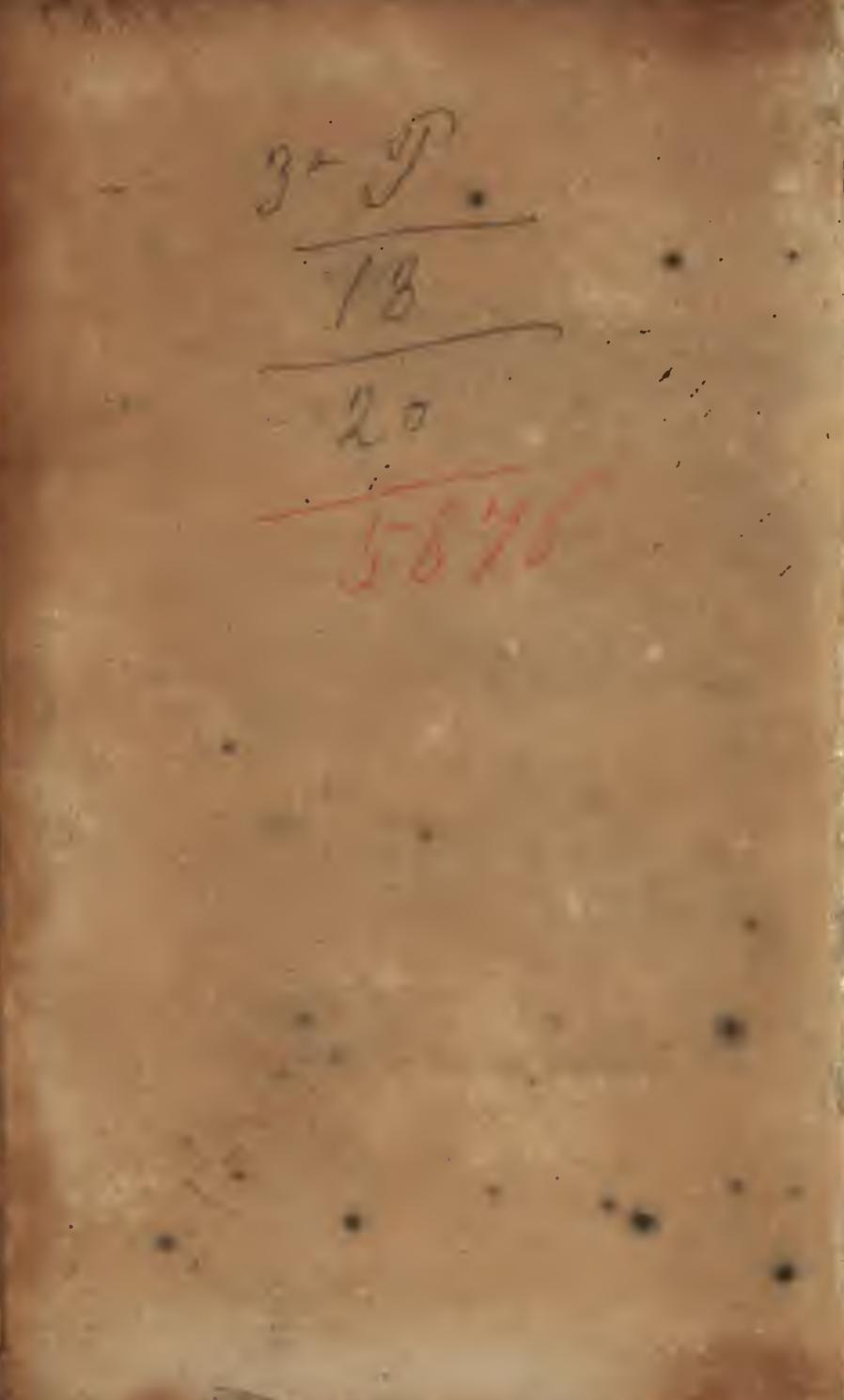








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THE Dhooffe

# REVOLUTIONS

OF

# PORTUGAL:

Written in French by the

## Abbot DE VERTOT,

OF THE

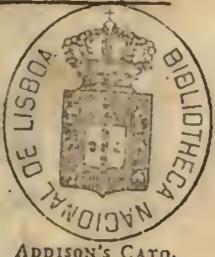
ROYAL ACADEMY

OF

## INSCRIPTIONS.

Done into English from the last French Edition.

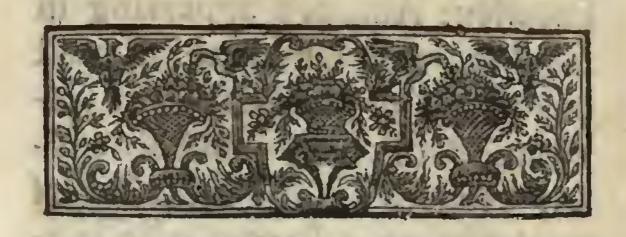
O think what anxious Moments pass between
The Birth of Plots, and their last fatal Periods!
Oh! 'tis a dreadful Interval of Time,
Fill'd up with Horror all, and big with Death!
Destruction hangs on every Word we speak,
On every Thought, till the concluding Stroke
Determines all, and closes our Design.



#### LONDON:

Printed for W. Taylor in Pater-noster-row; and C. Rivington in St. Paul's Church-yard. 1724.

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To His GRACE

## PHILIP

Duke of Wharton.

May it please your Grace;

Am not ignorant of the Censure I lay myself open to, in offering so incorrect a

Work to a Person of Your Grace's Judgment; and could not have had Assurance to do it, if I was unacquainted with Your Grace's Goodness. As this is not the first time of this Excel-

DAMES

Excellent Author's appearing in English, my Undertaking must expose me to abundance of Cavil and Criticism; and I see myself reduced to the Necessity of applying to a Patron who is able to protect me. Our modern Dedications are meer Daub and Flattery; but 'tis for those who deserve no better: Your Grace cannot be flatter'd; every body that knows the Duke of WHAR-TON. will say, there is no praising him, as there is no loving him, more than he deserves. But like other great Minds, Your Grace may be blind to your own Merit, and imagine I am complimenting, or doing something worse, whilst I am only giving your just Character; for which reason, however fond I am of so noble a Theme, I shall decline attempting it. Only this I must beg leave to say, Your Grace can't

Can't be enough admit'd for the Universal Learning which you are Master of, for your judgement in discerning, your Indulgence in excusing, for the great Stedfastness of your Soul, for your Contempt of Power and Grandeur, your Love for your Country, your Passion for Liberty, and (which is the best Characteristick) your Desire of doing Good to Mankind. I can hardly leave so agreeable a Subject, but I cannot say more than all the World knows already.

Your Grace's illustrious Father has left a Name behind
Him as glorious as any Person
of the Age: it is unnecessary to
enter into the Particulars of his
Character; to mention his
Name, is the greatest Panegyrick: Immediately to succeed
that Great Man, must have been
extremely to the Disadvantage

of

### Dedication.

of any other Person, but it is far from being so to Your Grace; it makes your Virtues but the more conspicuous, and convinces us the Nation is not without one Man worthy of being his Successor.

I have nothing more to trouble Your Grace with, than only to wish you the Honours you so well deserve, and to beg you would excuse my presuming to honour my-self with the Title of,

May it please your Grace,

Your Grace's most Obedient,

Humble Servant,

THE RESIDENCE OF A SOURCE STREET, SALES IN STREET

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agranashalfil our of glammange

Gabriel Roussillon.



# PREFACE.

Mongst the Historians of the present Age, none has more justly deserved, neither has any acquired a greater Reputation than the Abbot

de Vertot; not only by this Piece, but also by the Revolutions of Sweden and of Rome,

which he has since published.

This small History be has extracted from the \*Writings of several French, Spanish, Portuguese, and Italian Authors, as well as from the Testimony of many Persons, who were in Lisbon at the time of the Revolution. And I believe that it will be no difficult matter to persuade the Reader, that this little Volume is written with much more Politeness and Fidelity than any which has been published on this Subject.

And indeed there could be no Man fitter to undertake the Work than Mons. de Vertot; not only as he was Master of an excellent Style, and had all the Opportunities imaginable of informing himself of the Truth, but also as he

<sup>\*</sup> Jo. Marianæ Histor. Hispania illustrata. Hist. de Turquet. Reusendius de Antiq. Monarchia Lustrana. Connestag. Philippus Rex Lustraniæ. Histoire de Portugal, par Monsieur de la Neusvil. Lustran. Vindic. Caëtan Passar de Bello Lustra. Portugal-Restaurado de Menezes. Siry Mem. Recond. Mercure Francois. Troubles de Portugal. Mem. d'Ablon.

could have no Interest in speaking partially of either the one or the other Party; and therefore might say much more justly than Salust, De Conjuratione, quam virishime potero, paucis absolvam; eoque magis, quod mihi a Spe, Metu, Partibus Reipublicæ Animus liber est.

Would I undertake to prove the Impartiality of my Author, I could easily do it from several little Circumstances of his History. Does he not tell us, that the Inquisition is oftner a Terror to honest Men than to Rogues? Does he not paint the Arthbishop of Braga in all the Colours of a Traitor? And I am fully persuaded, that if a Churchman will own and discover the Frailties, or rather the Enormities of those of his own Cloth, he will tell the Truth in any thing else, and is worthy of being believed.

There are several Passages in the following Sheets, which really deserve our Attention; we shall see a Nation involved in Woe and Ruin, and all their Miseries proceeding from the Bigotry and Superstition of their Monarch, whose Zeal hurries him to inevitable Destruction, and whose Piety makes him sacrifice the Lives of 13000 Christians, without so much as having the Satisfaction of converting

one obstinate Insidel.

Such was the Fate of the rash Don Sebastian, who seemed born to be the Blessing of his People and the Terror of his Foes; who would have made a just, a wise, a truly pious. Monarch, had not his Education been entrusted to a fesuit. Nor is he the only unfortunate Prince, who, governed by intriguing and insinuating Churchmen, have proved the Ruin of their Kingdom, and in the end lost both

their Crown and Life.

We shall see a People, who, no longer able to bear a heavy Yoke, resolve to shake it off, and venture their Lives and their Fortunes for their Liberty: A Conspiracy prevail (if an Intent to revolt from an usurping Tyrant may be called a Conspiracy) in which so many Persons, whose Age, Quality, and Interest were very different, are engaged; and by the Courage and publick Spirit of a few, a happy and glorious Revolution brought about.

But scarce is the new King settled upon his Throne, and endeavouring to confirm his Authority abroad, when a horrid Conspiracy is forming against him at home: We shall see a Prelate at the Head of the Traitors, who, tho a bigotted Churchman, makes no scruple of borrowing the Assistance of the most professed Enemies of the Church to deliver her out of Danger, and to assassinate his lawful King: but the whole Plot is happily discovered, and those who were engaged in it meet with the just Reward of Treason and Rebellion, the Block and Gallows. Nor is it the first time that our own Nation has seen an Archbishop do-

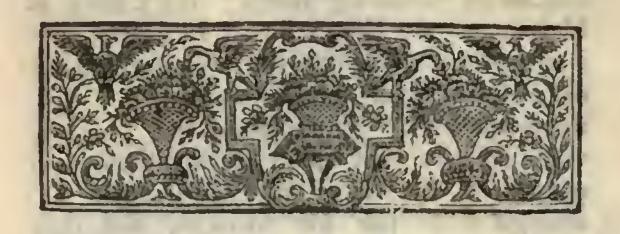
ing King and Country all the Harm he'

After the Death of her Husband, we see a Queen of an extraordinary Genius, and uncommon Courage, taking the Regency upon her; and tho at first oppressed with a Load of Misfortunes, rises against them all, and in the

end triumphs over her Enemies:

Under the next Reign we see the Kingdom almost invaded by the antient Usurper, and saved only by the Skill of a wise and brave General, who had much ado to keep the Foes out, whilst the People were divided at home, and loudly complained of the Riots and Debaucheries of their Monarch, and the tyrannick Conduct of his Minister. But we find how impossible a thing it is, that so violent a Government should last long; his Brother, a Prince rebose Virtues. were as famous, as the other's Vices were odious, to preserve the Crown in their Family, is forced to depose him, and take the Government upon himself: Ita Imperium semper ad optumum quemque ab minus bono transfertur.





#### THE

### REVOLUTION

OF

## PORTUGAL.

Tract of Land, known by the Name of Iberia or Spain, most of whose Provinces are call'd Kingdoms. It is bounded on the West by the Ocean, on the East by Castile. Its Length is about a hundred and ten Leagues, and its Breadth in the very broadest part does not exceed fifty. The Soil is fruitful, the Air wholesome; and tho under such a Climate we might expedimentally excessive Heats, yet here

we always find them allay'd with cooling Breezes or refreshing Rains. It's Crown is Hereditary, the King's Power Despotick, nor is the grand Inquisition the most useless means of preserving this absolute Authority. The Portuguese are by Nature proud and haughty, very zealous, but rather superstitious than religious; the most natural Events will amongst them pass for Miracles, and they are firmly persuaded that Heaven is always contriving something or other for their Good.

Who the first Inhabitants of this Country were, is not known, their own Historians indeed tell us that they are sprung from Tubal; for my part, I believe them descended from the Romans and Carthaginians, who long contended for those Provinces, and who were both at fundry times in actual possession of them. About the beginning of the fifth Century, the Sweeds, the Vandals, and all those other barbarous Nations, generally known by the Name of Goths, over-run the Empire; and, amongst other Places, made them themselves Masters of the Province of Spain. Portugal was then made a Kingdom, and was sometimes govern'd by its own Prince, at other times it was reckon'd part of the Dominions of the King of Castile.

712.

About the beginning of the eighth Century, during the Reign of Roderick, the last King of the Goths, the Moors, or rather the Arabians, Valid Almanzor being their Caliph, entered Spain. They were received and assisted by Julian, an Italian Nobleman, who made the Conquest of those Places easy, which might otherwise have proved difficult,

not

not out of any Affection to the Arabians, but from a Desire of revenging himself on Rode-

rick, who had debauched his Daughter.

