

posed to Montecuculi, no battles were fought; the king was not obliged to compromise the safety of an army which was the chief foundation of his power; though on the other hand he exposed no weak point to the attacks of Lasey and Laudohn. Military science is the foundation of political importance, because the other sources of power exist only under its protection: and hence the advancement or decline of this art always makes an epoch in history. It was a grand spectacle to see the ardent emperor Joseph, at the head of the finest army in the world, excellently provided with artillery and arms, opposed to the hoary conqueror of Czaslau, Hohenfriedburg, Rosbach, Leuthen, Torgau, and Lignitz. But before the question in dispute could be decided by deeds of arms, Russia and France effected a mediation, by which the pacific empress-queen satisfied herself with a tract of territory, containing scarcely forty square miles, between the Danube, the Inn, and the Salza. Her army was not defeated: but her son was a great loser by the contest, because these occurrences excited alarm throughout all Europe.

The treaty was concluded at Teschen in Upper Silesia, A. D. 1779, and its observance was guaranteed by Russia and France. The court of Austria acquired the district of the Inn, and engaged not to oppose the union of the Franconian principalities of Baireuth and Anspach with Prussia, on the decease of the reigning margrave: and when that should happen, to renounce the feudal claims which the crown of Bohemia possessed in those territories, in return for the renunciation of those which the margraves held in Austria, the greater part of which had subsisted for four hundred and fifty-seven years. Promises were made that the emperor and the empire should be induced to invest the elector palatine with all the fiefs held by the deceased branch of his family; to indemnify the dukes of Mecklenburgh by an extension of their sovereign power over their own subjects, which is called *de non appellando* to the tribunals of the empire; and in general to bestow approbation on the treaty. With respect to the palatine family, Austria renounced all claim to the remainder of the possessions of the late sovereigns of Bavaria, and conferred the Bohemian fiefs in the Upper Palatinate on the new electors. The elector of Saxony was gratified by the acquisition of a country on his frontiers.(1)

LETTER V.

Retrospect of the Affairs of Portugal—Administration of the count d'Oeyras—Attempt to assassinate the Monarch, Joseph I.—Execution of the Conspirators—War declared by Spain, A. D. 1762—Result of the Campaign—Commerce and internal Policy of the Portuguese Government.

THE political affairs of Portugal, my dear son, have obtained so little notice from Dr. Russell, in the preceding volumes of this History, that it can scarcely be necessary to offer an apology for bestowing a few pages on the subject in this place. For though that kingdom is not entitled to rank among the leading powers of Europe, it certainly is of more importance in the scale of nations than some others on whom more attention has been paid: and the intimate connexion which, for more than a century past, has subsisted between it and Great Britain must unavoidably make a recurrence to it necessary in the sequel.

The reign of Joseph I. was destined to experience the greatest dangers, and the most uncommon catastrophes. This king, having ascended the throne in 1750, found his treasury empty, his government oppressed with debts, and the English masters of the kingdom and its colonies. His minister, Diego de Mendoca, had not sufficient talents to apply a remedy to these abuses. Carvalho,(2) returned from the embassy of Vienna, obtained

(1) Account of the Revolution in Sweden, by Charles Francis Sheridan. Coxe's Travels in Poland, Sweden, Russia, and Denmark. Gillies's View of the Reign of Frederick II., chap. vi

(2) Afterward created count d'Oeyras.

the confidence of the king, turned out the minister, who was banished to Mazagan, and took his place. He passed the first two or three years of his ministry in contending with cabals, in searching into the causes of the deranged state of government, and in suffering the insolence of the nobles, who wished to pull him down.

On the first of November, 1755, happened the famous earthquake which desolated all Portugal, threw down a considerable number of buildings in every town throughout the kingdom, and destroyed, as it were, in the same hour, 50,000 people. But Lisbon suffered most; the earthquake there assumed its most terrific form. The elements united to overwhelm the wretched inhabitants; the sea and the river rushed into the city, the earth opened wide its jaws, and fire consumed their dwellings. It was the festival of All-saints, and at nine in the morning, when great numbers of people were hearing mass. The churches were thrown down, and all those whom devotion or alarm had conducted thither, were crushed beneath their fall. The aged, the infants, and the sick were smothered in their beds, or consumed by the flames, which were blown into fury by the tempest that accompanied the earthquake. The vessels in the harbour were violently driven against each other, and many of them perished. But in the midst of this general desolation, a horrid scene of human brutality was displayed, and added to the universal horror of the moment. The desire of plunder inflamed with the hope of speedy success a large band of sailors, soldiers, negroes, and criminals, whom this event had delivered from their prisons: these infamous wretches spread themselves throughout the city, to increase by pillage, violation, and murder, the horrors that surrounded them. To complete the calamity, Lisbon was threatened with famine; while the stench of the dead bodies corrupted the air, and produced symptoms of plague.

