne, by the unanimous consent of the three Estates of the kingdom, and that he maintains himself upon it with no other support than that of the nation; consequently it is full time that England, considering her own interests, should renew her relations with Portugal, relations which are of much greater interest to the former than to the latter kingdom. Can the English government answer for the consequences of the delay in acknowledging the Portuguese government? Can the Duke of Orleans have more right to be recognised King of France, than the Prince Don Miguel has to be recognised King of Portugal? The first was proclaimed by a *fraction*, or *faction* of the chambers of Peers and deputies who had not even a right to proclaim

him. Buonaparte, usurper as he was, did not consider the senate as having the power to declare him Emperor; but was obliged to have recourse to the votes of the people; votes however, which he obtained, by main force. The Prince Don Miguel convoked the three Estates of the kingdom, for the express purpose of deciding who should be King of Portugal: and it is worthy of notice, that at the time of the convocation there was not a single soldier in Lisbon. Shortly afterwards Portugal was assailed by a band of revolutionists, who were driven away by the people and compelled to re-embark for England, without ever having since ventured upon another attempt, which would have proved equally fatal to them.

Some persons will perhaps say that the English government had already acknowledged as sovereign of Portugal, a child who served as a tool to the revolutionists; to this I reply: first, that such acknowledgment has been made without reflection and without a true knowledge of facts; secondly, that Charles X had equally been acknowledged King of France, and not only acknowledged, but England expended hundreds of millions, and sacrificed thousands of English to destroy the dynasty of Buonaparte, and re-establish that of the Bourbons. All this, however, has been forgotten and all sacrificed to an

ephemeral peace and to the provisional interests of England. If Portugal, however, cannot intimidate England by a war, it can certainly do much injury to her interests. First, in uniting itself to Spain; secondly, in dispensing with British manufactures and providing itself in Germany, or even in France or in the United States; as Spain does.

As to the question of acknowledging the Portuguese government, under condition of an amnesty, it is ridiculous and inconsistent, after the declarations of non-intervention. When a government acknowledges the rights of another, it belongs to the latter to act as it thinks proper; but it must never submit to its own degradation. It is for the interest of the King of Portugal, that he should pardon those unfortunate creatures who have been misled by designing men; but it is not in his power to forgive the leaders, who have brought upon themselves the execration of the Portuguese nation, and who have been the cause of the ruin of Portugal; since if the King wished to pardon them, the people would sacrifice them to their revenge; and I am fully convinced that those leaders will never venture to present themselves before the Portuguese nation.

It is much to be desired that the English government, who ought unquestionably to watch over the interests of Great Britain,

would reflect upon the results of its eagerness to acknowledge in twenty-four hours the revolutionary government of France, and of its delay in acknowledging the lawful government of Portugal. Is it not fair to suppose that by the first step, the incendiaries of Normandy have found imitators in England; discontent has spread rapidly; the public mind has been excited to revolt, and even the emblem of anarchy and blood has been for the first time displayed in England, I mean the tri-coloured flag; the hope of the Irish revolutionists has been fostered, and who knows where it will end? By the delay in acknowledging the King of Portugal, the English government exposes itself to the loss of the moral power and ascendancy it has possessed for the last century and a half in Portugal, having even, by such conduct encouraged the commerce of France and Germany with Portugal, which would not have happened if England had acknowledged the Portuguese government.