The Arabians soon made themselves Masters of all the Country between the Streights of Gibraltar and the Pyrenees, excepting the Mountains of Asturia; where the Christians, commanded by Prince Pelagus, fled, who 717.

founded the Kingdom Oviedo or Leon.

Portugal, with the rest of Spain, became subject to the Infidels. In each respective Province, Governors were appointed, who after the Death of Almanzor revolted from his Successor, made themselves independant of any other Power, and took the Title of

Sovereign Princes.

They were driven out of Portugal about the beginning of the twelfth Century, by Henry Count of Burgundy, Son to Robert King of France. This Prince, full of the same Zeal which excited so many others to engage in a holy War, went into Spain on purpose to attack the Infidels; and fuch Courage, such Conduct did he show, that Alphonso VI. King of Castile and Leon, made him General of his Army: and afterwards, that he might for ever engage so brave a Soldier, he married him to one of his Daughters, named Teresia, and gave him all those Places from which he had driven the Moors. The Count, by new Conquests, extended his Dominions and founded the Kingdom of Portugal, but never gave himself the Royal Title.

Alphonso, his Son, did not only inherit his Father's Dominions, but his Virtues also; and not content with what the Count his Father had

1139.

lest him, he vigorously carried on the War, and encreas'd his Territories. Having obtained a signal Victory over the Arabians, his Soldiers unanimously proclaimed him King; which Title his Successors have ever since born.

And now this Family had sway'd the Scepter of Portugal for almost the space of five hundred Years, when Don Sebastian came to the Crown; he was the posthumous Son of Don John, who died some time before his Father, Don John III. Son of the renowned

King Emanuel.

1557.

Don Sebastian was not above three Years of Age when the old King died; his Grandmother Catharine, of the House of Austria, Daughter to Philip I. King of Castule, and Sister to the Emperor Charles V. was made Regent of Portugal during his Minority. Don Alexis de Menezes, a Nobleman noted for his singular Piety, was appointed Governour to the young King, and Don Lewis, de Camara, La Jesuit, was named for his Tutor.

From such Teachers as these, what might not be expected? They filled his Mindwith Sentiments of Honour, and his Soul with Devotion. But, (which may at first appear strange or impossible) these Notions were too often, and too strongly inculcated in

him.

Prince what Victories his Predecessors had obtain'd over the Moors in the Indies, and in almost every part of Africa. On the other hand, the Jessit was perpetually teaching him, that the Crown of Kings was the immediate

Gonzulvier

mediate Gift of God, and that therefore the chiefest Duty of a Prince was to propagate the Holy Gospel, and to have the Word of the Lord preached to those Nations, who had

never heard of the Name of Christ.

These different Ideas of Honour and Religion made a deep impression on the Heart of Don Sebastian, who was naturally pious. Scarce, therefore, had he taken the Government of Portugal upon himself, but he thought of transporting an Army into Africa; and to that end he often conferr'd with his Officers, but oftener with his Missionaries and other Ecclesiasticks.

A Civil War breaking out about this time in Morocco seem'd very much to savour his Design. The Occasion was this: Muley Mahomet had caus'd himself to be proclaim'd King of Morocco after the Death of Abdalla, his Father; Muley Moluc, Abdalla's Brother, opposed him, objecting that he had ascended the Throne contrary to the Law of the Cherifs, by which it is ordained, That the Crown shall devolve to the King's Brethren, if he has any, and his Sons be excluded the Succettion. This occasion'd a bloody War between the Uncle and the Nephew; but Muley Moluc, who was as brave a Soldier as he was a wife Commander, defeated Mahomet's Army in three pitch'd Battles, and drove him out of Africa.

The exil'd Prince sted for Resuge to the Court of Portugal, and sinding Access to Don Sebastian, told him, that notwithstanding his Missortunes, there were still a considerable Number of his Subjects, who were loyal in

B 3

their

their Hearts, and wanted only an Opportunity of declaring themselves in his savour. That, besides this, he was very well assured that Moluc was afflicted with a lingring Difwhich prey'd upon his Vitals; that .Hamet, Moluc's Brother, was not belov'd by the People; that therefore if Don Sebastian would but send him with a small Army into Africa, so many of his Subjects would come over to him, that he did not in the least question but that he should soon re-establish himself in his Father's Dominions: which, if he did recover by these means, the Kingdom should become tributary to the Crown of Portugal; nay, that he would much rather have Don Sebastian himself fill the Throne of Morocco, then see it in possession of the pre-

sent Usurper.

Don Sebastian, who was ever entertaining himself with the Ideas of future Conquests, thought this Opportunity of planting the Christian Religion in Morocco was not to be neglected; and therefore promis'd the Moorish King not only his Assistance, but rashly engaged himself in the Expedition, giving out that he intended to command the Army in Person. The wisest of his Councellors in vain endeavour'd to dissuade him from the dangerous Design. His Zeal, his Courage, and inconsiderate Rashness, the common Fault of Youth, as well as some Flatterers, the Bane of Royalty, and Destruction of Princes, all prompted him to continue fixed in his Resolution, and persuaded him that he needed only appear in Africa to overcome, and that his Conquests would be both easy and glorious

1

Army of Thirteen Thousand Men, with which he was to drive a powerful Prince out of his own Dominions.

Moluc had timely notice given him of the Portuguese Expedition, and of their landing in Africa; he had put himself at the head of Forty Thousand Horsmen, all disciplin'd Soldiers, and who were not so much to be dreaded for their Number and Courage, as they were for the Conduct of their General. His Infantry he did not at all value himself upon, not having above Ten Thousand Regular Men; there was indeed a vast Number of the Militia, and others of the People who came pouring down to his Assistance, but these he justly look'd upon as Men who were rather come to plunder than to fight, and who would at any time side with the Conqueror.

Several Skirmishes were fought, but Moluc's Officers had private Orders still to fly before the Foe, hoping thereby to make the Portuguese leave the Shore, where they had intrench'd themselves. This Stratagem had its desir'd Effect; for Don Sebastian, observingthat the Moors still fled before him, order'd his Army to leave their Intrenchments, and marched against the Foe as to a certain Victory. Moluc made his Army retire, as if he did not dare to fight a decisive Battle; nay, sent Messengers to Don Sebastian, who pretended they were order'd to treat of Peace. The King of Portugal immediately concluded, that his Adversary was doubtful of the Success of the War, and that 'twould be an easier matter to overcome Moluc's Army, than

18000 ?

to join them; he therefore indefatigably pursued them. But the Moor had no sooner drawn him far enough from the Shore, and made it impossible for him to retire to his Fleet, but he halted, faced the Portuguese, and put his Army in Battalia; the Horse making a half Circle, with intent, as foon as they engaged, to furround the Enemy on every fide. Moluc made Hamet, his Brother and Successor, Commander in chief of the Cavalry; but as he doubted his Courage, he came up to him a little before the Engagement, told him that he must either conquer or die, and that should he prove Coward enough to turn his back upon the Foe, he

would strangle him with his own hand.

The reason why Moluc did not command the Army himself, was, that he was sensible of the Increase of his lingring Disease, and found that in all probability this Day would be his last, and therefore resolved to make it the most glorious of his Life. He put his Army, as I said before, in Battalia himself, and gave all the necessary Orders with as much Presence of Mind, as if he had enjoy'd the greatest Health. He went farther than this; for foreseeing what a sudden Damp the News of his Death might cast upon the Courage of his Soldiers, he order'd the Officers that were about him, that if during the Heat of the Battle he should die, they should carefully conceal it, and that even after his Death, his Aides de Camp should come up to his Litter, as if to receive fresh Orders. After this he was carried from Rank to Rank, where he exhorted his Soldiers to fight bravely for the Defence

Desence of their Religion and their Coun-

try.

But now the Combat began, and the great Artillery being discharg'd, the Armies join'd. The Portuguese Infantry foon routed the Moorish Foot-Soldiers, who, as was before mention'd, were raw and undisciplin'd: the Duke d' Aviedo engaged with a Party of Horse so happily, that they gave ground, and retir'd to the very Center of the Army, where the King was. Enraged at so unexpected a Sight, notwithstanding what his Officers could say or do, he threw himself out of his Litter; Sword in hand he clear'd himself a Passage, rallied his flying Soldiers, and led them back himself to the Engagement. But this Action quite exhausting his remaining Strength and Spirits, he fainted; his Officers put him into his Litter, where he just recover'd Strength enough to put his Finger upon his Mouth once more, to enjoin Secrecy, then died before they could convey him back to his Tent. His Commands were obey'd, and the News of his Death concealed.

Hitherto the Christians seemed to have the Advantage, but the Moorish Horse advancing at last, hemmed in Sebastians whole Army, and attacked them on every side. The Cavalry was drove back upon their Infantry, whom they trampled under soot, and spread every where amongst their own Soldiers Disorder, Fear, and Consustion. The Insidels seized upon this Advantage, and Sword in hand sell upon the conquered Troops; a dreadful Slaughter ensued, some on their knees begged for quarter, others thought to save

Aveiro

fave themselves by flight, but being surrounded by their Foes, met their Fate in another place. The rash Don Sebastian himself was slain, but whether he fell amidst the Horror and Confusion of the Battle, not be ing known by the Moors, or whether he was resolved not to survive the Loss of so many Aug. 4. Field of Slaughter, is doubtful. Muley Ma-

1578. homet got off, but passing the River Mucazen, was drowned. Thus perished, in one fatal Day,

three Heroick Princes.

The Cardinal, Don Henry, great Uncle to Don Sebastian, succeeded him; he was Brother to John III. the late King's Grandfather, and Son to Emanuel. During his Reign, his pretended Heirs made all the Interest they could in the Court of Portugal, being well assured that the present King, who was weak and fickly, and fixty-feven Years old, could not be long-liv'd; nor could he marry, and' leave Children behind him, for he was a Cardinal, and in Priests Orders. The Succesfion was claimed by Philip II. King of Spain; Catherine of Portugal, espoused to Don James, Duke of Braganza; by the Duke of Savoy; the Duke of Parma; and by Antonio, Grand Prior of Creek: They all published their respective Manisesto's, in which every one declared their Pretenfions to the Crown.

- Philip was Son to the Infanta Isabella, eldest Daughter of King Emanuel. The Dutchess of Braganza was Grandaughter to the same King Emanuel, by Edward his second Son. The Duke of Savoy's Mother was the Princess Beatrix, a younger Sister of the Empress.

2/10

Isabella. The Duke of Parma was Son to Mary of Portugal, the second Daughter of Prince Edward, and Sister to the Dutchess of Braganza. Don Lewis, Duke of Beja, was second Son to King Emanuel by Violenta the finest Lady of that Age, whom he had debauched, but whom the Grand Prior pretended to have been privately married to that Prince. Catherine de medicis, amongst the rest, made her Claim, as being descended from Alphonso III. King of Portugal and Mand Countess of Bolonia. The Pope too put in his Claim; he would have it, that after the Reign of the Cardinal, Portugal must be look'd upon as a fat Living in his Gifr, and to which, like many a modern Patron, he would

willingly have presented himself.

But notwithstanding all their Pretensions, it plainly appeared that the Succession belonged either to Philip King of Spain, or to the Dutchels of Braganza, a Lady of an extraordinary Merit, and beloved by the whole Nation. The Duke, her spouse, was descended, tho not in a direct Line, from the Royal Blood, and she her-self was sprung from Prince Edward; whereas the King of Spain was Son to Edward's Sister: besides, by the Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, all Strangers were excluded the Succession. This Philip owned, since thereby the Pretensions of Savoy and Parma vanished; but he would by no means acknowledge himself a Stranger in Portugal, which he said had often been part of the Dominions of the King of Each had their several Parties at Castile. and the Cardinal King was daily Court, MARIE pressed

press'd to decide the Difference, but always evaded it; he could not bear to hear of his Successors, and would willingly have liv'd to have buryed all his pretended Heirs: however, his Reign lasted but 17 Months, and by his Death *Portugal* became the unhappy Theatre of Civil Wars.

1580.

By his last Will he had order'd, that a Juncto, or Assembly of the States, should be call'd, to settle the Succession; but King Philip, not caring to wait for their Decision, sent a powerful Army into Portugal, commanded by the Duke of Alba, which ended the Dispute, and put Philip in possession of that Kingdom.

We cannot find that the Duke of Braganza uis'd any Endeavours to affert his Right by force of Arms. The Grand Prior indeed did all he could to oppose the Castilians; the Mob had proclaimed him King, and he took the Title upon him, as if it had been given by the States of Portugal: and his Friends rais'd some Forces for him, but they were soon cut in pieces by the Duke of Alba, than whom Spain could not have chosen a better General. As much as the Portuguese hate the Castilians, yet could they not keep them out, being disunited among themselves, and having no General, nor any Regular Troops on foot. Most of the Towns, for fear of being plundered, capitulated, and made each their several Treaty; so that in a short time Philip was acknowledg'd their lawful Sovereign by the whole Nation, as being next Heir Male to his great Uncle, the late King: of such wondrous use is open Force to support a bad Cause!

1581.

After

After him reign'd his Son and Grandson, Philip III. and IV. who us'd the Portuguese not like Subjects, but like a conquer'd People; and the Kingdom of Portugal saw itself dwindle into a Province of Spain, and so weaken'd, that there was no hope lest of recovering their Liberty: Their Noblemen durst not appear in an Equipage suitable to their Birth, for fear of making the Spanish Minsters jealous of their Greatness or Riches; the Gentry were confin'd to their Country-Seats, and the People oppress'd with Taxes.

The Duke of Olivarez, who was then first Minister to Philip IV. King of Spain, was firmly perswaded, that all means were to be us'd to exhaust this new Conquest; he was sensible of the natural Antipathy of the Portuguese and Castilians, and thought that the former could never calmly behold their chief Posts fill'd with Strangers, or at best with Portuguese of a Plebeian Extraction, who had nothing else to recommend 'em but their Zeal for the Service of Spain. He thought, therefore, that the surest way of establishing King Philip's Power, was to remove the Nobility of Portugal from all Places of Trust, and so to impoverish the People, that they should never be capable of attempting to shake of the Spanish Yoke. Besides this, he employ'd the Portuguese Youth in foreign Wars, resolving to drain the Kingdom of all those who were capable of bearing Arms.