The count d'Oeyras alone preserved a presence of mind in this scene of desolation; and where the fear of the future stifled all complaints at the present evil. This minister took no repose; and having no other dwelling, or bed, or office, but his coach, was seen every where, encouraging and consoling the wretched inhabitants. In eight days he published 230 ordinances to regulate the circumstances of the moment; which have been collected in one large volume, entitled, *Providencias sobre os terremotos*. He caused the fire to be extinguished, he ordered all the dead bodies to be covered with quick lime, or thrown into the sea; he directed the public ways to be opened through the ruins; he encouraged the garrison; and condemned the banditti, who infested the city, to suffer military execution. Provisions of all kinds were fetched from the provinces, by land and by sea; and by his example and resolution, he stopped the people who were determined to abandon a country which had so often been laid waste by similar destruction. But notwithstanding all the care and precautions of count d'Oeyras, who was at this time the tutelary deity and saviour of Lisbon, besides the loss of lives, of effects, and furniture, there was lost in merchandise, money, and bankruptcies, produced by this terrible event, above six millions sterling. Of the magnificent palace of the kings of Portugal, not one stone remained upon another. Immense riches were there devoured by the flames, as well as in the patriarchal church, or were buried in their ruins. The court, full of alarm and agitation, during eight days had no other asylum but such as they found in their carriages, and the garden of Bellem, a small villa about a league from Lisbon. The king and the royal family, while they displayed the utmost resignation for themselves, exercised all their charity in consoling the unhappy people; and offered to their view an affecting example of greatness of mind and patient resolution.

The recompense of Carvalho for his magnanimous conduct on this fatal occasion, was the entire and irrevocable confidence of the king. This was no more than an act of justice to that able minister; but it heightened to an extreme degree of rage the jealousy of his numerous enemies: strengthened, however, by the sovereign power, he began to take very strong measures: he attacked at once the departments of the marine, of commerce, and of the

the minister, and the other at the Long Room, a place of entertainment belonging to foreign merchants, who gave it in honour of the marriage. At the same hour all the conspirators were arrested, their palaces invested, and the process against them being already prepared, ten of the principal of them were executed in the course of a week, in the square of the palace of Bellem. Saturday, January 18, 1759, a scaffold having been built in the square opposite to the house where the prisoners were confined, eight wheels were fixed upon it: on one corner of the scaffolding was placed Antonio Alvares Ferreira, and at the other corner the effigy of Joseph Policarpio de Azevedo, who had escaped; these being the two persons who fired at the king's equipage. About half an hour after eight o'clock in the morning, the execution began. The marchioness de Tavora was the first who was brought upon the scaffold, when she was beheaded at one stroke. Her body was afterward placed upon the floor of the scaffolding, and covered with a linen cloth. Young Joseph Maria of Tavora, the young marquis of Tavora, the count of Atouguia, and three servants of the duke of Aveiro, were first strangled at a stake, and afterward their limbs broken with a iron instrument; the marquis of Tavora, general of horse, and the duke of Aveiro, had their limbs broken alive. The duke, for greater ignominy, was brought bareheaded to the place of execution. The body and limbs of each of the criminals, after they were executed, were thrown upon a wheel, and covered with a linen cloth. But when Antonio Alvares Ferreira was brought to the stake, whose sentence was to be burnt alive, the other bodies were exposed to his view; the combustible matter, which had been laid under the scaffolding, was set on fire, the whole machine, with the bodies, were consumed to ashes, and thrown into the sea. Aveiro died like a coward. The rest supported their torments with resolution. But the two criminals who displayed the greatest strength of mind on the occasion, were a woman, the old marchioness de Tavora, and a young man of nineteen years of age, her second son. He had suffered the most cruel tortures without acknowledging his guilt; when his father being brought to tell him that he and the other accomplices had confessed the whole, he replied, "as you gave me life, you may take it from me." As for the old marchioness, she escaped the torture on account of her sex; but received her sentence, and saw the preparations for her punishment with an indifference that would have done honour to a better cause. She had been accustomed to breakfast after the English fashion, and after she had heard her sentence read, and been dressed as usual by her women, she demanded her breakfast. Her confessor represented to her that she had something else to do; when she answered, "that there was a time for every thing." She took her breakfast in perfect tranquillity, and made her women partake of it. When she came to ascend the scaffold, she said to those who offered to assist her, "I will ascend it alone, I have not suffered the torture like the rest." The marquis de Tavora, who did not possess an equal strength of mind, reproached her for having brought her family to such a fate; she replied, "support it as I do, and reproach me not." She herself placed the fillet over her eyes, shortened the duties of her confessor, entreated the executioner to despatch her quickly, and by dropping her handkerchief gave the signal for the fatal stroke. The young marchioness de Tavora was confined in a convent, as well as the young countess of Atouguia, who has been since persecuted by the inquisition as a visionary. The principal part of the nobility were carried away and confined in dungeons, while some escaped; of the latter number were the Almeidas and Sousas. As for the jesuits, they were expelled from every part of the Portuguese dominions as accomplices in this horrid conspiracy, but without process or proof. There remained of them but twenty-two, decrepit old men, who were shut up in a villa of the duke d'Aveiro; and eight prisoners, of which the most criminal, viz. Malagrida, an Italian, Alexander, an Irishman, and Matos, a Portuguese, were executed secretly in prison, after having been denounced as chiefs of the plot.