Moreover the treaty of 1810, (so ruinous for Portugal), in which the duty on English goods was reduced from 30 to 15 *per cent.*, actually expired in 1825; this is enough to show that for the last five years Portugal, contrary to the interests of the nation, has consented to the continuation of that treaty, without the English

government deigning to consider that if a truly constitutional government ever existed in Portugal, the treaty of 1810 would instantly be annulled. Let the English government remember the resolution taken by the Portuguese Cortès of 1822, of communicating to the English government, that not only the treaty of 1810 should terminate in 1825, but that even until then English cloths should pay 30 *per cent.* duty as before the treaty of 1810. Let the English government remember also, that it was owing to the determination of the French government of sending troops to Spain, to join the Spanish royalists, for the purpose of overthrowing the constitutional faction, that the Cortès of Lisbon proposed to the English government to leave in *statu quo* the treaty of 1810, on condition that the English government would oppose the invasion of Portugal, by the French troops, for the purpose of destroying the constitutional government; a proposal to which the English government willingly acceded. But, notwithstanding the English protection, the Cortès were overthrown by the Prince and by the nation, without foreign assistance, and had it not been for the death of King Joao VI., that treaty would have ceased, the whole nation having declared itself against its continuance, and the reason of its having still continued, during the

forged regency, was the protection which the faction and the Regent wished to obtain from England, although at the expense of the interests of the nation.

The Prince Don Miguel on ascending the Portuguese throne, has given the most signal proof of his consideration for England, by permitting the continuance of the treaty of 1810, contrary to the interests of the nation, who had openly declared against an act which was ruinous to Portuguese industry.

The treaty of 1703, or of Methuen, was a fatal blow to Portugal, as may be seen by the two articles it contains :

First Article—His Majesty the King of Portugal promises for himself and his successors, to admit in Portugal, as in other countries depending on Portugal, the manufactured cloths of Great Britain, prohibited till the present moment by the laws of the kingdom, under the following condition :

Second Article—His Majesty the King of Great Britain promises for himself and his successors, to admit into the states of Great Britain the wines of Portugal, without ever requiring at any future time, whether England be at peace or at war with France, either as duty money, or otherwise, directly or indirectly, whether the

importation be made in pipes, hogsheads, or barrels, any more than will be demanded for the same quantity of French wine, paying one third less duty than other foreign wines.

One clearly sees from the above that in the happier days of Portugal the introduction of foreign cloths was prohibited. The condition of taking Portuguese wine together with its accompanying clause is illusory; for not only, by the introduction of foreign cloths, the Portuguese industry was ruined, and with industry the first source of national riches, but agriculture essentially suffered; for all the landholders preferred turning their attention to the vineyards, and abandoned the cultivation of corn fields, so much so that King Don Joseph ordered the vines to be torn up from thousands of acres of land, suited to the growth of corn. That misfortune was at least somewhat counterbalanced on account of the duties on the English cloths being 30 *per cent.*, which still left some chance to the Portuguese manufacturers; but, by the treaty of 1810, the last blow was struck at Portuguese industry, that treaty by which the *good and patriotic Funchal* reduced the duties from 30 to 15 *per cent.* True, however, it was therein agreed that the treaty should cease at the end of fifteen years or else continue, at the option of the contracting

parties ; but it is equally true, that, notwithstanding the total ruin which it has entailed upon Portugal, it still continues in force ; that is to say, Portugal continues to suffer the yoke of a government which, besides impoverishing it, is incessantly heaping insults upon the Portuguese nation and her sovereign, without even condescending to acknowledge a government, whose greatest fault is its too great consideration for England ; whose ministers ought to bear in mind that times are no longer the same, and that the Brazils having been separated from Portugal through the intervention of the English government, the Portuguese government is not bound to suffer insults, now that not having to fear the loss of her colonies she must look to her safety and protection, and no longer suffer an ascendancy which impoverishes and degrades her.

I will now ask the English government, how would they have acted, if the Prince Don Miguel, adhering to the expressions in the treaty had not allowed it to continue, but had proposed a return to the former one or the entering upon a fresh treaty ? Could they have acted worse than they did ? Impossible ! A contrary behaviour on the Prince's part would have obtained him more consideration : for it is a well known rule, that too much concession is only an encouragement to

fresh exactions: a proof of this is to be found in the manly conduct of the late Marquess of Pom- bal, towards England, and yet that minister is the only Portuguese of whom the English speak in terms of respect. The weakened state of Portugal is the result of the blind consideration which the Portuguese government has shown for England during the last century and a half; this was followed not only by the total ruin of national industry, but, by what is still worse, the national degradation, by insults continually directed against Portugal, by men who are called to direct the councils of Great Britain! Perhaps the nation will yet awake from its apathy, and show what she is still capable of doing to regain the rank she used to hold, and ought still to occupy among the nations of Europe.