As politick as this Conduct of Olivarez might appear, yet did he miss his aim; for carrying his Cruelty to too high a pitch, at time when the Court of Spain was in distress,

and

and seeming rather to plunder an Enemy's Country, than levying Taxes from the Portuguese, who daily saw their Miseries encrease, and be the consequence of their Attempt what it would, they could never fare worse, unanimously resolv'd to free themselves from the intolerable Tyranny of Spain.

1640.

Margaret of Savoy, Dutchess of Mantua, was then in Portugal, where she had the Title of Vice-Queen, but was very far from having the Power. Miguel Vasconcellos, a Portuguese by Birth, but attach'd to the Spanish Interest, had the Name of Secretary of State, but was indeed an absolute and independant Minister, and dispatch'd, without the knowledge of the Vice-Queen, all the secret Business; his Orders he receiv'd directly from d' Olivarez, whose Creature he was, and who found him absolutely necessary for extorting vast Sums of Money from the Portuguese. He was so deeply learn'd in the Art of Intriguing, that he could perpetually make the Nobility jealous of one another, then would he foment their Divisions, and encrease their Animosities, whereby the Spanish Government became every day more absolute; for the Duke was affur'd, that whilst the Grandees were engag'd in private Quarrels, they would never think of the Common Cause.

The Duke of Braganza was the only man in all Portugal, of whom the Spaniards were now jealous. His Humour was agreeable, and the chief thing he consulted was his Ease. He was a Man rather of sound Sense, than quick Wit. He could easily make him-

felf

felf Master of any Business to which he apply'd his Mind, but then he never car'd much for the Trouble on't. Don Theodocius, Duke of Braganza, his Father, was of a fiery and passionate Temper, and had taken care to insuse in his Son's Mind an Hereditary Aversion to the Spaniards, who had usurp'd a Crown, that of Right belong'd to him; to swell his Mind with the Ambition of reposessing himself of a Throne, which his Ansestors had been unjustly depriv'd of; and to fill his Soul with all the Courage that would be necessary for the carrying on of so

great a Defign.

Nor was this Prince's Care wholly lost; Don John had imbib'd as much of the Sentiments of his Father as were consistent with so mild and easy a Temper. He abhorr'd the Spaniards, yet was not at all uneasy at his Incapacity of revenging himself. He entertain'd Hopes of ascending the Throne of Portugal, yet did he not shew the least Impatience, as Duke Theodosius, his Father, had done, but contented himself with a distant Prospect of a Crown; nor would for an Uncertainty venture the Quiet of his Life, and a Fortune which was already greater than what was well consistent with the Condition of a Subject. Had he been precisely what Duke Theodosius wish'd him, he had never been sit for the great Design; for d'Olivarez had him observ'd so strictly, that had his easy and pleasant manner of Living proceeded from any other Cause but a natural Inclination, it had certainly been discovered, and the discovery had proved fatal both to his Life

Life and Fortune: at least the Court of Spain would never have suffered him to live in so splendid a manner in the very Heart of his

Country.

Had he been the most refin'd Politician, he could never have lived in a manner less capable of giving Suspicion. His Birth, his Riches, his Title to the Crown, were not. criminal in themselves, but became so by the Law of Policy. This he was very fensible of, and therefore chose this way of Living, prompted to it as well by Nature as by Reason. It would have been a Crime to be formidable, he must therefore take care not to appear so: At Villa-Viciosa, the Seat of the Dukes of Braganza, nothing was thought of but Hunting-Matches, and other Rural Diversions; the Brightness of his Parts could not in the least make the Spaniards apprehend any bold Undertaking, but the Solidity of his Understanding made the Portuguese promise themselves the Enjoyment of a mild and easy King, provided they would undertake to raise him to the Throne. But an Accident soon after happened, which very much alarmed Olivarez.

Some new Taxes being laid upon the People of Evora, which they were not able to pay, reduced them to Despair; upon which they rose in a tumultuous manner, loudly exclaiming against the Spansson Tyranny, and declaring themselves in favour of the House of Braganza. Then, but too late, the Court of Spain began to be sensible of their Error, in leaving so rich and powerfull a Prince in the Heart of a Kingdom so lately subdued,

and to whose Crown he had such Legal Pretensions:

This made the Council of Spain immediately determine, that it was necessary to secure the Duke of Braganza, or at best not to let him make any longer stay in Portugal. To this end they named him Governour of Milan, which Government he refus'd, alledging the Weakanels of his Constitution for an Excuse: be sides, he said he was wholly unacquainted with the Assairs of Italy, and by consequence not capable of acquitting himself in so weight ty a Post.

THE Duke d'Olivarez seemed to approve 1646? of the Excuse, and therefore began to think of some new Expedient to draw him to Court. The King's marching at the Head of his Army to the Frontiers of Arragon, to suppress the rebelling Catalonians, was a very good Pretence; he wrote to the Duke of Braganza, "to come at the Head of the Portuguese Nobility to serve the King in an " Expedition, which could not but be gloc rious, since his Majesty commanded it in "Person." The Duke, who had no great Relish for any Favour conferr'd by the Court. of Spain, excused himself, upon Pretence that his Birth would oblige him to be at a much ec greater Expence than what he was at prese sent able to support.

This second Refusal alarm'd d'Olivarez Notwithstanding Don John's easy Temper, he began to be afraid that the Evorians had made an Impression upon his Thoughts, by teminding him of his Right to the Throne,

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It was dangerous to leave him any longer in his Country, and equally dangerous to hurry him out of it by force; so great a Love had the Portuguese ever bore to the House of Braganza, so great a Respect did they bear to this Duke in particular. He must therefore treacherously be drawn into Spain, nor could any properer means be thought of, for compassing this end, than by shewing him all the feeming Tokens of an unfeigned Friendship. France and Spain were at that time engag'd in War, and the French Fleet had been seen off the Coasts of Portugal. This gave the Spanish Minister a fair opportunity of accomplishing his Ends; for it was necessary to have an Army on foot, under the Command of some brave General, to hinder the French from making a Descent, or landing any where in Portugal. The Commission was sent to the Duke of Braganza, with an absolute Authority over all the Towns and Garisons, as well as a Power over the maritime Forces; in short, so unlimited was the Command given him, that the Minister seemed blindly to have deliver'd all Portugal into his Power: but this was only the better to colour his Design. Don Lopez Ozorio, the Spanish Admiral, had private Orders sent him, that as soon as Don John should visit any of the Ports, he should put in, as if drove by stress of Weather; then artfully invite the General aboard, immediately hoist fail, and with all possible Expedition bring him into Spain. But propitious Fortune seem'd to have taken him into her Protection; a violent Storm arose, which dispers'd the Spanish Fleet, part of which

which suffer'd Shipwreck, and the rest were so shatter'd, that they could not make Por-

tugal.

This ill Success did not in the least discourage Olivarez, or make him drop his Project; he attributed the Escape of the Duke of Braganza to meer Chance: he wrote him a Letter, full of Expressions of Friendship, and as if he had with him shar'd the Government of the whole Kingdom, wherein he deplor'd the Lois of the Fleer, and rold him, that the King now expected that he would carefully review all the Ports and their respective Fortifications; seeing that the Fleets which was to defend the Coasts of Portugal from the Insults of the French; had miserably perish'd. And that his Villany might not be suspected, he return'd him Forty Thousand Ducats to defray his Expences, and to raise more Troops; in case there should be a Necessity of them. At the same time he sent private Orders to all the Governours of Forts and Citadels, (the greatest part whereof were Spaniards) that if they should find a savour able Occasion of securing the Duke of Braganza, they should do it, and forthwith convey him into Spain.

This intire Confidence, which was reposed in him, alarmed the Duke; he plainly faw that there was Treachery intended, and therefore thought it just to return the Treachery. He wrote an Answer to Olivarez, wherein he told him, that with Joy he accepted the Honour which the King had conferred upon him, in naming him his General, and promised so to discharge the important

Trust, as to deserve the Continuation of his

Majesty's Favour.

But now the Duke began to have a nearer Prospect of the Throne; nor did he neglect this Opportunity of putting some of his Friends into Places of Trust, that they might be the more able to serve him upon Occasion; he also employed part of the Spanish Money in making new Creatures, and confirming those in his Interest whom he had already. made. And as he partly mistrusted the Spaniards Design, he never visited any Fort, but he was surrounded by such a Number of Friends, that it was impossible for the Governours to

execute their Orders.

Mean while the Court of Spain loudly. murmured at the Trust which was reposed in Don John, they were ignorant of the Prime Ministers Aim, and therefore some did not stick to tell the King, that his near Alliance to the House of Braganza made him overlook his Masters Interest; seeing that it was the highest Imprudence to put so absolute an Authority into the Hands of one who had such Pretensions to the Crown, and to entrust the Army to the Command of one, who in all probability might make the Soldiers turn their Arms against their lawful Sovereign. But the more they complained, the better was the King pleased, being perswaded that the Plot was artfully laid, fince no one could unravel the dark Design. Thus Braganza not only had the Liberty, but was obliged to. visit all Portugal, and by that means laid the Foundation of his future Fortune. Eyes of the Many where every where drawn by

by his magnificent Equipage, all that came to him, he mildly, and with unequaled Goodness heard; the Soldiers were not suffered to commit the least Disorders, and he laid hold of all Opportunities of praising the Conduct of the Officers, and by frequent Recompences bestowed upon them, won their Hearts. The Nobility were charmed with his free Deportment, he received every one of them in the most obliging Manner, and paid each the Respect due to his Quality. In short, such was his Carriage, that the People began to think there could be no greater Happiness for them upon Earth, than the Restoration of the Prince to the Throne of his Ancestors.

Mean while his Party omitted nothing that they thought might contribute to the establishing of his Reputation. Amongst others, Pinto Ribeiro, Comptrollor of his Houshold, particularly distinguished himself, and was the first who formed an exact Scheme for the Advancement of his Master. There was no Man more experienced in Business, who at the same time was so careful, diligent, and watchful: he was firm to the Interest of the Duke, not doubting but that if he could raise him to the Throne, he should raise himself to some considerable Post. His Master had often privately affured him, that he would willingly lay hold of any fair Opportunity for his Restoration, yet would not rashly declare himself, as a Man who had nothing to lose; that notwithstanding he might endeavour to gain the Minds of the People, and to make new Creatures, yet he must do it

with that Caution, that it might appear his own Work, and done without the Consent

and Knowledge of the Duke.

Pinto had spar'd no Pains in discovering who were, and the Number of, the Disaffected, which he daily endeavour'd to en-crease; he rail'd against the present Government sometimes with Heat, at other times with Caution, always accommodating himself to the Humour of the Company which he was in: the indeed so great was the Hatred which the Portuguese bore the Spaniards, that there was no Need of Reserve in complaining of them. He would often remind the Nobility what honourable Employments their Forefathers had born, when Portugal was govern'd by its own Kings. Then would he mention the Summons which had so much exasperated the Nobility, and by which they were commanded to attend the King in Catalonia. Pinto us'd to complain of this Hardship as of a Kind of Banishment, from which they would scarce find it possible to return; that the Pride of the Spaniards, who would command them, was insufferable, and the Expence they should be at intolerable; that this was only a plausible Pretence to drain Portugal of its bravest Men, that in all their Expeditions they might be assur'd of being expos'd where the greatest Danger was, but that they must never hope to share the least Part of the Glory.

When he was amongst the Merchants and other Citizens, he would bewail the Misery of his Country, which was ruin'd by the Injustice of the Spaniard, who had transferr'd

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the Trade, which Portugal carried on with the Indies, to Cadiz. Then would he remind them of the Felicity which the Dutch and Catalonians enjoy'd, who had shaken off the Spanish Yoke. As for the Clergy, he did not in the least question but that he should engage 'em in his Interest, and exasperate emmost irreconcileably against the Castilians; he told them, that the Immunities and Privileges of the Church were violated, their Orders contemn'd and neglected, and that all the best Preferments and fattest Livings

were possessed by foreign Incumbents.

When he was with those, of whose Disaffection he was already convinc'd, he would take Care to turn his Discourse to his Master, and talk of his Manner of Living. would often complain, that that Prince shew'd too little Affection for the Good of his Country, and Concern for his own Interest; and that at a time when it was in his Power to assert his Title to the Crown, he should feem so regardless of his own Right, and lead so idle a Life. Finding that these Insinuations made an Impression upon the People, he went still farther: To those who were publick - spirited, he represented what a glorious thing it would be for them to lay the Foundations of a Revolution, and to deserve the Name of Deliverers of their Country. Those who had been injur'd and ill-treated by the Spaniards, he would excite to the Defire of Revenge; and the Ambitious he flatter'd with a Prospect of the Grandeurs and Preferments they might expect from the new King, would they once raise him to the Throne.

Throne. In short, he manag'd every thing with so much Art, that being privately assured of the unshaken Assection of many to his Master, he procur'd a Meeting of a considerable Number of the Nobility, with the Archbishop of Lisbon at the head of them.

This Prelate was of the House of Acugna, one of the best Families of all Portugal; he was a Man of Learning, and an excellent Politician, belov'd by the People, but hated by the Spaniards, and whom he had also just Cause to hate, since they had made Don Schastian Maltos de Norognia, Archbishop of Braga, President of the Chamber of Opaco, whom they had all along preserr'd to him, and to whom they had given a great share in the

Administration of Affairs.

Another of the most considerable Members of this Assembly, was Don Miguel d' Almeida, a venerable old Man, and who deserved, and had the Esteem of every body; he was very publick-spirited, and was not so much grieved at his own private Misfortunes, as at those of his Country, whose Inhabitants were become the Slaves of an usurping Tyrant. In these Sentiments he had been educated, and to these with undaunted Courage and Resolution he still adhered; nor could the Entreaties of his Relations, nor the repeated Advices of his Friends, ever make him go to Court, or cringe to the Spanish Ministers. This Carriage of his had made them jealous of him. This therefore was the Man whom Pinto first cast his Eyes upon, being well as-sured that he might safely entrust him with the Secret; besides which, no one could be more

more useful in carrying on their Design, his Interest with the Nobility being so great, that he could easily bring over a considerable

Number of them to his Party.