The minister has been accused of gratifying, by these executions, his own

personal vengeance. But surely this crime merited the severest chastisement; nor could it be considered as bad policy to humble an insolent nobility who insulted the king, and tyrannized over the people.

These two fatal events, which followed one upon the other, occupied all the attention of the minister, and suspended the operations of every other department of the state whose strength they had exhausted. War being lighted up throughout all Europe, the Portuguese, who had no interest in it, began to recover themselves, and to draw some advantage from the state of peace which they enjoyed. But their neutrality was not equally preserved. They were considered as very much attached to the English; they triumphed on their victories, they received them with joy into their harbours, they profited of their captures, and they were regarded rather as the subjects than the allies of England. This opinion determined the Spanish court to attack Portugal, as the best way of attacking the English, whom they considered as the commercial possessors, at least, of Lisbon and Oporto. It was supposed that this war with Portugal would have a considerable influence on the negotiations for peace; and to accelerate it, Spain resolved to break its neutrality. If Portugal had been subdued, it is certain that such an event would have been the source of great advantage to Spain at the conclusion of a peace; but success alone could justify the conduct which the court of Madrid pursued at this period. That power was particularly interested in preventing the English from aggrandizing their power in America, and crushing the French navy; but this interest did not furnish sufficient motives to quit its neutrality. It might, on all occasions, have favoured the French, have opened their ports to them, and supplied them with money; but they had no just pretence to declare war against England. The piracies of certain privateers, which were disavowed by the court of London, and the strict but lawful examination of Spanish ships which carried ammunition to France, were not sufficient pretexts. All the commercial nations suffered the same inconvenience, without thinking themselves authorized to take up arms to prevent it. Besides these causes of complaint, whether well or ill founded, Spain had nothing to do with Portugal. War was, however, declared in 1762.

The Portuguese, who never thought of a rupture with Spain, were so ill prepared for this unexpected event, that the army was not only in a very bad condition as to discipline, but also as to equipment. The minister was naturally an enemy to military men, because he knew nothing of military affairs; and reckoning upon a long peace, as well as on his own superior politics, he had totally neglected the army, and employed the funds destined for its maintenance to other objects: he had not even filled up the vacancies in it which had been caused by the late catastrophe.

The state of the Portuguese army appeared on paper to consist of seventeen thousand men, two thousand four hundred of which were cavalry; but in reality it did not amount to half that number. When the count de Lippe, a sovereign prince of Germany, who was recommended by the English to command the army of Portugal, wished, on his arrival, to get a body of troops together, in order to have some appearance at least of an army, he could not assemble at his first camp of Villa Viçosa more than five thousand men; the greater part without uniforms and without arms. Elvas, Almeida, and some other places occupied the rest. There was neither artillery, nor ammunition, nor hospitals, nor magazines, nor engineers, nor officers, nor maps, nor wagons.