Let the King of Portugal take advantage of the natural resources of the country; let him follow the example of his great grandfather, King Don Joseph, encourage agriculture and commerce, so as to be able to dispense with the manufactures of Great Britain, then perhaps will the Portuguese offer their sincere thanks to those ministers, who by such delay in acknowledging their government, have awakened them from their lethargy.

Portugal, during these last three years, has

shown to Europe how she can maintain herself without English loans, that is to say, when there is economy, and when there are not in Lisbon rogues *à la Palmella*. The English government ought to reflect, that Portugal is perhaps the only country in Europe, which maintains itself without foreign loans, and simply by its own resources; a circumstance of itself sufficient to prove to the English government, how erroneously informed it is with regard to the affairs of Portugal, and that the English government's indifference towards Portugal, has been the cause of the Portuguese exerting themselves to take advantage of their own resources.

Those persons, *self-styled* liberals, are ever ready to rejoice at disorders and revolutions, indifferent to the vital interests of their country or the principles of order and legitimacy; these last are the two points which are most strenuously contested in their clubs, accordingly there was shown the utmost readiness in acknowledging the revolutions of Paris, of Brussels and Warsaw; I hope they will be consistent, and will allow the Irish to have an O'Connell, the Belgians one of Buona-parte's family, since they allowed the Swedes to have a Bernardotte, and the French an Orleans; and as it is the fashion to have kings of the manu-

facture of the clubs. The whigs have always shown a great predilection for this course, ever since the expulsion of the Stuarts.

I must repeat that the little Princess of Gram Pará is a mere tool, used by the revolutionists; fortunately however, although revolution is the order of the day in those countries where there are many demagogues, if the Portuguese evinced any marked inclination to any thing, it is rather to free themselves from foreign yoke, than to receive Constitutional charters from their revolted colonies.

In every part of the world the liberals have always been the bitter enemies of England and of her institutions; and the reason is obvious, for, as the proverb says, two of a trade cannot agree; a slave not knowing his rights or his natural power is never jealous of his master; but as soon as he is free he becomes the greatest enemy of his late master, because he is continually dreaming of the past, and fears its return. The same thing happens with regard to nations. The Portuguese liberals notwithstanding their mock liberalism, have clearly proved it in 1822 with regard to England. The first step of the Constitutional government was to dismiss from its service all the English officers; the English residing in Portugal were insulted, and treated in the most unfeeling

manner. The consumption of English goods was, if not prohibited, at least rendered null by the encouragement of a national manufactured stuff, called Saragossa, it not being safe for a Portuguese to be seen wearing a coat of British cloth; and not long before the downfall of the constitutional party, threats (as I have mentioned before) had been held out to the English government that, according to the old treaty, the duties would be doubled. Such are the men who, when expelled from their country, appeal to the English sympathy, not only for pecuniary support, but for assistance to enable them once more to assume a power, which they would only wield for the misfortune of their own country and to the injury of England. Such are the men countenanced by the English government, whose duty is to protect, by every means in its power, the interest of Great Britain; and such are the men towards whom so much sympathy is shown by the *gin shop writers*. Finally, such is the party of miscreants called Constitutionalists who neither could agree about their privileges, nor defend their supposed rights; when both were assailed by a handful of loyalists, they fled from their guns and their ships, and abandoned their strongholds and their arms, at the first news of the Prince Don Miguel's battalions, drawn up in order of battle. A leaky

steam-boat carried their chiefs to England; while their followers made their escape in smuggling luggers and fishing smacks, preferring to be beggars in England, rather than soldiers or patriots at home.