There were, besides these two, at this first Meeting, Don Antonio d' Almada, an intimate Friend of the Archbishop's, with Don Levis, his Son; Don Lewis d' Acugna, Nephew to that Prelate, and who had married. Don Antonio d'Almada's Daughter; Mello Lord Ranger, Don George his Brother; Pedro Mendoza; Don Rodrigo de Saa, Lord-Chamberlain: with several other Officers of the Houshold, whose Places were nothing now but empty Titles, since Portugal had lost her own natural Kings...

The Archbishop, who was naturally a good Rhetorician, broke the Ice in this Assembly; he made an eloquent Speech, in which he set forth the many Grievances Portugal had laboured under since it had been subject to the Domination of Spain. He reminded them of the Number of Nobility which Philip II. had butchered to secure his Conquest; nor had he been more favourable to the Church, witness the famous Brief of Conostagio Absolution, which he had obtained from the Pope for the Murder of Two Thousand Priests, or others of Religious Orders, whom he had barbarously put to Death, on no other Account but to secure his Usurpation: And fince that unhappy time the Spaniards had not changed their inhuman Policy. How many had fallen for no other Crime but their unshaken Love to their Country! That none of those. who were there present could call their Lives

or their Estates their own: That the Nobility were flighted and removed from all Places of Trust, Profit, or Power: That the Church was fill'd with a scandalous Clergy, since Vasconcellos had dispos'd of all the Livings, and to which he had preferr'd his own Creatures only: That the People were oppress'd with excessive Taxes, whilst the Earth remain'd untill'd for want of Hands, their Labourers being all sent away by Force, for Soldiers to Catalonia: That this last Summons for the Nobility to attend the King was only a specious Pretence to force them out of their own Country, lest their Presence might prove an Obstacle to some cruel Design, which was doubtless on foot: That the mildest Fate they could hope for was a tedious, if not a perpetual Banishment; and that whilst they were ill-treated by the Castilians abroad, Strangers should enjoy their Estates, and new Colonies take Possession of their Habitations. He concluded by assuring them, that so great were the Miseries of his Country, that he would rather chuse to die ten thoufand Deaths, than be obliged to see the Encrease of them; nor would he now entertain one thought of Life, did he not hope that so many Persons of Quality were not met together in vain.

This Discourse had its desir'd Effect, by reminding every one of the many Evils which they had suffer'd. Each seem'd earnest to give some Instance of Vasconcellos's Cruelty. The Estates of some had been unjustly consistented, whilst others had hereditary Places and Governments taken from them;

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some had been long confin'd in Prisons thro the Jealousy of the Spanish Ministers, and many bewailed a Father, a Brother, or a Friend, either detained at Madrid, or sent into Catalonia as Hostages of the Fidelity of their unhappy Countrymen. In short, there was not one of those who were engaged in this Publick Cause, but what had some private Quarrel to revenge: but nothing provoked them more than the Catalonian Expedition; they plainly saw, that it was not so much the Want of their Assistance, as the Defire of ruining them, which made the Spawish Minister oblige them to that tedious and expensive Voyage, These Considerations, joined to their own private Animolities, made them unanimously resoive to venture Life and Fortune, rather than any longer to bear the heavy Yoke: but the Form of Government, which they ought to chuse, caused a Division amongst them. Part of the Assembly were for making themselves a Republick, as Holland had lately done; others were for a Monarchy, but could not agree upon the choice of a King: some proposed the Duke of Braganza, some the Marquiss de Villareal, and others the Duke de Aviedo, (all three Aveiro Princes of the Royal Blood of Portugal,) according as their different Inclinations or Interests byass'd them. But the Archbishop, who was wholly devoted to the House of Braganza, assuming the Authority of his Character, set forth with great Strength of Reason, That the Choice of a Government was not in their Power; that the Oath of Allegiance, which they had taken to the King

of Spain, could not in conscience be brokent unless it was with a design to restore theirightful Sovereign to the Throne of his Fa thers, which every one knew to be the Duke of Braganza; that they must therefore resolve to proclaim him King, or for ever to continue under the Tyranny of the Spanish Usurper. After this, he made 'em consider the Power and Riches of this Prince, as well as the great Number of his Vassals, on whom depended almost a third Part of the Kingdom. He shewed 'em it was impossible for em to drive the Spaniards out of Portugal, unless he was at their head: that the only Way to engage him, would be by making him an-Offer of the Crown, which they would be under a Necessity of doing, altho he was not the first Prince of the Royal Blood. Then began he to reckon all those excellent Qualities with which he was endowed, as his Wisdom, his Prudence; but above all, his affable Behaviour, and inimitable Goodness. In short, his Words prevailed so well upon every one, that they unanimously declared him their King, and promised that they would spare no Pains, no Endeavours to engage him to enter into their Measures: after which, having agreed upon the time and place of a second Meeting, to concert the Ways and Means of bringing this happy Revolution about, the Assembly broke up.

Pinto, observing how well the minds of the People were disposed in Favour of his Master, wrote privately to him, to acquaint him with the Success of the first Meeting, and advised him to come, as if by Chance, to Lishon, that

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by his Presence he might encourage the Conspirators, and at the same time get some Opportunity of conferring with them. This Man spent his whole time in negotiating this grand Affair, yet did ir so artfully, that no one could suspect his having any farther Interest in it, than his Concern for the publick Welfare. He seemingly doubted whether his Master would ever enter into their Measures, objecting his natural Aversion to any Undertaking which was hazardous and required Application: then would he start some Difficulties, which were of no other Use but to destroy all Suspicion of his having any Understanding with his Master, and were so far from being weighty enough to discourage them, that they rather served to excite their Ardour.

Upon the Advice given by Pinto, the Duke lest Villaviçiosa, and came to Almada, a Castle near Lisbon, on Pretence of visiting it as he had done the other Fortifications of that Kingdom. His Equipage was so magnificent, and he had with him such a Number of the Nobility and Gentry, as well as of Officers, that he looked more like a King going to take Possession of a Kingdom, than like the Governor of a Province, who was viewing the Places and Forts under his Jurisdiction: he was so near Lisbon, that he was under an Obligation of going to pay his Devoirs to the Vice-Queen. As soon as he enter'd the Palace-Yard, he found the Avenues crowded with infinite Numbers of People, who pressed forward to see him pass along; and all the Nobility came to wait upon him, and to

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accompany him to the Vice-Queen's. It was a general Holiday throughout the City, and so great was the Joy of the People, that there seem'd only a Herald wanting to pro-claim him King, or Resolution enough in him-

self to put the Crown upon his Head.

But the Duke was too prudent to trust to the uncertain Sallies of an inconstant People. He knew what a vast Difference there was between their vain Shouts, and that Steddiness which is necessary to support so great an Enterprize. Therefore, after having paid his Respects to the Vice-Queen, and taken leave of her, he return'd to Almada, without so much as going to Braganza-House, or passing thro the City, lest he should encrease the Jealousy of the Spaniards, who already seem'd very uneasy at the Affection which the People had so unanimously express'd for the Duke.

Pinto took Care to make his Friends obferve the unnecessary Caution which his Master us'd, and that therefore they ought not
to neglect this Opportunity, which his Stay
at Almada afforded them, to wait upon that
Prince, and to persuade, nay, as tho it were
to force him to accept the Crown. The Conspirators thought the Counsel good, and deputed him to the Duke to obtain an Audience.
He granted them one, but upon Condition there
should come three of the Conspirators only,
not thinking it safe to explain himself before a
greater. Number.

Miguel d' Almeida, Antonio d' Almada, and Pedro Mendoza, were the three Persons pitch'd upon; who coming by night to the Prince's,

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and being introduc'd into his Chamber, d' Almado, who was their Spokesman, represented in few Words the present unhappy State of Portugal, whose Natives, of what Quality or Condition soever, had suffered so much from the unjust and cruel Castilians: That the Duke himself was as much, if not more expos'd than any other to their Treachery; that he was too discerning not to perceive that d'Olivarez's Aim was his Ruin, and that there was no other Place of Refuge but the Throne; for the restoring him to which, he had Orders to offer him the Services of a considerable Number of People of the first Quality, who would willingly expose their Lives, and sacrifice their Fortunes for his Sake, and to revenge themselves upon the oppressing Spaniards.

He afterwards told them, that the Times of Charles V. and Philip II. were no more, when Spain held the Ballance of Europe in her hand, and gave the neighbouring Nations Laws: That this Monarchy, which had been once so formidable, could scarce now preserve its antient Territories; that the French and Dutch not only wag'd War against them, but often overcame 'em; that Catalonia itself employ'd the greatest Part of their Forces; that they scarce had an Army on foot, the Treasury was exhausted, and that the Kingdom was governed by a weak Prince, who was himself swayed by a Minister, abhorred by

the whole Nation.

He then observed what sofeign Protection and Alliances they might depend on, and be assured of; most of the Princes of Europe

\* Cardinal Richlieu

were prosess'd Enemies to the House of Au-Stria; the Encouragement Holland and Catalonia had met with sufficiently shew'd what might be expected from that able \* Statesman, whose mighty Genius seem'd wholly bent upon the Destruction of the Spanish King; that the Sea was now open, and he might have free Communication with whom he pleas'd; that there were scarce any Spanish Garrisons left in Portugal, they having been drawn out to serve in Catalonia; that there could never be a more favourable Opportunity of afferting his Right and Title to the Crown, of securing his Life, his Fortune, and his Liberty, which were at Stake, and of delivering his Country from Slavery and Oppression.

We may easily imagine, that there was nothing in this Speech which could displease the Duke of Braganza; however, unwilling to let them see his Heart, he answer'd the Deputies in such a Manner, as could neither lessen, or encrease their Hopes. them, that he was but too sensible of the Miseries to which Portugal was reduc'd by the Castilians, nor could he think himself secure from their Treachery; that he very much commended the Zeal which they shew'd for the Welfare of their Country, and was in an especial Manner oblig'd to them for the Affection which they bore him in particular; that notwithstanding what they had reprefented, he fear'd that Matters were not ripe for so dangerous an Enterprize, whose Consequence, should-they not bring it to a happy Period, would prove so fatal to them

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Having returned this Answer; (for a more positive one he would not return) he cares'd the Deputies, and thanked them in so obliging a manner, that they left him, well satisfyed that their Message was gratefully received; but at the same time persuaded, that the Prince would be no farther concerned in their Design, than giving his Consent to the Execution of it; as soon as their Plot should be ripe.

After their Departure, the Duke conferred with Pinto about the new Measures which they must take, and then returned to Villaviclosa; but not with that inward Satisfaction of Mind which he had hitherto enjoyed, but with a Restlessness of Thought, the too com-

mon Companion of Princes.

As soon as he arrived, he communicated those Propositions, which had been made him, to the Dutchess his Wife. She was of a Castilian Family, Sister to the Duke of Medina Sidonia, a Grandee of Spain, and Governor of Andalusia. During her Childhood, her Mind was great and heroick, and as she grew up, became passionately fond of Honour and Glory. The Duke, her Father, who perceived this natural Inclination of hers, took Care to cultivate it betimes, and gave the Care of her Education to Persons who would swell her Breast with † Ambition, and

<sup>†</sup> Ad hæc politicas Artes, bonos & malos Regiminis Dolos, Dominationis Arcana, humani Latibula ingenii, non modo intelligere Mulier, sed & pertractare quoque ac provehere, tam Natura quam Disciplina mirifice instructa suit. Caesan. Passar. de Rello Lusitan.

represent it as the chiefest Virtue of Princes. She apply'd herself betimes to the Study of the different Tempers and Inclinations of Mankind, and would by the Looks of a Perfon judge of his Heart; so that the most dissembling Courtier could scarce hide his Thoughts from her discerning Eye. She neither wanted Courage to undertake, Conduct to carry on the most difficult things, provided their End was glorious and honourable. Her Actions were free and easy, and at the same time noble and majestick; her Air at once inspird Love, and commanded Respect. She took the Portuguese Air with fo much ease, that it seem'd natural to her. She made it her chief Study to deserve the Love and Esteem of her Husband; nor could the Austerity of her Life, a solid Devotion, and a perfect Complaisance to all his Actions, fail of doing it. She neglected all those Pleasures, which Persons of her Age and Quality usually relish; and the greatest part of her time was employ'd in Studies, which might adorn her mind, and improve her Understanding.

The Duke thought himself compleatly happy in the Possession of so accomplished a Lady; his Love could scarce be parallel'd, and his Considence in her was entire: He never undertook any thing without her Advice, nor would he engage himself any farther in a Matter of such Consequence, without first consulting with her. He therefore shew do her the Scheme of the Revolution, the Names of the Conspirators, and acquainted her with what had pass do as well in the Assembly.

Assembly held at Lisbon, as in the Conference he had had with them at Almada, and the Warmth which every one had shown upon this Occasion. He told her, That the Expedition of Catalonia had so incensed the Nobility, that they were all resolved to revolt, rather than to leave their native Country; he dreaded, that if he should refuse to lead them on, they would for sake him, and chuse themselves another Leader. Yet he confess'd, that the Greatness of the Danger made him dread the Event; that whilst he viewed the Throne at a distance, the flattering Idea of Royalty was most agreeable to his Mind, but that now having a nearer Prospect of it, and of the intervening Obstacles, he was startled; nor could he calmly behold those Dangers into which he must inevitably plunge himself and his whole Family, in case of a Discovery: That the People, on whom they must chiesly depend for the Success, were inconstant, and disheartned by the least Difficulty: That the Number of Nobility and Gentry which he had on his side, was not sufficient, unless supported by the Grandees of the Kingdom; who doubtless, jealous of his Fortune, would oppose it, as not being able to submit to the Government of one, whom they had all along look'd upon as their Equal. That these Considerations, as well as the little Dependance he could make on foreign Assistance, overrul'd his Ambition, and made him forget the Hopes of reigning. But the Dutchess, whose Soul was truly great, and Ambition her ruling Passion, immediately declar'd herfelf

self in savour of the Conspiracy. She ask'd the Duke, " Whether in case the Portuguese, " accepting his Denial, should resolve to " make themselves a Republick, he would side with them, or with the King of Spain?" With his Countrymen undoubtedly, he re-" ply'd; for whose Liberty he would willing-" ly venture his Life." " And why can you " not do for your own Sake, ansiver'd she, what you would do as a Member of the Commonwealth? The Throne belongs to you, and should you perish in attempting to recover it, your Fate would be glorious, and rather to be envy'd than pity'd." After this she urg'd "his undoubted Right to the Crown; that Portugal was reduc'd to such a miserable State by the Castilians, that it was inconsistent with the Honour " of a Person of his Quality to be an idle Cooker-on; that his Children would reproach, and their Posterity curse his Me-mory, for neglecting so fair an Opportu-"inflice to have had." Then she repre-sented the Difference between a Sovereign and a Subject, and the Pleasure of ruling, instead of obeying in a servile manner. She made him sensible, that it would be no such difficult Matter to re-possess himself of the Crown; that the he could not hope for foreign Assistance, yet were the *Portuguese* of themselves able to drive the *Spaniards* out of their Country, especially at such a favourable Juncture as this. In short, so great was her persuasive Art, that she prevail'd upon the Duke to accept the Offer made him, but

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at the same time confess'd his Prudence, in letting the Number of the Conspirators en-. crease besore he join'd with them; nor would The advise him to appear openly in it, till the

Plot was ripe.