Don Martin de Mello had recourse, on the part of the king of Portugal, to the court of London, which ordered six thousand men to embark for Lisbon; two thousand of these were Irish troops, newly raised, consequently as incapable of defending Portugal as the Portuguese themselves, and who arrived when the campaign was half over. Lord Tyrawley, who commanded these succours, was a bad officer, and a very violent man, calculated rather to throw matters into disorder than to restore them. He was the ambassador in Portugal, who made so insolent a use of the favour of king John V. He resumed, on the present occasion, all his haughty contemptuous airs, and

some very warm disputes took place between him and count d'Oeyras; that minister, however, contrived to get him recalled. Lord Loudon, who succeeded Tyrawley, lord Townshend who replaced him, and general Crawford who followed, were equally hated for their pride. They always encamped separately from count de Lippe, whose orders they refused to receive; in short, they expressed their contempt of the natives so openly, that the Portuguese at length rose up against these cruel and insolent allies, and massacred more than half of them. There was no kind of excess which these undisciplined troops, who were worse than enemies, did not commit. Upwards of one thousand four hundred of them perished also in a revolt at Santarem. The Irish, above all, were so disorderly and so wicked, that those who had escaped the vengeance of the Portuguese and returned to England, were broke and punished.

The count de Lippe is a prince distinguished by his military talents; and above all by his superior knowledge as an engineer and officer of artillery. He is haughty, presumptuous, ardent, and leaves much to fortune. He was obliged in Portugal to bend to the various and opposing circumstances that surrounded him, and he there served an apprenticeship to patience. Although he had no opportunity in this campaign to signalize himself, his whole conduct proved him to be an able and experienced soldier.

Such was the interior state of Portugal when the Spaniards penetrated into it. But the count d'Oeyras, not depending upon an armed strength for defence, had recourse to his usual politics. He engaged the queen to supplicate her mother, the queen-dowager of Spain, to dispel the storm which threatened to destroy Portugal. He employed money, he set negotiations on foot, and by these arms, far more powerful than those of the Spanish warriors, caused their enterprises to miscarry.

Nevertheless the court of Spain ordered forty thousand men to march into Portugal; and from its powers of defence, a ready judgment might be formed of the facility of its conquest. But contrary to all appearance, this army did nothing but what was injurious to Spain itself, by a great and useless consumption of men, of horses, of cattle, of grain, and above all of money. The marquis de Sarria, colonel of the Spanish guards, old, bigoted, and without talents, was intrusted with the command of this army. But besides the want of vigour and capacity in this superannuated general, the operations of the war were all either checked or impeded by the influence of persons of the highest consideration in Spain. The war minister was an Irishman,⁽¹⁾ and all Europe suspected him of partiality for his countrymen. But whatever the cause might be, the preservation of Portugal cost Spain its glory, its treasure, and an army.

The extraordinary ignorance of the Spanish generals, the want of discipline in their troops, the little care that was taken to secure supplies of forage and ammunition, were circumstances very favourable to the safety of Portugal. The enemy entered into the country without having agreed upon a plan of the campaign; and the first encampment was at Zamora, April 21, 1762. They approached the frontier, without being acquainted with the country, without maps, or guides, or spies. A part of the army attacked Miranda, which was blown up by an accident. This conquest determined the Spaniards to enter Portugal on the side of Traz os Montes; and it was then only they discovered that there was a river to pass; but they had neither pontoons nor boats, and much time was lost in constructing them. May 4th, the general being at Alcanisas, said publicly, in speaking of the Portuguese army, "I cannot discover where these insects are." Bragança, Outeiro, and Chavés, being without a single soldier, surrendered without opposition on the approach of the army.

The general, May 21st, sent a detachment against Moncorvo, while O'Reilly, who commanded the light troops, quitted Chavés to get possession of Oporto; which, however, he did not effect: for he was stopped between

(1) Don Ricardo Wall.

Villa Real and Villa Pouça, by three or four hundred peasants, who drove back his detachment, consisting of three hundred men, as far as Chavés. He owed this defeat to the appearance of fear which he discovered, and which seems to have been common to all the commanding officers detached from the Spanish army.