The arguments brought forth by the agents of the mock regency of Terceira, in the hope of finding another opportunity of picking John Bull's pockets, may be termed *a new way of paying old debts*, when they say that the Portuguese bondholders have no chance but with Portugal. It must be understood, by the agents of the mock regency, as well as by the credulous Mr. Maberley, that Portugal religiously fulfilled its engagements, respecting the loan till 1825, when by the treaty *nominally* between Portugal and the Brazils, but in *reality* between England and the Brazils, the whole of that loan was taken by the Brazils, conformably to the second article of the convention, which runs as follows: "The loan contracted by Portugal in London in the month of October, 1823, shall be transferred to the treasury of the Brazils, and the remainder (that is to say, the balance to complete two millions, the sum agreed to be due to Portugal by the Brazils, as one of the conditions on which the acknowledgment of her independence rested) shall be paid within one year from the ratification."

Nay the want of fulfilment of this condition has been a robbery, and more than robbery if made not only by ex-Palmella, but authorized by Don Pedro, who is indebted to that condition for his independence and title; condition, which if not fulfilled, makes him lose his rights; and therefore the Portuguese nation, and the King Don Miguel, are justly entitled to claim the recovery of Brazils; for if one article of the treaty is not fulfilled, it is no longer valid, and therefore Don Pedro's rights and independence no longer remain.

In the same degree as the Emperor of Brazils has already been disappointed in his attempt to force upon the Royal Exchange a loan for the mock regency, so will also be the constitutional faction, should it again renew the mad attempt to invade Portugal.

Statesmen are now sufficiently convinced that the example of Paris, of the sovereignty of the people, or rather of the mob, who opposed itself by violent means to the ordinances of the established government, has communicated itself to almost all the nations of Europe, and particularly to those governments where there was less reason to complain, and even to the constitutional countries, to Hamburg for instance, which is a real republic and where the people having no reason to revolt, wished however to follow the example of Paris,

but where, fortunately the disorders ceased, thanks to the energy of the government and to the efforts of the militia, who were obliged to sacrifice nineteen of the factious to public tranquillity; to Belgium, where there was no reason of complaint, the King of the Netherlands must now on the contrary, repent the concessions he had made to Brussels, when he allowed that town to become the focus of the licentiousness of the press, and the refuge of all those wretches who were expelled from other countries, such as the murderers of Louis XVI and others; the results are manifest to all: the same has happened in Switzerland, in Hanover, and in other countries; which are now a prey to a revolutionary fury.

Statesmen are equally convinced that the revolutions in the different countries of Europe, have been fostered and encouraged by French emissaries, sent by the French government with the view of favouring the plans of the *Comité* of the *Rue de Richelieu* and also for the purpose of giving occupation *at home* to those powers who threatened France; witness what happened in Poland; let those statesmen, to whom the interests and the protection of Great Britain have been intrusted, remember that their countenancing foreign revolutions, is a system pregnant with danger, considering the disordered state of Ire-

land, and of the distant possessions of Great Britain. Let them remember the protests which the English government made against the government of Louis XVI., on the occasion when the latter granted assistance to the revolutionists of the United States, against England. The following is an extract of a writing, published in 1777, at the instigation of the British government.

“ You are arming, imprudent Monarch, (Louis
“ XVI.), do you forget at what time, under what
“ circumstances, and over what nation you reign ?

“ Your political deceits can no longer avail
“ you, you are arming to support the American
“ independence, and the maxims of the Congress.
“ There is now a power at work which rises above
“ the laws : it is that of ambitious reasoning, it is
“ effecting a revolution in America ; perhaps it is
“ preparing one in France !

“ The American legislators proclaim their re-
“ volutionary principles, as disciples of the French
“ philosophers ; they execute what the latter have
“ planned. Will not the French philosophers aspire
“ to become legislators in their own country?

.....
.....