Mean while the Court of Spain grew very jealous of him. Those extraordinary Marks of Joy, which the Lisbonites had shewn at his coming thither, had very much alarm'd d'Olivarez. It was also whisper'd about, that there where nightly Meetings and secret Assemblies held at Lisbon: So impossible it is, that a Buliness of such a Consequence should

be wholly conceal'd.

Upon this several Councils were held at Madrid, in which it was resolv'd, that the only way to prevent the Portuguese from revolting was by taking from them their Leader, in favour of whom it was suppos'd they intended to revolt. Wherefore d' Olivarez Octob. 20 immediately dispatch'd a Courier to the Duke of Braganza, to accquaint him that the King desired to be informed, by his own mouth, of the Strength of every Fort and Citadel, the Condition of the Sca-Ports, and what Garisons where placed in each of them: To this he added, that his Friends at Court were overjoyed at the Thoughts of seeing him so soon, and that every one of them were preparing to receive him with the Respect due to his Quality and Deserts.

This News thunder-struck the unhappy Prince; he was well assured, that since so many Pretences were made use of to get him into Spain, his Destruction was resolved on, and nothing less than his Life could satisfy

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them. They had left off Careffes and Invitations, and had now fent politive Orders, which either must be obeyed, or probably open Force would be made use of. He concluded, that he was betrayed. Such is the Fear of those, whose Thoughts are taken up with great Designs, and who always imagine that the inquisitive World is prying into their Actions, and observing all their Steps. Thus did the Duke, whose Conduct had been always greater than his Courage, dread that he had plunged himself into inevitable Designs.

But to gain time enough to give the Confpirators Notice of his Danger, by the Advice of the Dutchess, he sent a Gentleman, whose Capacity and Fidelity he was before assured of, to the Court of Madrid, to assure the Spanish Minister, that he would suddenly wait on the King; but had at the same time given him private Orders to find out all the Pretences imaginable for the delaying his Journey, hoping in the mean time to bring the Conspiracy to Ripeness, and thereby to shelter himself from the impending Storm.

As soon as this Gentleman arrived at Madrid, he assured the King and the Duke d'Olivarez, that his Master follow'd him. To make his Story the more plausible, he took a large House, which he furnish'd very sumptiously, then hir'd a considerable Number of Servants, to whom he before-hand gave Liveries. In short, he sparid no Cost to persuade the Spaniards that his Master would be in a very little time at Court, and that he intended

tended to appear with an Equipage suitable to his Birth.

Some Days after he pretended to have receiv'd Advice that his Master was faln sick. When this Pretence was grown stale, he presented a Memorial to d'Olivarez, in which he desir'd that his Master's Precedence in the Court might be adjusted. He did not in the least question but that this would gain a considerable time, hoping that the Grandees, by maintaining their Rights, would oppose his Claims. But these Delays beginning to be suspected, the first Minister had the thing soon decided, and always in savour of the Duke of Braganza; so earnestly did he desire to see him once out of Portugal, and to have him safe at Madrid.

The Conspirators no sooner heard of the Orders which the Duke had receiv'd, but fearing that he might obey them, deputed Mendoza to know what he intended to do, and to engage him firmly, if possible, to their Party. This Gentleman was chosen preferably to any other, because he was Governor of a Town near Villa-victofa; so that he could hide the real Intent of his Journey from the Spaniards, under the specious Pretence of Business. He did not dare to go directly to the Prince's House, but took an Opportunity of meeting him in a Forest one Morning as he was hunting; they retir'd together into the thickest part of the Wood, where Mendoza shew'd him what Danger he expos'd himself to, by going to a Place where all were his Enemies: That by this inconsiderate Action the Hopes of the Nobi-7. . . . . . . . D 4

lity, as well as of the People, were utterly destroy'd: That a sufficient Number of Gentlemen, who were as able to serve him, as they were willing to do it, or to facrifice their Lives for his Sake, only waited for his Consent to declare themselves in his favour: That now was the very Crisis of his Fate, and that he must this instant resolve to be Cesar or nothing: That the Business would admit of no longer Delay, lest the Secret being divulg'd, their Designs should prove abortive. The Dukes convinced of the Truth of what was said to him, told him that he was of his Mind, and that he might affure his Friends, that as soon as their Plot should be ripe, he would put himself at the Head of them.

This Conference ended, Mendoza immediately return'd home, for fear of being sufpected, and wrote to some of the Conspirators that he had been hunting; " We had se almost, continued he, lost our Game in the " Pursuit, but at last the Day prov'd a Day of good Sport." Some sew Days after Mendoza return'd to Lisbon, and acquainted Pinto that his Master wanted him, who set out as foon as they had together drawn out a shorter Scheme to proceed upon. Coming to Villaviclesa, the first thing he acquainted the Duke with, was the Difference which had lately happen'd at the Court of Lisbon, the Vice-Queen loudly complaining of the haughty Pride and Insolence of Vasconcellos; nor could she any longer bear that all Business should be transacted by him, whilst she enjoy'd an empty Title, without any the least Authority.

What made her Complaints the juster, was, that she was really a deserving Princess, and capable of discharging the Trust which was committed to her Secretary. But it was the Greatness of her Genius, and her other extraordinary Deserts, which made the Court of Spain unwilling to let her have a greater Share in the Government. Pinto observed that this Difference could never have happened in a better time, seeing that the Ministers of Spain being taken up with this Bussiness, would not be at leisure to pry into his Actions, or to observe the Steps he should take.

The Duke of Braganza, fince Mendoza's Departure, was fallen into his wonted Irrefolution, and the nearer the Business came to a Crisis, the more he dreaded the Event: Pinto made use of all his Rhetorick to excite his Master's Courage, and to draw him into his former Resolution. Nay, to his Persuasions he added Threatnings; he told him, in spite of himself, the Conspirators would proclaim him King, and what Dangers must he run then, when the Crown should be fix'd upon his Head, at a time when, only for want of necessary Preparation, he was not capable of preserving it. The Dutchess joined with this faithful Servant, and convinc'd the Duke of the Baseness of preserring Life to Honour: he, charmed with her Courage, yet asham'd to see it greater than his own, yielded to their Persuasions.

Mean while, the Gentleman whom he had fent to Madrid, wrote daily to let him know, that he could no longer defer his Journey on

any Pretence whatsoever, and that Olivarez refused to hear the Excuses which he would have made. The Duke, to gain a little longer time, ordered the Gentleman to acquaint the the Spanish Minister, that he had long since been at Madrid, had he had Money enough to defray the Expence of his Journey, and to appear at Court in a manner suitable to his Quality: That as soon as he could receive a sufficient Sum, he would immediately set out.

This Business dispatch'd, he consulted with the Dutchess and Pinto about the properest Means of executing their Design: Several were proposed, but at last this was agreed upon, That the Plot must break out at Lisbon, whose Example might have a good Effect upon the other Towns and Cities of the Kingdom: That the same Day wherein he was proclaimed King in the Metropolis, he should be also proclaimed in every Place which was under his Dependance; nay, in every Borough and Village, of which any of the Conspirators were the leading Men, they should raise the People, so that one half of the Kingdom being up, the other of course would fall into their Measures, and the sew remaining Spaniards would not know on which side to turn their Arms. His own Regiment he should quarter in Elvas, whose Governor was wholly in his Interest. That as for the manner of their making themselves Masters of Lisbon, Time and Opportunity would be their best Counsellors; however, the Duke's Opinion was, that they should seize the Palace in the place, so that by securing the Vice-Queen, and

and the Spaniards of Note, they would be like so many Hostages in their Hands, for the Behaviour of the Governor and Garison of the Citadel, who otherwise might very much annoy 'em when they were Masters of the Town. After this, the Duke having assur'd Pinto, that notwithstanding any Change of Fortune, he should still have the same place in his Affection; he sent him to Lisbon with two Letters of Trust, one for Almeida, the other for Mendoza; wherein he conjured 'em to continue faithful to their Promises, and resolutely and courageously to sinish what

they had begun.

As foon as he arriv'd at Lisbon, he deliver'd his Letters to Almeida and Mendoza, who instantly sent for Lemos and Coreo, whom Pinto had long since engaged in the Interest of his Master. These were two rich Citizens, who had gone thro all the Offices of the City, and had the People of it very much at their Command; as they still carryed on their Trade, there were a vast Number of poor People daily employed by 'em, and whose Hatred to the Spaniards they had still taken Care to encrease, by infinuating that there were new Taxes to be laid upon several things at the beginning of the next Year. When they observed any one of a siery Temper, they would take Care to discharge him, on Pretence that the Castilians had utterly ruined their Trade, and that they were no longer able to employ them; but their Aim. was to reduce them to Poverty and Want, insomuch that Necessity should oblige them to revolt: but still would they extend their Charity

Charity towards them, that they might always have them at their Service. Besides this, they had engaged some of the ablest Merchants and Tradesmen in every part of Lisbon, and promised, that if the Conspirators would give them warning over night of the Hour they intended to rise, punctually at that time they would have half the City up in Arms.

Pinto, being thus sure of the Citizens, turned his Thoughts to the other Conspirators: He advised them to be ready for the Execution of their Plot upon the first Notice given them; that mean while he would have them pretend they had some private Quarrel, and engage their Friends to assist them; for many, he observed, were not fit to be entrusted with so important a Secret, and others could not in cold Blood behold the Dangers they must go thro, and yet both be very serviceable when Matters were ripe, and only their Swords wanted.

Finding every body firm in their Resolu-

tions, and impatient to revenge themselves upon the Spaniards, he conferred with Almeida Mendoza, Almada, and Mello, who six'd upon Saturday, the first of December, for the great, the important Day: Notice was immediately given to the Duke of Braganza, that he might cause himself to be proclaim'd King the same Day in the Province of Alentejo, most part of which belonged to him. After which they agreed upon meeting once more before the time.

On the Twenty-fifth of November, according to their Agreement, they met at

Dec. 1.

Braganza-House, where mustering their Forces, they found that they could depend upon about One Hundred and Fifty Gentlemen, (most of them Heads of Families) with their Servants and Tenants, and about Two Hundred substantial Citizens, who could bring with them a considerable Number of inferior Workmen.

Vasconcellos's Death was unanimously resolv'd on, as a just Victim, and which would be grateful to the People. Some urg'd, that the Archbishop of Braga deserv'd the same Fate, especially considering the Strength of his Genius, and the Greatness of his Courage; for it was not to be suppos'd that he would be an idle Looker-on, but would probably be more dangerous than the Secretary himself could be, by raising all the Spaniards who were in Lisbon, with their Creatures; and that whilst they were busy in making themselves Masters of the Palace, he, at the Head of his People, might fling himself into the Citadel, or come to the Assistance of the Vice-Queen, to whose Service he was entirely devoted; and that at such a time as this, Pity was unseasonable, and Mercy dangerous.

These Considerations made the greatest part of the Assembly consent to the Prelates Death; and he had shared Vasconcellos's Fate, had not \* Don Miguel d'Almeida interposed. He represented to the Conspirators, that the Death of a Man of the Prelates Character

<sup>\*</sup> Maccdo tells us, that it was Den Antonio d'Almada. and

and Station would make them odious to the People; that it would infallibly draw the Hatred of the Clergy, and of the Inquisition in particular, (a People who at this Juncture were to be dreaded) upon the Duke of Braganza, to whom they would not only give the Names of Tyrant and Usurper, but whom they would also excommunicate; that the Prince himself would be forely grieved to have the Day stained with so cruel an Action; that he himself would engage to watch him so closely on that Day, that he should not have an Opportunity of doing any thing which might be prejudicial to the common Cause. In short, he urged so many things in his behalf, that the Prelate's Life was granted, the Assembly not being able to deny any

thing to so worthy an Advocate.

Nothing now remained but to regulate the Order of the March and Attack, which was agreed upon in this manner; They should divide into four Companies, which should enter the Palace by four different Ways; so that all the Avenues to it being stopt, the Spaniards might have no Communication with, or be able to assist one another: That Don Miguel al' Almeida, with his, should fall on the German Guard, at the Entrance of the Palace: That Mello Lord Ranger, his Brother, and Don Eftevan d'Arugna, should attack the Guard, which was always fet at a Place called the Firt: That the Lord-Chamberlain Emanuel Maa, Teillo de Menezes, and Pinto, should enter Vasconcellos's Apartment, whom they must immediately dispatch: That Don Antonio d'Almadi, Mendoza, Don Carlos No. rognaz Vice-Queen, and the Spaniards which were with her, to serve for Hostages, in case of Need. Mean while, some of the Gentlemen, with a few of the most reputable Citizens, should proclaim Don John, Duke of Braganza, King of Portugal throughout the City; and that the People being raised by their Acclamations, they should make use of them to assist, whereever they sound any Opposition. After this they resolved to meet on the first of December in the morning, some at Almeida's some at Almada's, and the rest at Mendoza's House, where every Man should be surnished with necessary Arms.