On the evening of Whitsunday, there was an alarm in the camp; the general ordered all his artillery to be drawn into the rear, that it might not be exposed to the danger of being taken; by which he deprived his army of all the advantage that might be derived from field pieces.

On June 21st, an officer, named Alvarez, attacked the village of Freixal, and after having pillaged it, set it on fire. Three hundred peasants, who were shut up in it, and made some resistance, were converted by the gazettes of Madrid into six thousand men. After such a brilliant expedition, the army took the road of Zamora, and it was determined to lay siege to Almeida. On the 4th of August the place was invested; on the 15th the trenches were opened without the least difficulty, as the besieged did not, during the course of the siege, discharge more than four or five cannon. On the 25th the place surrendered, although no breach had been made, nor the first parallel completed. The batteries of the besiegers were at the distance of one thousand eight hundred feet from the walls, and the siege was attended with the loss only of an hostler, a labourer, and four horses; not one person was wounded during the short time it lasted. There were found in the town ninety-six pieces of cannon of different calibers, all sorts of ammunition and provisions, and three thousand six hundred Portuguese, who composed its garrison, all unhurt and in good health. Almeida is a considerable place, and might have stopped the progress of the Spaniards for at least a month: but the governor was fourscore years of age, had been a captain of cavalry in the war of the succession, and was a vainglorious character. A very able engineer, named Miron, who had thrown himself into the place, was anxious to put it in a state of defence, but the governor having refused to advance the money necessary to carry on the works, a dozen of English and Scotch officers, who were at the head of the regiments in garrison, raised among themselves a very considerable sum for that purpose. But when Miron, on the strength of this subscription, was determined to begin his works, and spoke firmly on the subject, the governor ordered him to be confined in irons, and sent him to be tried at Lisbon. Having, however, deprived himself of his engineer, he retired into his chamber, where he passed all the time of the siege in reciting his rosary. When the English officers ordered the Portuguese garrison to man the outworks, they revolted and refused to obey. Not a single man was seen in the covered way, nor along the curtains during the whole siege, so that no place was ever taken with more ease; and if the Spaniards could have conceived the interior state of the town and garrison they would not have given themselves the trouble to open the trenches.

After the siege the Spaniards were more embarrassed than before, as to where they were to go, or what they should do. They had calculated that the siege would have occupied the whole campaign, and no farther plan had been thought of. Besides, the war was carried on by couriers, and the court regulated all the operations at the distance of a hundred leagues. Old marquis de Sarria was now removed, and the count d'Aranda substituted to command the army. This new general made an attack upon Villa Velha, on the banks of the Tagus. Nevertheless, the Portuguese, encouraged by the indecision of the Spaniards, strengthened by the support of the English, and animated by the count de Lippe, ventured to take the field, and encamped to the number of twelve thousand men at Abrantes and Punhete; while a small camp of Portuguese volunteers, commanded by a brave Scotchman, of the name of Hamilton, and reinforced by two English battalions, and some companies of grenadiers, were posted upon the left bank of the Tagus, opposite Villa Velha, whose castle was garrisoned by three hundred Portuguese. Alvarez had taken this castle without much danger, as it surrendered at the

first musket-shot. During the march to Villa Velha, the count de Lippe had sent colonel Burgoyne, with his English dragoons, and six companies of grenadiers, four of which were Portuguese, to attack Valença d'Alcantara, of which that officer got possession without any resistance, and afterward pillaged it. Valença is surrounded with walls, and contained a garrison of twelve hundred militia, under the command of a brigadier-general. This affront, however, was soon forgotten by the Spaniards. The capture of Villa Velha had increased the confidence of the detachment of Alvarez, who, despising the enemy, abandoned themselves to a fallacious security. Hamilton perceived their negligence, passed a ford of the river by night with three hundred men, half of them English, surprised the camp of Alvarez, consisting of two thousand men, the flower of the Spanish army, spiked their cannon, and repassed the Tagus without loss, leaving behind him no common scene of disorder and confusion.