“ From whence comes your security when they
“ destroy in Philadelphia, the statue of the King of
“ Great Britain, when they devote his name to

“ insult. England will be amply revenged of your
 “ hostile intentions when your government is
 “ judged and condemned, according to those
 “ principles which are professed in Philadelphia,
 “ and which are applauded in your capital.

“
 “
 “”

Such was the language of the English govern-
 ment to France in 1777, and this is what the
 French royalists and the Russian and Dutch
 governments must say to England :

“ You encourage revolutions, imprudent go-
 vernment, &c.

“
 Your diplomatic deceits can no longer avail,
 you are plotting to support the emancipation
 of the dependent states. There is a power which
 rises above the laws, it is that of ambitious rea-
 soning ; it effects a revolution on the continent,
 perhaps it is preparing one in England.

“ The legislators of the schools of law and
 medicine, and of the coffee houses of Paris and
 Brussels, proclaim revolutions, as true disciples of
 the English philosophers. Will not those Eng-
 lish philosophers (such as a Cobbett, a Hunt, and
 an O’Connell, &c.) aspire to become legislators
 in their own country?.....

.....

 You will be alarmed, but too late, when you will have to listen in your Parliament, to the vague and specious *axioms*, which have been meditated in the clubs of Paris and Brussels.....

.....

 Whence comes your security when they destroy in Paris, at Brussels, and at Warsaw, the statues of Charles X., of William, and of Nicholas, and when they devote their names to insult. Europe will be fully revenged of your treacherous intentions, when your government is judged and condemned, according to the principles professed in Paris, Brussels, and Warsaw, and which are applauded in London."

It is worthy of notice, that in Spain and Portugal where the institutions are not those in vogue, but where Kings have all the power, and where they so much *oppress the people*, (according to the expressions of the demagogues), the people are quiet and satisfied; whereas the people, who call themselves constitutional and free, have been raising the standard of rebellion in every part of the world; for it is a general rule, that the greater the concessions, the greater the popular encroachments.

Charles X. has done more towards his ruin by

granting the liberty of the press, after his coronation, than the liberals ever did with all their clubs. Let them begin to grant concessions in England, and we shall see what will be the consequence.

I shall conclude by saying that the King Don Miguel is as much the monarch of Portugal, as William IV is of Great Britain, or, Nicolas I of Russia; and if he is not acknowledged by a dozen of self-styled liberals, he is so by four millions of Portuguese; a recognition far more useful to him than that of all the powers in Europe. For twenty-eight years after the restoration of the house of Braganza to the throne, Portugal was not acknowledged by Spain, which recognition was the most important to her, and yet she was not the less an independent kingdom, and the three successive kings have not been the less beloved by the Portuguese, and respected by the other nations.

Was the King of France, in July last, any safer on his throne, by having an ambassador from every state in Europe at his Court? What exertions and protests have been made by those Ambassadors, to prevent the exile of the King of France? none! Of what use then is it to the vital interest of a monarch, that he should be acknowledged by foreign powers? If Portugal then could resist for a period of twenty-eight years a

powerful and adjoining nation, and maintain her independence and dignity unimpaired, why should not this be also the case during Lord Grey's administration ?

The present English government may encourage the intrigues of a faction against Portugal and against her King ; but the result will be very different to England to what some statesmen seem to suppose, for they must consider that the prejudices, which formerly raised a barrier between Spain and Portugal, have ceased to exist since the great struggle with Napoleon ; while, on the other hand they have been strengthened between her and the Brazils, and on no terms whatever will any scion of that expatriated and now independent branch of the house of Braganza be again tolerated in Portugal. To dream therefore of Donna Maria, or any other child of Don Pedro attaining the Portuguese throne, is the height of folly. Rather than allow such an event to occur, Portugal would consent to become a province of Spain. I go further, and say, that if any unfortunate accident should deprive Portugal of her present beloved sovereign, the nation would, with one voice, declare itself in favour of an union with Spain, rather than receive a foreign charter or submit to any other insult from the English government : and if it should so happen that the union between En-

gland and Ireland were eventually dissolved, I would advise the English government to call to mind the days of Philip II of Spain.