While these things were transacting at Liston, and that the Duke's Friends were using all their Endeavours for his Re-establishment, he received an Express from Olivarez, (who grew very jealous of his-Conduct) with positive Orders to come immediately to Madrid; and that he might have nothing to colour his Delay, he remitted him a Bill upon the Royal

Treasury for Ten Thousand Ducats.

The Commands laid upon him were so plain and positive, that the Duke could not put off his Journey without justly encreasing his Suspicion. He plainly foresaw, that if he did not obey those Orders, the Court of Madrid would take some such Measures as might prove satal to him, and wholly destroy their Projection; he would not therefore refuse to obey, but made part of his Houshold immediately set out, and take the Madrid Road. In the Presence of the Courier he gave several Orders relating to the Conduct

of those he lest his Deputy-Governors, and in all Respects behaved himself like a Man who was going a long Journey. He difpatched a Gentleman to the Vice-Queen, to give her Notice of his Departure, and wrote to Olivarez, that he would be at Madrid in eight Days time at farthest; and that he might engage the Courier to report all these things, he made him a considerable Present, under Pretence of rewarding him for his expeditious Haste, in bringing him Letters from the King, and his first Ministers. At the same time he let the Conspirators know what new Orders he had receiv'd from Court, that they might see the Danger of deserring the Execution of their Design; but they were scarce in a Capacity of assisting him, an Accident having happen'd, which had almost broken all their Measures.

There was at Lisbon a Nobleman, who on all Occasions had shewn an immortal Hatred to the Spanish Government; he never call'd them any thing but Tyrants and Usurpers, and would openly rail at their unjust Proceedings, but nothing angered him more than the Expedition of Catalonia: d' Almada, having taken care to fall often into his- Company, thought there was not a truer-hearted Portuguese in the whole Kingdom, and that no. one would more strenuously labour for their Liberty. But oh Heaven! how great was his Surprize! when having taken him asides and discovered the whole Conspiracy to him, this base, this cowardly Wretch, whose whole Courage was plac'd in his Tongue, resused to Have any hand in the Business, or to engage

gage himself with the Conspirators, pretending that their Plot had no solid Foundation: Bold and adventrous where no Danger was, but fearful and daunted as soon as it appear'd. " Have you, said he to Almada, Forces enough co to undertake so great a thing? Where is " your Army to oppose the Troops of Spain, "who upon the first News of the Revolt will enter the Kingdom? What Grandees " have you at your Head? Can they furnish " you with Money sufficient to defray the Expence of a civil War? I fear, conti-" nued he, that instead of revenging your" selves on the Spaniards, and freeing Portu-" gal from Slavery, you will utterly ruin it, by giving the Spaniards a specious Pretence " for doing what they have been so long

cndeavouring at. "

D' Almada, who expected nothing less than fuch an Answer, and being very much troubled at his having entrusted the Secret to a Man, who in all probability would betray it, without replying drew his Sword, and coming up to the other, his Eyes sparkling with Rage; "Base Wretch, said he, by thy de-« ceitsul Words thou hast drawn a Secret " from me, with which thou must take my Life, or by the Loss of thine atone for thy "Treachery." The other, who had always thought it sasest to avoid the nearest Danger, at the fight of d' Almada's naked Sword, promised to do any thing. He offer'd to sign the Conspiracy, and found weighty Reasons to destroy his sormer Objections; he swore that he would bury the Secret in his Heart, and endeavour'd all he could to persuade Almada,

Almada, that it was neither Want of Courage, or Hatred to the Spaniards, which had at first made him averse to what he had pro-

pos'd.

Notwithstanding his Oaths and Promises, d' Almada could not be throughly satisfy'd of this Man's Fidelity; he took Care. without losing sight of him, to let the others know what had happen'd. A general Consternation immediately spread itself amongst them, and they fear'd, that the Prospect of the Danger which he must share, or the Hope of a Reward, would make this Wretch betray them. Upon this they resolved to defer the Execution of their Project, and forced Pinto to write to his Master, to put off his being proclaimed in his Country, till he should hear further from them. But Pinto, who knew how dangerous it was to defer such a thing, tho but for a Day, at the same time sent him another Letter, in which he desir'd him to take no Notice of his first, seeing that it was only the Effect of a panick Fear, which had seized the Conspirators, and which would be over long before the Express arrived.

Nor was this crafty Man at all deceived; for the next Day finding every thing still and quiet, and the Person who caused the Alarm making fresh Promises of Secrecy, they concluded that either he had armed his Mind with a generous Resolution of assisting them, or was assaid of impeaching so many Persons of Quality; and therefore they determined to proceed to Execution on the appointed Day. But another Adventure happened, which disquieted them as much as the former.

There

There were always in the Palace several of the Conspirators, walking up and down like Courtiers out of Place, whose Business it was to observe what was done within; but on the Evening of the last of November, they came in a Fright to their Companions, to tell them that Vasconcellos (by whose Death they were to begin the mighty Work) was just gone on board a Yacht, and had cross'd the Tagus. Who but Conspirators would have taken Notice of so indifferent a thing? For a thousand Reasons, in which they were not concerned, might have made him go on the other side of the Water; but they immediately concluded, that this artful Statesman, who had always his Spies abroad, had discover'd their Plot, and was about to bring into Lifbon those Soldiers which were quarter'd in the Villages on the other side of the River. Death, in its most ghastly Shape, appear'd to them, and they fancy'd that they already felt the cruellest Torments which could be inflicted. Some were resolving to fly into Africa, others into England; and all of them spent the first part of the Night in the greatest Disquiet imaginable, between the Hopes of Life and Fear of Death. But about the middle of the Night their Apprehensions vanish'd; for some who had been sauntring about the Port, to endeavour to discover the Secretary's Design, came and brought them the welcome News, that Vasconcellos had been only diverting himself upon the Water, and that he was return'd, with the Musick playing before him. A sudden Joy succeeded to their Grief, and about an Hour after, being E 2

Palace, and every body bury'd in a profound Sleep, they return'd home to enjoy a little Rest, that they might be fitter for the Morn-

ing's Work.

It was very late, or rather very early, when they parted, and within some few Hours of their appointed time, and yet an Accident happen'd within those sew Hours, which had almost betray'd them; fo dangerous and uncertain are Enterprizes of this Nature, whilst there are Men, whom Hopes of Gain, or Fear of Punishment, can work upon to betray their Fellows. Don George Mello, Brother to the Lord Ranger, lodg'd at a Relation's House. in the furthest Suburbs of Lisbon. This Gentleman thought, that now the time was come in which the Conspiracy would break out, and there was no Necessity of hiding it any longer from this Relation, whom he had Reafon to believe was his Friend, as also one that might be ferviceable to them, and who otherwife would for ever reproach him with having distrusted him as one not true to the Interest of his Country. Wherefore as foon as he came home, he went into his Chamber, and there reveal'd the Secret, desiring him to join in the Enterprize with so many Persons of Quality, and to behave himself as a Portuguese ought to do upon such an Occasion. The other, surpriz'd at the Strangeness of this News, affected a seeming Joy for the approaching Liberty of his Country, thank'd Mello for the Confidence he repos'd in him, and affur'd him, that he accounted himself happy in having an OpporOpportunity of exposing his Life in so just

and glorious a Caufe.

Upon this Mello retir'd to his Chamber, to lay himself down to sleep, but scarce was he got thither, when he began seriously to reflect upon what he had been doing, and could not but think himself guilty of a very inconsiderate Action, in putting the Lives of so many Persons of Quality in the Power of one, of whose Principles he was not overwell assur'd; then began he to sancy, that he had observ'd something of Fear in the Countenance of the Person, at the time when he was advising him to share the Danger of

the Undertaking.

Full of these Reslections, he could not lay him down to rest, but was walking in great Disorder about his Chamber, when he thought he over-heard a kind of whispering Noise. Opening his Window softy, to see if any body was in the Street, he could perceive a Servant holding his Relation's Horse, and himself ready to mount. Enrag'd at this, he fnatch'd his Sword, and hastening down stairs, seiz'd his Kinsman, and ask'd him whither he was going at this unseasonable time. The other would have forg'd an Excuse, and was hammering out a Lye, but Mello holding his Point to his Breast, threaten'd to kill him, if he did not immediately go in again; then order'd he the Keys of the House to be brought him, and having fasten'd all the Doors himself, he retir'd with his Kinsman, nor would he lose sight of him till it was time to go to the Rendevouz, to which he carried him.

But now the Morning dawn'd, that was to decide whether the Duke of Braganza should be the King and Deliverer of his Country, or be accounted a Rebel and Traitor.

Betimes in the Morning the Conspirators met at the appointed Places, where they were to be furnish'd with Arms. They all appear'd with so much Resolution and Courage, that they rather feem'd marching to a certain victory, than to an uncertain Enterprize. But what is very much to be admir'd at, is, that amongst such a Number of Nobility, Gentry, Citizens, nay Priests, not one should falsify his Word, or break his Promise, tho their Interests in the Event were very different; but they all feem'd as impatient for the important Moment, as if each there had been the Contriver of the Scheme, or at the Head of the Enterprize; or rather, as if the Crown was to have been the Reward of each individual Man's Labour. Several Ladies also made themselves famous on that Day: But the noble Behaviour of Donna Philippa de Villenes ought never to be forgotten, who with her own Hands arm'd both her Sons; and giving them their Swords, "Go, my Children, said she, put an End to "a Tyrant's Power, revenge yourselves on " your Enemies, free your Country, and be " affur'd, that if Success does not crown your Undertaking, your Mother never will " live to see the cruel Fate of so many brave e and deferving Patriots."

Every one being arm'd, they made the best of their Way towards the Palace, most of

them

them in Litters, that they might conceal their Number and their Arms. There they divided into four Companies, and waited with Impatience till the Palace-Clock struck Eight; that, and the firing of a Pistol, being the appointed Signal. Never did time seem so long; they fear'd that their being at that Place so early, and in such a Number, might make the Secretary jealous of their Design: but at last the long-expected Hour struck, and Pinto string a Pistol, they rush'd forward to execute their bold Design.

Don Miguel d' Almeida, with those that accompany'd him, sell upon the German Guard, who were so far from expecting any Attack, that they were sitting very carelessy, sew of them having their Arms in hand; so that they were cut to pieces, without scarce ma-

king any Resistance.

The Lord Ranger, with his Brother Mello, and Don Estevan d' Acugna, fell on the Spaniards who kept Guard at a Place before the Palace, call'd the Fort, These Nobles, follow'd by most of the Citizens who were engag'd in the Conspiracy, fell upon the Castiliaans Sword in hand, and fought most resolutely: but no one behaved himself more bravely than one of the City Priests: this reverend Man, with a Crucifix in one hand, and a Sword in the other, appeared at the Head of his Party, and encouraged the People, both by his Words and his Example, to cut their Enemies in pieces. The Spaniards, aw'd ar the sight of so religious an Object, neither durst offend him, nor desend themselves, but fled before him, In short after fome

some small Resistance, the Officer of the Guard, willing to fave his own Life, was forc'd to cry out with the rest, Long live the

Duke of Braganza, King of Portugal!

Pinto having forc'd his Way into the Palace, march'd at the Head of those, who were to enter Vasconcellos's Apartment, so undauntedly, and with so little Concern, that meeting with an Acquaintance, who, surpriz'd and frighted, ask'd him, whither he was going with such a Number of arm'd Men, and what they design'd to do? "Nothing, said "he smiling, but change our Master, rid you "of a Tyrant, and give Portugal their right-

" ful King."

Entring the Secretary's Apartment, the first Person they met with was the \* Civil Corregidor; who, thinking that the Noise he heard proceeded from some private Quarrel, would have interpos'd his Authority, but hearing a Cry of Long live the Duke of Braganza, &c. thought he was in Honour oblig'd to cry out Long live the King of Spain, and Portugal: but he lost his Life for his illtim'd Loyalty, one of the Conspirators immediately shooting him thro' the Head.

Antonio Correa, first Clerk of the Secretary's Office, ran out to know the Occasion of this Tumult. This was the Man who was employ'd in oppressing the People, and who, after the Example of his Master, treated the Nobility of the Kingdom with Scorn and Contempt; therefore as soon as he appear'd,

<sup>\*</sup> The Judge in Capital Cases.

Don Antenio de Menezes plung'd his Sword into his Bosom: But the Blow not ending either his Life or Pride, and thinking that they had mistaken him, he turned towards Menezes, his Eyes sparkling with Rage and Indignation, and, in a passionate Manner, cryed out, Villain! darest thou strike me? But Menezes, without answering, redoubled his Blows; and the other, having received four or five Stabs, sell down: However, none of the Wounds proved mortal, and he escaped at that time, to lose his Life afterwards in an ignominious Manner, by

the Hands of the common Hangman.

This Business had stop'd the Conspirators, but as soon as Correa fell, they all rush'd forwards towards Vasconcellos's Apartment-There was with him, at that time, Don Garcez Palleia, a Captain of Foot; who seeing so many armed Men, immediately concluded, that their Design was to butcher the Secretary. And altho' he was under no Manner of Obligation to that Minister, yet he thought himself in Honour oblig'd to lend him what Assistance he could; wherefore standing at the Door, with his Sword in hand, he barred that Passage: but one of the Conspirators running him thro' the Arm, and several, who were unwilling to give him fair play, pressing forward, he was glad to make his Escape, by leaping out of a Window.

Upon this all the Company, that was with Pinto, entered the Chamber at once, and fought Vasconcellos; they overturned the Bed and

and Tables, broke open the Trunks, and every one was desirous of giving him the first Blow; yet, spite of their Endeavour, they could not find him, and they began to fear that he had made his Escape: but at last an old Maid-Servant being threaten'd with Death, unless she would tell where her Master was; and seeing the uplisted Swords, pointed to a Press which was made within the Wall, and in which they found the Secretary buryed under a heap of Papers.