Such were the transactions of this campaign which finished in the month of September. The Spanish army retired to Alcantara, but at the same time, an attack was made upon Campo Mayo, which failed, because the detachment destined to this object arrived with a view to surprise the place at noonday. The Spanish forces, when they arrived at the frontier, were reduced to twenty-five thousand men, and never did troops experience a more horrible campaign. The sick and the stragglers were almost all of them massacred by the peasants, who were rendered ferocious by the marauding conduct of the Spanish army, and emboldened by the timidity of its generals.

Spain was much more successful in America. Cevallos, the governor of Buenos Ayres, made himself master of the colony of St. Sacramento, and the island of St. Gabriel, which the Portuguese knew not how to defend, and endeavoured in vain to retake; but this advantage did not compensate for the ill success of the campaign in Portugal; it covered Spain with dishonour, and exhausted her to such a degree as to keep her quiet till the peace.

This war, which might have crushed Portugal, gave it a degree of vigour and elasticity which it did not possess before; and produced a military spirit that still exists, though it received some diminution from the absence of count de Lippe. The count d'Oeyras availed himself of these successes, and of the re-establishment of the army, to render himself still more powerful, and to forward his designs.

But the misfortunes of the reign of Joseph I. had not yet ceased. Two years after the war, the custom-house was entirely consumed by fire, with every thing it contained. This was a severe blow on the commerce of the country, many persons were entirely ruined by the event, and many bankruptcies followed. It was said, indeed, that this conflagration was not attended with a general loss, as the most valuable merchandise was in other warehouses, and that the building was purposely set on fire. But, be that as it may, commerce must have been severely affected by the accident, and the commercial security of Lisbon considerably diminished.

Before we quit the affairs of Portugal, it may be expedient to offer a remark or two on its government, commerce, and finances.⁽¹⁾

All the different parts of society, like those of the body, depend upon each other, and the disease of the one necessarily influences the condition of all the rest. A superstitious people, who cultivate but in a small degree the arts and sciences, cannot possess a well-regulated government. Besides, the subjection of the Portuguese to the English diminishes the vigour which the count d'Oeyras laboured for several years to communicate to all the relaxed springs of this machine. During the last century, the Portuguese government had been without strength and without attention. The ministers, slumbering at the foot of the throne, had suffered it to be shaken by the insolence of the nobles, the usurpations of ecclesiastics, and the influence of the English. Nature appears also to have assisted all these political causes of decay, in order to complete the ruin of Portugal, by an earthquake; and it is

(1) See an Account of Portugal as it appeared in 1766 to Dumouriez, afterward a celebrated general in the French army. Printed at Lausanne in 1775, and re-printed in London in 1797.

in the midst of these ruins, that the celebrated Sebastian Joseph Carvalho, count d'Oeyras, had the courage to re-establish the throne, by supporting it with one hand, while with the other he crushed the nobility, humbled the clergy, and diminished the influence of the English. The first enterprise of this great man excited fanaticism and conspiracies, and gave him an opportunity to display his severe and inflexible character. The king, escaped from the strokes of his assassins, became their master and their judge. After he had removed this first obstacle, the minister attacked the ecclesiastics, and at length employed the most subtle policy respecting the English. Powerfully impelled by the same hatred of that nation as the Portuguese universally possess, he directed his strokes against them, under the semblance of measures for rectifying abuses.

The marine was in a very bad state. Five or six disabled ships and as many frigates, without sailors or officers, constituted the whole naval force of Portugal. The minister, in order to become absolute master of this department, obtained the post of secretary of the marine for his brother Francis Xavier de Mendocça, who died about three years ago. He was a man of a narrow capacity, but very industrious, and perfectly submissive to his brother. Accordingly, in about seven or eight years the marine was established upon a good footing; at the same time, the English, the Swedes, the Dutch, the Danes, and the French were invited to teach navigation to the Portuguese; who, two centuries ago, conquered three-quarters of the globe, carried on the commerce of it, and directed all its views to the improvement of its marine. The actual state of its navy consists of ten ships of the line, and double that number of frigates, all built of the finest Brazil timber. Two ships have been launched at Lisbon of 74 and 72 guns, and admirably constructed for resistance as well as duration. But neither the officers nor the sailors are kept in sufficient practice; and I am of opinion that vessel against vessel, the Spaniards would beat them at sea, from the superiority of their equipage. But this deficiency may always be supplied by the English navy. The present state, however, of the Portuguese marine is sufficient to protect the coasts, and the war against the Algerines, and the corsairs of Salé, may serve as a school to teach the art of naval combat, and accustom them to it, which is the more necessary as they have not the reputation of being brave at sea. The war with Morocco may be, one day or other, fatal to the Portuguese: for if the emperor should fortify Mogadore, invite to his service renegade seamen, and order his corsairs to cruise about the Cape Verde islands, the Canaries, Azores, and Madeira, the ships coming from Brazil would risk being often taken.