As to the great uneasiness some persons show with regard to the English ministers having falsified the word of King William IV, pledged to his people in Parliament, respecting the recognition of the Portuguese government, my answer to them is, that it does not matter in the least, for the ministers must consider whether *it is* or *not* to England's interest to recognise the Portuguese government; in the latter case, the Portuguese nation will continue to flourish without that recognition.

But with regard to the great pains those persons take to vindicate the conduct of the King of Portugal, respecting the cruelties and other fictions which are daily invented by prostituted writers, I should advise them not to lose their time in answering those *ex-officio* calumniators who pretend to meddle with the public conduct of a Sovereign, in his good or bad administration, since the sole and only competent judges of that conduct must be the Portuguese: as they never interfere in criticising the English Courts of justice, for their finding such and such persons guilty, or because the King's pardon has been granted to such and such one, for they know that strangers cannot rightly

judge of such affairs. Why do not those public censors arraign the conduct of the government at St. Petersburg, Naples, or even Constantinople? The clear reason is the force of custom in possessing an ascendancy over Portugal and of governing in Lisbon; which system I firmly hope will shortly be terminated.

Since these lines were put to press, I have witnessed the fulfilment of my prophecy, concerning the result of the haste shown in acknowledging the French revolution of July last, and also the consistency of the present English government in its much boasted *non interference*, of which Belgium furnishes a remarkable instance.

It is also curious to witness the farcé which the French *Citizen King* and the French revolutionary government are performing in the face of Europe; for after having fanned the revolution in Belgium, and encouraged the nomination of the Duke of Nemours to the throne of that country, they pretend to make others believe, that the father would not consent to it; that a man, therefore who but a short time ago felt no scruples in mounting the throne of his personal benefactor, should now pretend to impose upon all, by an affected disinterestedness in refusing a throne for his son, is what deserves no other name than a t***f's honesty.

NOTES.

(Note 1.) The three Estates consider the obligation of an oath with the respect which is due to the *Sovereign Lord*, whose name is invoked, as well as to its high importance in the government of human societies. They sincerely regret to see it prostituted in the present day, and accordingly treated with an irreverence, as sacrilegious to the Divine Majesty, as it is prejudicial to mankind and to the well being of governments. They hesitate not, at the same time, to avow that no oath is possessed of any value which is directed to an unlawful object; when it is obtained by violent means, and when, from its observance, a violation of personal rights; and above all, the total ruin of a country would infallibly result: such is the oath to which we now object. To keep it, would be no less than to inflict a death wound upon our native country; and no religion can sanction a parricide.

But if violence has imposed upon the reluctant Portuguese a burthen as irksome as it is detestable to them, we would fain hope that the *Prince Don Miguel* has not been compelled by violence to make in foreign countries any declaration, by which he denies his having a right to the crown of Portugal, or any promise to come and govern the kingdom as regent, and in the name of his brother. Declarations and promises in foreign countries!!! For what? And to what end? The three Estates conceive that

they have answered by these two questions, every objection which can be raised. But if, contrary to their expectations, any answer is attempted, then Portugal will break the silence which her representatives think themselves bound to preserve, out of respect to illustrious nations. They will add however, that if the Prince Don Miguel has willingly forgotten his own interests, wishing to avoid disputes which might expose him, however unjustly, to the charge of personal ambition, if he has kept the most admirable moderation, could that moderation diminish his rights? Did it not belong to the Portuguese nation, and to her alone to decide, that those rights could not be affected by the Prince's moderation. (*Acts of Decisions of the three Estates of the kingdom of Portugal.*)

(*Note 2.*) For had it not been for his revolt and his ambition, he would be now Sovereign of Portugal and of Brazils.