So great was his Fear of Death, which he faw surrounding him on every side, that it prevented his Speech. Don Roderigo de Saa, Lord Chamberlain, was the Man who killed him, by shooting him through the Head with a Pistol; after which, several of the Conspirators stabb d him, then threw him out of the Window, crying, Liberty! Liberty! The Tyrant is dead! Long live Don John

King of Portugal!

The Noise, which all this had made, had drawn a vast Number of People to the Palace-Court, who seeing the Secretary's Body thrown out, shouted in a most joyful Manner; then rushing upon the Carcase, they mangled it, every one being eager to give him a Stab, thinking that, thro his sides, they wounded Tyranny.

Thus perished Miguel Vasconcellos, a Portuguese by Birth, but by Inclination a Spaniard, and an Enemy to his Country. He had an excellent Genius for Business, was crafty, politick, nor could any Man apply himself closer to it than he did. He was always inventing

venting new ways of extorting Money from the People, was unmerciful, inexorable, and cruel, without the least Regard to Friend or Relation; so fix'd, that after he had taken a Resolution, no one could byass his Temper; and so harden'd, that he never knew what the Stings of Conscience were. He had a Soul that was not capable of relishing any Pleasure, but that of hoarding up Money; so that he left vast Sums behind him, part of which the People plunder'd, being willing to repay themselves, in some Meafure, that which had been extorted from them.

Pinto, without loss of time, march'd directly to join the other Conspirators, who were to make themselves Masters of the Palace, and to seize the Vice-Queen; he found that the Business was already done, and that Success had every were crown'd their Undertakings. Those who were appointed for that Expedition, came directly up to her Chamber, and the furious Mob, who followed them, threatning to set her Apartment on fire, if the Door was not immediately opened; the Vice-Queen, thinking by her Presence to pacify the Nobility, and awe the People, came out, attended by her Maids of Honour, and the Archbishop of Braga; and addressing herself to the chief Conspirators, "I own, Gentlemen, said she, "that the Secretary justly deserved your " Hatred and Indignation; his Cruelty and si his haughty Insolence were intolerable, or can his Death be charged upon you as "a Clime, since you have only delivered yourselves from an oppressing Minister: But cannot his Blood satisfy you? Or what other Victim would you sacrifice to your Resentment? Think seriously, that although his illegal Conduct may excuse this Insur-

" rection, yet should you any longer conti-" nue in Arms, Rebellion will be laid at

" your doors, and you will put it out of my Power to make your Peace with the

" King."

Don Antonio de Menezes answer'd, and asfured her, "That so many Persons of Qua-" lity had not taken up Arms to murder a "Wretch, who ought to have lost his Life " by the Hands of the common Hangman; " but that their Design was to restore the " Crown to the Duke of Braganza, to whom " it lawfully belong'd, and which the King. of Spain had unjustly usurp'd; and that " they were all ready to facrifice their Lives " in so glorious a Cause. She was about to reply, and to interpose the King's Au-thority; but d' Almeida, who feared that fuch a Speech might have a dangerous Effect upon the People, or at least cool their Courages, interrupted her, faying, "That Porce tugal acknowledged no other King but the CO Duke of Braganza." Upon which the People shouted again, crying, Long live Don John, King of Portugal!

The Vice-Queen believing that her Prefence might be of service in the City, and have a good Effect upon the People every where, where the Conspirators were not pre-

sent, was going in haste down Stairs, but Don Carlos Norogna stopped her, desiring that she would retire to her own Apartment, assuring her that she should be treated with as much Respect as if she still had the supreme Command in the Kingdom; but told her that it would be dangerous for so great a Princess to expose herself to the Insults of a furious People, who were jealous of their Liberties and enflamed with Thirst of Revenge. The Queen easily understood the meaning of his Words, and found that she was their Prisoner. Enraged at this, "And what can the People do to me?" cryed she. " Nothing, Madam, replyed Norogna in a cc passion, but sling your Highness out of the " Window."

The Archbishop of Braga, hearing this Answer, grew furious, and snatching a Sword from one of the Soldiers who stood next him, he flew towards Norogna, resolving to revenge the Vice-Queen, and had certainly met with Death, the just Reward of his Rashness, had not Don Miguel d Almeida laid hold of him, and embracing him, begged him to consider what Danger he exposed himself to, telling him that he was already hated enough by the Conspirators; nor had he found it an easy Task to obtain a Promise of them that they would spare his Life, why then would he urge them by an Action, which would nor only be unprofitable to his Cause, but which also so highly misbecame his Character. The Prelate, convinced of the Truth of what his Friend said, was obliged to dissemble his Anger;

Anger; however, he hoped that he should meet with some favourable Opportunity of revenging himself on Norogna, and doing something for the service of Spain, to whose

Interest he was entirely devoted.

The rest of the Spaniards who were in the Palace were made Prisoners by the other Conspirators: Amongst these were the Marquiss of Puebla, Major-Domo to the Vice-Queen, and elder Brother to the Marquiss de Leganez; Don Didaco Cardenas, Lieutenant-General of the Cavalry; Don Ferdinand de Castro, Comptroller of the Navy-Office; the Marquiss de Baynetto, an Italian, Gentleman-Usher to the Vice-Queen; with some Sea-Officers, who lay on Shore, and whose Ships were in the Harbour. All this was done as regularly and as quietly, as if they had been taken up by an Order from the King of Spain, no body stirring to their Affistance, and they not being able to defend themselves, most of them having been seized in their Beds.

This done, Don Antonio de Salfaigni, follow'd by a Crowd of Friends, and an innumerable Multitude of People, went up into the Hall, where the Court of Justice was then sitting, and in an elegant Speech laid before them the present Happiness of Portugal, who had restored their own lawful King; he told them, that Tyranny was now no more, and that the Laws, which had been long slighted and neglected, should henceforward take their regular Course. This Speech was applauded by the whole Court, and they changed the Title of

their Decrees, which they no longer made in the Name of the King of Spain, but in the Name of Don John, King of Portugal.

Whilst Salsaigni was thus persuading the

Whilst Salfaigni was thus persuading the high Court of Justice to adhere to the Duke of Braganza's Interest, Don Gaston Couting was taking out of Prison those who had been thrown into it by the Cruelty of the Spanish Ministers. These unhappy Wretches, who had all along been persuaded, that they should end their Lives in their dismal Dungeons, unless taken out to be led to a cruel Death; seeing themselves now at Liberry, and their Country in a fair way of being freed, and resolving to suffer any thing, rather than to return to their dark Prisons, form'd a Body no less formidable than that of the Conspirators, and who were as fully resolv'd to set the Duke of Braganza on the Throne.

But in the midst of this general Joy, Pinto, with the rest of the Leaders, were under great Apprehensions: The Spaniards were yet Masters of the Citadel, from whence they could easily burn and destroy the Town; besides which, the Port was open to the Spanish Fleet: therefore thinking that they had done nothing till they had taken that Place, they went up to the Vice-Queen, and desir'd her to sign a Warrant to the Governour, by Virtue of which he should be oblig'd to give them Possession of the Citadel.

She, far from granting what they asked, upbraided them as Rebels and Traitors, and with

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with Indignation asked them, Whether they had a mind to make her an Accomplice? But d'Almada, who knew how dangerous it was to leave the Enemies any longer in that Fort, and being provoked at the Vice-Queen's Denial, his Eyes sparkling with Rage, swore violently, that if she did not sign the Warrant, he would forthwith put every one of the Spaniards to death, whom

they had taken in the Palace.

The poor Princess, frightened with these Threats, and unwilling to be the Occasion of the Death of so many Persons of Quality, was obliged to comply, thinking at the same time that the Governor knew his Duty too well, to obey an Order, which he might be assured was signed by Compulsion; but she was very much mistaken in her Conjecture, for Don Lewis del Campo, the Spanish Governor, was a Man of no Resolution at all, and feeing the Conspirators coming armed towards the Citadel, and all the People of the Town following them, who threatened to cut him and his Garison in pieces, unless he immediately surrendered, was glad to see the Warrant, and have so fair an Excuse for his Cowardice; wherefore he immediately obeyed the Order, and gave up the Forr.

Proud of having dispatched their Business so happily, the Conspirators forthwith deputed Mendoza and the Lord Ranger to the Duke of Braganza, to acquaint him with their Success, and assure him, that nothing was now wanting but the Presence of their King, to compleat the Happiness of his Subjects.



Notwithstanding their Message, his Presence was not equally coveted by every body. The Grandees of the Kingdom could not see him rais'd to the Throne, without being inwardly jealous of his Fortune; and those of the Nobility, who were not let into the Secret, refused as yet to declare themselves; nay, some went so far as to assure the People, that the Duke would never approve of so rash an Action, and whose consequence might be so fatal to them all. Those, who were in the Spanish Interest, were in a strange Consternation, and did not dare so much as stir abroad, lest they should be sacrificed by the People, whose Rage was not yet appeas'd: In short, every body seem'd at an uncertainty, and waited impatiently for the

Resolutions of the Duke of Braganza.

But his Friends, who were better acquainted with his Intentions, still perfued what they had so happily began, and assembled in the Palace, to give the necessary Orders. The Archbishop was unanimously chosen President of the Council, and Lord-Lieutemant of Portugal till the King's Arrival. He would at first have refus'd the Office, declaring that his Opinion was, that they had more Need of a good General at their Head, than of a Man of his Character. However, being pressed by the Assembly to accept the Place, he consented to it, on condition that he might have the Archbishop of Braga for his Collegue; who, he said, was well acquainted with the Business, and might be F

very serviceable to him during the King's

Absence.

This cunning Prelate chose his Brother Archbishop sooner than any other Man, well knowing that if he did accept it, he made himself an Accomplice in what he called Rebellion, and would be accounted criminal by the Spanish Minister: Besides which, he would have only had the Title of one of the Lord-Lieutenants, without any Share of the Power. But if, on the other hand, he refus'd it, he should for ever put him out of the King's Favour, and make him odious to all the People, who henceforwards would look on him as an open and professed Enemy to his Country.

The Archbishop of Braga was very sensible of the Snare which was laid for him, but as he was wholly devouted to the Vice-Queen, and firm to the Spanish Interest, he refused having any thing to do with the Administration; so that the whole Burden of the publick Assairs fell upon the Archbishop of Lisbon: to ease him of part of which, they gave him for Assistants Don Mignel d' Almeida, Pedro Mendoza, and Don Antonio d' Al-

mada.

One of the first Orders which the new Governour gave, was to seize upon the three Spanish Galloons which were then in the Harbour; upon which they armed a few Barks, and in them went most part of the Lisbon Youth, so desirous were they of shewing their Affection to the King: but the Galloons were taken without Resistance, the Officers,

Officers, and the greatest Part of the Ships Crew, having been seized in the Morning ashore.

That very Evening Couriers were dispatched to every Province, to exhort the People to give Thanks for the Recovery of their Liberties, and the Restoration of the Duke of Braganza; with Orders at the same time to all Governours of Towns, and other Magistrates, to have him proclaimed King of Portugal, and to take all the Spaniards, in their re-

spective Districts, into Custody.

And now they began to prepare every thing at Lisbon for the Reception of the new King, and the Archbishop sent word to the late Vice-Queen, that she would very much oblige them, in leaving the Palace where she was, for he thought the King would want her Apartment, and that he had prepared every thing for her Reception at the Palace of Xabregas, which was at the farther End of the Town. This Princess received the Order with a scornful Look, and, without answering a Word, obeyed it. She went thro the Street, but without the usual Train of Courtiers and Crowd of People; there was only the Archbishop of Braga with her, who still gave her manifest Tokens of his Respect, even now when he exposed his Life by fo doing.

Mean while the Duke of Braganza continued in the cruel State of Uncertainty, sometimes flattering himself with the most pleafing Ideas which a lively Hope can form, and sometimes under the most dismal Apprehensions

hensions which frightened Fancy can suggest. The Distance between Villa-victosa and Lisbon being thirty Leagues, he could not know what passed in his behalf so soon as he could have wished. All that he knew was, that on this Day his Life and Fortune were at stake. He had at first resolved to have himself proclaimed at the same time in all the Towns which were under his Dependance; but his mind changed, and he determined to wait for the News of what had passed at Lisbon, hefore he undertook any thing. There still remained the Kingdom of Algarva, and the Citadel of Elvas, to which he could retire, in case his Party at Lisbon should fail; nay, he thought he could clear himself of having any hand in the Conspiracy, especially at a time when the Spaniards would be glad to believe him innocent.

He had planted several Couriers on the Road to Lisbon, and thereby expected to have an Account of what had passed betimes; but he had waited with Impatience all the Day, and the greatest part of the Night, without hearing any thing, and the next Morning was already near at hand, when Mello and Mendoza, who had rode post from Lisbon, arrived. They threw themselves at the Dukes seet, by which Action, as well as by the Joy which appeared in their Faces, the Success of their Undertaking might be better read, than it was possible for them to express.

They were about to give him an exact Account of every thing, but the Duke, without hearing a Word of what they had to tell him,

him, conducted them to the Dutches's Apartment. The two Noblemen saluted her
with the same Respect, as if she had actually
been upon the Throne; they assured her of
the good Wishes and Fidelity of her Subjects: and to shew her that they acknowledged her their Queen, they now gave her the
Title of Majesty, whereas the Kings and Queens
of Portugal had hitherto been always called

their Highnesses.

We may easily judge of what passed in the Heart of this Royal Pair, if we consider the Fears and Agitations which they were before in, and to what Grandeur they were now raised. Nothing but Shouts of Joy were heard throughout the Palace, the happy News foon spread, and the same Morning the King was proclaimed in all those Places, where it should have been done the Day before; Mello and Alphonso also had him proclaimed at Elvas. The People came in Crouds to pay their Homage to the new King; which, tho in a confused manner, was no less agreeable to him, than what he afterwards received in all the formal Pomp of Ceremony.

The King immediately set out sor Lisbon, with the same Equipage which had been prepared for his setting out for Madrid. He was accompanyed by the Marquiss de Ferreira, a Relation of his; the Count de Vimioso; and several other Persons of Quality, who were come to wait upon him to the Ca-

pital.