The commerce of Portugal, notwithstanding all the efforts of the count d'Oeyras, is altogether in the hands of the English, to whom the Portuguese are no more than brokers or agents, and even English ships are employed in the whole of their trade, except that of the Indies, of Africa, and America, which is under the direction of distinct companies, and carried on by the king's ships; but even in those branches of commerce the Portuguese, though they lend their names, are not principals. The most considerable factories of Brazil and Africa belong to English capitalists, who have for correspondents the English houses of Lisbon, Oporto, and London, of whom the Portuguese themselves purchase the merchandise that comes from their own colonies.

The count d'Oeyras, after a very attentive consideration of this subject, determined upon a very singular operation, which was no less than to change the general order of commerce. He accordingly abolished all the old trading companies, and destroyed their exclusive rights; while, on the contrary, he erected new companies, and gave them an exclusive right over those branches of commerce which had hitherto been free. But notwithstanding all his care and precautions, the English, from their large capitals, became the masters in these new arrangements, and, under borrowed names, possessed themselves of all the new funds. Another evil has arisen from this new-arrangement, which the minister did not foresee, but which caused the seditious contents that have prevailed in Brazil, and threatened the total ruin of the co-

finances, as well as the clergy, the nobility, and the jesuits: the latter were the first objects of his resentment, and the conquest of Paraguay was decided and arranged by the court of Madrid. The grandees, irritated and alarmed, felt their own weakness; nor had they the courage to make a direct attack upon this superior character, whose very looks they were afraid to encounter. Vengeance is the element of the Portuguese, but they prefer those modes of indulging it which are not liable to danger; they do not, therefore, consider assassination as a crime, because, as Moliere says, it is the surest way to get rid of an enemy.

A horrible conspiracy was plotting with the utmost secrecy; four persons in the state were concerned in it: the duke d'Aveiro, of the house of Mascarenhas, who was the head of it, was allied to the royal family. Mordomo-mor, grand-master or steward of the king's household, and the most powerful nobleman of Portugal; he was an ugly, little man, of a narrow mind, but vain and wrong-headed, deranged in his affairs, capable of any crime, always cringing to the minister, whom he detested, while he himself was universally hated and despised. This man was easily excited to commit any crime by the marchioness de Tavora, who was the soul of the conspiracy. That lady, one of the finest women in Europe, of a superior genius and ambition, capable of every thing whether good or bad, was dreaded at court on account of her violent disposition, haughty spirit, and sarcastic pleasantries; she was the declared enemy of Carvalho, and never spoke of him but in the most reproachful terms, nor did she treat the king with more respect, whose whole conduct was the public object of her satirical insults; equally the enemy of the queen and the princesses, she treated them as her equals. But this terrible woman had a great number of followers, powerful vassals, as well as large estates. Her magnificence, her profusion, her winning looks, gained the affections of the people, whom she managed with great address. She blended her criminal disposition and her pride with extreme devotion, and was under the direction of an old jesuit, named Malagrida, a fanatical and visionary character, who believed himself to be inspired. Her husband, a general of cavalry, her two children, her son-in-law, the count of Atouguia, and her daughter-in-law, the marchioness of Tavora, were also under the spiritual direction of the jesuits, and subject to the will of this imperious woman. It was said, in Portugal, that the conspirators had no design to hurt the king, and that their sole object was Carvalho. This opinion was founded upon the circumstance that it was in the carriage of the minister the attempt was made upon the king; and as the royal coaches had passed on before without having been attacked, it has a claim to some degree of credit. After all, the profound mystery in which the whole proceeding was involved allows little more than conjecture.