(*Note 3.*) Nothing can be more scandalous than to send a *foreigner, an Englishman*, Sir Charles Stuart, to the Brazils, to negociate the reconciliation between the King Don Joao VI and his son, and not only did that *self created emissary* abuse the limited powers which the King had given him, but what is still more revolting, when the King opposed the ratification of what Sir Charles Stuart had done, the ministers dared to threaten their Royal Master, and actually compelled him to affix his signature to it; this is a fact well known to the writer of this pamphlet.

(*Note 4.*) Amongst the numerous proofs exhibited by the English government of its officious interference in the affairs of Portugal, we may notice in particular, that in the

year 1816, the English government sent Sir John Beresford with a man of war, to Rio de Janeiro, for the purpose of conducting the King Don Joao VI, then Prince Regent, to Lisbon; a measure originating in a mere report which had been spread at Rio de Janeiro, that he meant to declare himself Emperor, and to remain in the Brazils; the English papers at the same time published, that the Prince Regent of Portugal had sent to solicit that ship of the Prince Regent of England, for the purpose of conducting him to Lisbon; the British ministers had even the boldness to make these assertions in full parliament.

The writer of this pamphlet, knowing the dignified character of his late Majesty, Don Joao VI, took upon himself at the time to publish in a newspaper, that this was all mere invention; that the Sovereign of Portugal was incapable of such conduct; and that if he wished to return to Lisbon, he had four Portuguese ships of the line, and seven frigates at his command. The truth is, that Mr. Canning, being desirous at that time of travelling for the benefit of his health, and the British ministers being desirous of getting rid of him, he was sent as ambassador to Lisbon, to be near the person of a Sovereign who was yet to come. Sir John Beresford on his arrival at Rio, had to return to England as he had gone, and Mr. Canning remained in Lisbon some time for the benefit of his health, and also with a view of enjoying the fourteen thousand pounds which he received as nominal Ambassador from England, to the *imaginary* Court of Portugal.

It is easy to perceive from this statement, that the King of Portugal was fully alive to the dignity of his exalted station, surrounded as he then was by honorable ministers, though unhappily the case was widely different, when he came over

to Portugal, and was beset by revolutionists and intriguers.

(*Note 5.*) The author of a work, entitled, "Observations on the papers respecting the affairs of Portugal," a man belonging to the faction, if he is not its very leader, acknowledges page 24, "That the Prince Don Miguel was not allowed to return to Portugal by the road he wished to take, but was compelled to go through France and England, that in case of refusal on his part, he should remain in Vienna, till an answer had been received from the Emperor of the Brazils, that such conduct was equivalent to a perpetual exclusion from Portugal." The same writer pretending to show that this being a direct interference on the part of the Austrian and English governments, England is bound to support that interference, and to compel Don Miguel to fulfil his promises, although the writer himself acknowledges, that they were forcibly wrung from the Prince. What admirable logic! What force of argument! But thus it is, that the writers of the faction are found to reason!

(*Note 6.*) For a description of the populace writers and of those who preach murder and poisoning, we cannot do better than extract the excellent observations published in Blackwood's Magazine for January, 1831.

"The immense increase of readers amidst the lower orders has operated largely both to emancipate the press from the control of public men, and to range it on the wrong side. The patronage of gin, beer, and coffee-shops, and eating-houses, is now more safe and lucrative than that of the Ministry or Opposition; if a publication enjoys the latter, it must labour to gain the former also as far as possible; if the Ministry and Opposition will have nothing

to do with it, the patronage of gin-shops, &c., is almost essential for keeping it in being. The doctrine that the press is the source of public opinion, contains more error than truth. The press, amidst the intelligent classes, has great effect in guiding opinion; but amidst the lower ones, it must follow them in opinion to be read; it may in many things even give them new opinions, but these it must borrow from their interests and prejudices.