The conspiracy, in the mean time, was carried on with great secrecy and equal indiscretion. The duke d'Aveiro, the marquis de Tavora, his two sons, the count d'Atouguia, the Almeidas, and the Sousas, were the respectable names which appeared at the head of two hundred and fifty persons of both sexes, who were accomplices without the secret having transpired: nevertheless, the duke d'Aveiro, proud at one moment, and cringing at another, rendered himself suspected by his menaces and indiscreet discourse. Love had also its share in this cruel scene. The young marchioness de Tavora carried on an intrigue with the king, which all her family considered as an affront, and they availed themselves of the mysterious visit which he paid every day to this lady.

On the day appointed to carry this horrid plot into execution, 3d September, 1758, the conspirators, to the number of one hundred and fifty, divided themselves into small troops, and took post in different parts of the way which the king was to pass. His majesty was in a calash, drawn by two mules, conducted by one postillion, and was accompanied only by his valet-de-chambre. The first band of conspirators let him pass on till he was in the midst of them, when two of them fired at the king's calash, which was pierced in various places, and the king received three wounds, the most con-

siderable of which was in his shoulder. His valet-de-chambre, whose name was Texeira, had the presence of mind to make the king truckle down at the bottom of the chaise, that he might sit over him, and at all risks cover his body. At the same time, the postillion, as brave and as faithful as Texeira, instead of pursuing the road or turning back again, turned with great address, and with the utmost speed, into a by-way, amid many other random shots, and by a circuitous road got back to the palace of Bellem. These two men, to whom the king owed his life, were amply recompensed.

The king, on arriving at the palace, covered himself with a cloak belonging to one of his guards, ordered Carvalho to be instantly called to him, and waited at the gate, without thinking of his wounds, or discovering the least sign of pain or apprehension. The minister, with his usual resolution, and maintaining the same magnanimity as his master, prohibited Texeira, the postillion, and guards from making any discovery of what had happened. He also recommended to the king himself silence and dissimulation. Nevertheless the news of this event having spread abroad, perhaps by the conspirators themselves, the people ran in a state of alarm and confusion to Bellem, and the nobles repaired to the palace. The duke d'Aveiro appeared the most anxious and alarmed of them all, and offered to place himself at the head of the cavalry to go in search of the assassins. But Carvalho removed his fears, pretended to make him his confidant, and with a mysterious air, recommended him to appear to know nothing of the matter: nevertheless, the minister already suspected him, from the knowledge he had of his turbulent spirit, and the well known hatred he bore to himself. The king, to dissipate the fears of his people, appeared at a window, and declared from thence, that the report of his assassination was false, that the slight hurt he had received was from no other cause but the accidental overturning of his calash. To confirm this belief, he engaged in his usual exercises even before he was cured of his wounds, and the agitated spirit of the people was universally quieted: even the conspirators themselves, deceived by the general tranquillity, took no precautions whatever to prevent discovery, and remained at ease. One alone, named Polycarp, a domestic of the Tavora family, being suspicious of this mysterious state of inaction, quitted the kingdom.

Nevertheless, Carvalho, in secrecy and in silence, took his measures to discover the authors of the conspiracy, and chance discovered them to him. A valet had an intrigue with the servant of the household of Tavora, and used to meet her lover in the gardens. One night, while he was waiting for his mistress, the conspirators assembled near the spot where he was concealed; and after they had conversed about the plot that had failed, unfolded the design of another. The valet heard all, and gave immediate information to the minister; who, on continuing his inquiries, found his suspicions confirmed, and was soon possessed of sufficient proofs of the conspiracy, and the persons concerned in it. The more Carvalho thought Aveiro and Tavora criminal, the more he flattered and caressed them. The first of them, through fear, and perhaps by the advice of his accomplices, who were more prudent than himself, asked permission to pass one month at his country seat, under the pretext of re-establishing his health. Carvalho immediately obtained leave for three months. The other had formerly solicited a commandry, and the minister now announced a grant of it, on the part of the king. In short, his majesty and the minister so conducted themselves, that the people not only ceased to speak of the assassination, but even to remember any thing concerning it.

However, in about six months, Carvalho proposed the marriage of his daughter with the count of Sampayo, a nobleman of high birth. The king accordingly signed the contract of marriage, and took upon himself the expenses of the wedding. All the grandees of the kingdom were invited to assist at the ceremony; and the duke d'Aveiro returned in great haste to Lisbon to be present at it. Ten battalions and as many squadrons of troops arrived the same night, and at the same hour in the capital. There were two balls which occupied the attention of the city; the one at Bellem, given by