“ Thus in losing, or casting off the control of the two great constitutional parties of the State, the London press placed itself under the control of the populace. The sale to the private dwelling and the counting-house, was comparatively nothing without that of the liquor shops and eating-house. If we grant that it did this honestly, it is of small moment, because, with an exception or two, the journals which did not do it could not be kept in being. But the honesty of the matter is very questionable. Any man who has noticed the conduct of those daily papers which have the largest circulation, must have seen that on every subject they have consulted nothing, saving the dictates of their own rivalry and the bribes of parties, but the passions and prejudices of the multitude. The proprietors of certain of them have gone almost from door to door, amidst the gin and coffee shops, to solicit orders; of course, they have done this with the knowledge that only opinions of a particular kind would be vendible in such places. One of the reviews has used even lower arts than the lowest newspaper ever stooped to, in order to force itself into the gin and coffee shops, and pick up filthy pence at the cost of truth and independence. . . Various papers which have been commenced in late years on right principles, have glided into mob politics, as the only

means of escaping ruin, or at least of making profit. The two or three which have not espoused the popular cause have little sale in London, save to the aristocracy.

“ Unhappily, therefore the case now stands thus. Newspapers cannot gain a living circulation, or any influence of moment, amidst the inhabitants of London, unless they take the popular side; therefore they are necessarily about all on this side. In supporting it, they must be the most abject slaves that ever wore the chains of slavery. Driven along like brutes in harness, the least act of disobedience to their mob drivers receives a flogging in the shape of loss of circulation quite intolerable; bound to the loathsome toil of pandering to the interest and passions of the multitude, their competition cannot go beyond efforts to outstrip each other in dishonest subserviency to them. What could be more impossible than for the popular London newspapers and periodicals to discuss great national questions—reform, the corn laws, taxes and retrenchment, with truth and impartiality, when they dare not, under the penalty of heavy fine and ruin, say any thing that may displease the populace?

“ In late years the London press has, with little exception, opposed itself to religion and morals. A part of it openly teaches infidelity, but it is the least mischievous one. Another influential part, under the pretence of attacking what it calls evangelism and puritanism, furiously writes down religious feelings and practice. A third part, under the name of sporting papers, teaches gaming, drunkenness, and every kind of depravity. These papers, in a great measure, form the Sunday reading of the godless lower orders; these are almost the only ones which find their way on the Sabbath into the lower eating-houses and

liquor shops. It is a melancholy singularity that many of the London Sunday papers are in one way or another, far more hostile to religion and morals than the daily ones. Then the general press opposes religious societies, and throws its shield over every source of immorality."

(*Note 7.*) The ex-Marquis of Palmella, continuing his system of deceit, and not yet satisfied with having defrauded the Brazilo-Portuguese bond-holders of what belonged to them, has effected a sale of all the furniture and ornaments of the Portuguese Chapel in London; thus abandoning to Jews and others, altars, ornaments, and *sacred vases*, which did not belong to him; for the man who revolted against his legitimate Sovereign, will not respect the religious property of his country. It is a piratical war which the ex-Marquess has waged against his King and country.

Considering the above reasons, and in the supposition that such a conduct is authorized by the Brazilian government, I advise the proprietors of the Brazilo-Portuguese loan to unite their funds, and arm a few corsairs, for the purpose of seizing all properties belonging to the Brazils, and repaying themselves, as they are fully authorized to do, according to the conditions stipulated in the treaty of 1825, which grants the Brazilian independence on the condition that the Brazils should take the loan upon herself, as an indemnity from her to Portugal.

(*Note 8.*) Don Pedro wages war against Portugal; Don Miguel is the saviour of his country, and of the Monarchy.

I hope the Portuguese government will give due attention to the measure proposed and carried in Parliament yesterday, Friday the 11th, by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and which must be a subject of rejoicing to the Portuguese nation, as by that measure of increasing the duties on Portuguese wines, and reducing them on the French wines, the alleged obligation of admitting in Portugal the English manufactured cloths is for ever abolished, and in that respect, the present English government seems to take more interest in the welfare of Portugal than is obvious, by its apparent behaviour towards that country.

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