The Queen he left at Villa-viciosa, knowing that her Presence was necessary there, to keep the Provinces in awe. Every where, upon the Roads to Lisbon, they met with infinite Numbers of People, who crouded forwards to see the King: who had the Satisfaction every where of hearing the People blessing him, and cursing the Spaniards. All the Nobility, with the whole Court, and the Decem. 6. Magistrates of the Ciry, met him at a great Distance from Lisbon, and he entered the Town amidst the Acclamations of a joyful

People.

That Evening there were Illuminations every where, and Fireworks in every publick Place; each Citizen in particular had a Bonfire before his door, which made a. Spaniard fay, " The Duke of Braganza was a happy "Prince, who had got a whole Kingdom for a Bonfire." Nor was it long indeed before he was Master of the whole Kingdom, every Town followed the Example of their Capital, and seemed as if they had a Plot ripe for Execution. Fresh Couriers every Day arrived, who brought News of Towns, and sometimes of whole Provinces, which had driven the Castilians out, and proclaimed the Duke of Braganza. Nor were many of the Spanish Governours more resolute than the Commander of the Citadel of Lisbon; and whether they wanted Soldiers, Ammunition, or Courage, is uncertain, but most of them surrendered, without so much as giving the Portuguese the trouble of firing In short, they sled the Kingdom a Gun.

like so many Criminals who had broke out of Prison; each Man dreaded Vasconcellos's Fate, and trembled at the sight of an incens'd Multitude: nor was there a Spaniard left in the whole Kingdom, but those who were taken into Custody and all this in less than a Fort-

night's time.

Don Ferdinand de la Cueva, Commander of the Citadel of St. Juan, at the Mouth of the Tagus, was the only Man who offered to make any Resistance, and to preserve the Place for the King his Master. The Garison . was wholly composed of Spaniards, the Officers brave, and resolved to hold it out to the last; and therefore, as soon as the Portuguese approached them, made a vigorous Defence. They were obliged to besiege it in form; to that end they brought Cannon from Lisbon, and opened the Trenches before it, which they carryed as far as the Counterscarp, spite of the Besieged's continual Fire, and their frequent Sallies. But the King, who knew that treating with the Commander would be not only the sasest, but the shortest way, made him such advantageous Proposals, that the Governour could not resist the Temptation; but dazled with the Prospect of the vast Sum which was offered, besides a Commandry of the Order of Christ, and pretending that his Garison was not strong enough to hold out a Siege, surrendered upon Terms, spite of the chief Officers, who refused to fign the Capitulation.

This done, the King thought it best not to defer his Coronation, that he might there-

Majesty. The Ceremony was performed on the Fitteenth of December with all the Magnificence imaginable; the Duke d' Aveiro the Marquiss de Villareal, the Duke de Carmino, his Son, the Count de Monsano, and all the other Grandees of the Kingdom, being present. The Archbishop of Lisbon, at the head of all the Clergy of his Diocese, and accompanied by several other Bishops, met him at the Door of the Cathedral; there he was solemnly acknowledged by the States of the Kingdom their Rightful and Lawful King after which every one of them took the Oath

of Allegiance.

Some few Days after the Coronation, the Queen arrived at Lisbon with a sumptuous Equipage and numerous Retinue. All the Court went out of Town to meet her, and The already had with her all the Officers of her Houshold. The King himself met her at some Distance from the Town. This Prince omitted nothing which might make her Entry appear magnificent, and convince the People that he believed she had very much contributed to the placing the Crown upon his Head. Every one observed, that notwithstanding her Fortune was altered, yet was not the Queen in the least changed, but behaved herself as majestically, as if she had been born to, and was educated for the Possession of a Throne.

SUCH was the Success of this great Enterprize, as happily finished, as it was prudently begun; which may be reckoned a sort fort of Miracle, considering the vast Number of Persons, and the different Quality and Inclinations of those who were let into the Secret: Nor can it be accounted for, but from the natural Hatred which the Portuguese had to a Spanish Government; a Hatred! which took its first Rise from the frequent Wars which these neighbouring Nations waged against one another, ever since they had been Monarchies; as well as from their being both concern'd in the Discovery of the Indies, and the frequent Debates which they had concerning their Commerce; these at last grew into an inveterate Hatred, which was now encreased by the Tyranny of Spain.

The News of the Revolution soon reach'd the Court of Spain. D'Olivarez was almost driven to Despair at the hearing it; he saw his own Project miscarry, and Ruin threatning his Country, which might have been easily prevented, but could not now be remedy'd. Nor had Spain any Need of acquiring new Enemies, the French and Dutch Troops already employed their utmost Forces, with much ado they resisted their combined Strength; and the Revolt of Catalonia, he seared, might invite other Provinces to do the like.

There was no one now in the Court of Madrid ignorant of the News, but the King himself; every one thought that he ought to be informed of it, yet no one dared undertake the ungrateful Task, for fear of incurring the Minister's Displeasure, whose implacable Temper they knew too well, to hope

that

that he would ever forgive an Offence of this nature. At last the Duke, seeing that the Story was too well known to be any longer concealed from the King, and fearing that some of his Enemies, either to ingratiate or revenge themselves, should tell it in such a Manner, that the whole Fault would seem to fall upon him, he resolved to be himself the Messenger, and coming up to the King, with a serene Look, and a Face on which a dissembled Joy sat confess'd, "I wish your "Majesty joy, said he, of a noble Dutchy, and a fine Estate, which are lately fallen to you. "How Olivarez! answered the " King; what do you mean?" " Mean! ce replyed the Minister; why the Duke of Brace ganza is run mad, the Mob have proclaimed " him King of Portugal, and he has accepted "the Title; so that now all he has is con-" fiscated, and you have a good Pretence to " rid yourfelf of the whole Family: Hence-" forwards you may reign King of Portugal, " nor fear that any one will dispute your Ti-" tle to that Kingdom.

As weak a Prince as Philip was, he easily comprehended the meaning of these words; but as he could no longer see but thro his Minister's Eyes, he only told him, That he must take Care betimes to put an end to a Rebellion, whose Consequence might other-

wise prove dangerous.

Mean while the King of Portugal took all the necessary Measures to confirm his new Authority. As soon as he came to Lisbon, he named Governors for every Town of Por-

Portugal, as much distinguished for their Fidelity to him, as for their Experience and approved Valour; who immediately, with what Soldiers they could get together, went to take Possession of their Command, and to put the Place in a posture of Desence. the same time recruiting Commissions were given out; and the Solemnity of his Coronation being over, he called together the States Jan. 28. of the Kingdom: in which, to prevent all 164°. the Doubts and Scruples which might rife in the Minds of the People, his Pretensions to the Crown were examined; and by a solemu-Decree of the States he was acknowledged Right and Lawful King, as being descended from Prince Edward, Son to King Ema-. nuel; whereas the King of Spain was only descended from a Daughter of the same King Emanuel, who also by the Fundamental Laws of Portugal was excluded the Succession, having espoused a foreign Prince.

In this Assembly the King declared, that he would content himself with his own Estate, and that the usual Royal Revenue should be applyed to the defraying of the extraordinary Expences, and paying the Debts of the Kingdom. And the better to ingratiate himself with the People, he took off all the Taxes which the oppressing Spaniards had

laid upon them.

To all the considerable Offices and Employments he promoted those of the Conspirators, whose Birth and Capacity might give them just Pretensions to it, and who had shewn the greatest Desire of raising him to the

the Throne. In this Promotion no Notice was taken of Pinto; the King did not think his Royalty sufficiently confirmed, to venture at raising one of his Servants, and whose Extraction was but mean. However, the Prince was not in the least unmindful of his Service, and without having the Title of a Minister of State, he had the Authority of one; so great was his Influence over his Master, and such entire Considence did he re-

pose in him.

Having given all the necessary Orders within the Kingdom, he resolved to assure himself of some foreign Assistance in case of Necessary, as well by making strict Alliances with all the Enemies of Spain, as by raising them new ones. To this end he endeavoured to persuade the Duke of Medina Sidonia, Governour of Andalusia, and his Brother-in-law, to follow his Example, shake off the Spanish Yoke, and make himself an independent Prince. The Marquis Daiamonti, a Spanish Nobleman, and related to the Queen of Portugal, was to negotiate this Business, the Success of which will be seen in the Sequel of this History.

The King of Portugal made a League offensive and defensive with the Dutch; France
promised him its Protection, and he sent Ambassadors to all the Courts of Europe, that his
Title might be acknowledged by their Princes. But the King of Spain was so destitute
of Men, Catalonia employing all his Forces,
that he did very little all that Campaign for

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the Recovery of Portugal, and even what he did undertake met with no Success.

Some little time after this, News was brought that Goa, and all those other Places which belonged to Portugal, whether in the Indies, Africa, or in Peru, had followed the Example of their European Masters, and revolted from the Spaniards. Thus was the King flattered with the Prospect of a happy Reign, and rejoiced to see Peace and Tranquility preserved within his Kingdom, whilst his Arms met with Success abroad; little suspecting the Danger which threatened his Life and Crown, both which he had almost lost by a cursed Conspiracy, which was formed even in the midst of that Prince's Court.

The Archbishop of Braga, as has before been observed, was wholly devoted to the King of Spain, during whose Reign in Portugal he had had a great Share in the Ministry. He now plainly saw, that he must never hope for any Preferment, unless the Spanish Government could be again introduced into that Kingdom; besides, he seared that the new King, who out of a tender Regard to his Character had not had him put into Prison with the other Spaniards, might alter his Mind, and seeing his Authority once confirmed, and dreading no longer the Danger of incensing the People, or provoking the Inquisition, might make him share the Fate of those, whose Courage or Politicks 'twas thought might prove prejudicial to the new King's Government, and who had all been depriv'd

prived of their Liberty. But the chief Motive, which induced him to undertake something for their Cause, was his Affection to the late Vice-Queen: with Impatience he beheld that Princess under Confinement, especially in a Place where he thought it was her Right to rule; and his Rage was violently increased by the Orders which were given her Gaurds to admit neither the Prelate, nor any other Person of Quality, the King having been informed that she endeavoured to infuse Sentiments of Rebellion into all those Portuguese who went to visit her; and therefore thought fit to deprive her of that Liberty, which the to palpably abused. As just and as necessary as this Proceeding was, the Archbishop called it cruel and tyrannick; and as he had some Notions of Gratitude, believed himself under an Obligation of doing something for the Liberty of a Princess, who had done so much for him. The Remembrance of her past Kindness enflamed his Soul with Anger, and made him resolve to embrace any Opportunity whatsoever of revenging himself on her Ene mies, and delivering her out of their Hands. But as he plainly faw it would be impossible either to surprize or corrupt her Guards, he could not think of any furer way than going directly to the Fountain-head, and by the Death of the King to restore her Liberty and Authority both at once.

Being fully confirmed in this Resolution, he began to think of the speediest Means of putting it in Execution, well knowing that he should not long enjoy the Place of President

dent of the Palace, which was not as yet taken from him. He plainly saw that it was in vain to follow the King's Measures, by endeavouring to win the People, and make them join with him; their Hatred to the Spaniards being too deeply rooted in their Hearts. The Nobility, he was assured, wou'd not assist him, since by their means the Crown was placed upon the Duke of Braganza's Head: he could therefore only depend upon the Grandees, who with envy beheld one, that had been their Equal, upon the Throne. The first thing he did, was to assure himself of Olivarez's Protection and Assistance: after which, he began to work upon the Marquis of Villareal; to whom he represented, that the new King was timerous and diffident, for which reason he sought all Opportunities of ruining his Family, lest he should leave a Subject who was capable of disputing the Crown with his Successor: That he and the Duke d'Aveiro, who were both of the Royal Blood, were not thought worthy of any Office or Employment; whilst all Places of Trust were filled by a company of factious and seditious People: That with indignation the People saw how little he was valued, and were very much troubled to think that a Person of his Quality and Capacity must spend his time at a Country-Seat, and in an inglorious Ease: That one of his Birth and Estate was too great to be the Subject of so petty a Prince as the King of Por-tugal: That he had lost a Master in the King of Spain, who only was capable of bestowing such Employments on him as he deserved, by reason of the many Kingdoms of which he was Sovereign, and over which he must establish Governours.

Seeing that this Discourse made an Impression on the Mind of the Marquiss, he went so far as to assure him, that he had Orders from the King of Spain to promise him the Viceroyalty of Portugal, as a Reward of his Loyalty, in case he would assist him in his Design of recovering that Kingdom.

Notwithstanding what the Archbishop promised, the thing was very far from his Heart; his chief Aim being to restore the Dutchess of Mantua to her Liberty and former Authority: for the compassing of which, he thought it very lawful to promise what he never intended to perform; and he knew that ambitious Motives were the likeliest to engage the Marquiss de Villareal, upon whom his fair Speeches had at last such an Effect, that he yielded to his Persuasions, and promised that he, with his Son the Duke of Camino, would be at the Head of the Enterprize.

This Prelate being thus assured of these two Princes, made it his next Business to engage the Grand Inquisitor, who was his intimate Friend, and than whom no one could be more necessary in carrying on their great Design; seeing that by his means he should also prevail upon all the Officers belonging to the Inquisition, a People more to be dreaded by honest Men than Rogues, and who

who bear a great Sway amongst the Portuguese. He endeavour'd at first to alarm his Conscience, by reminding him of the Oath of Allegiance which he had taken to the King of Spain, and which he ought not to break in Favour of an usurping Tyrant; but finding the Inquisitor a true Churchman, over whom Interest had a greater Sway than Conscience, he told him that he must join in the Plot, if he hoped to keep his Place much longer, for that the new King made it his Business to give all the Employments to Persons whose Fidelity he could depend upon.

After this, he spent several Months in encreasing the Number of Conspirators, the chief of which were the Commissary de la Crusada; the Count d' Armamar, Nephew to the Archbishop; the Count de Ballerais; Don Augustin Emanuel; Antonio Correa, that Clerk of Vasconcellos, to whom Menezes had given divers Stabs on the first Day of the Revolution; Laurento Pidez Carvable, Keeper of the Royal Treasury; with several others, who were the Creatures of the Spanish Ministers, to whom they ow'd their Fortunes and their Places, and which they could not hope to keep long, unless by once more introducing the Spanish Government.

There were also a vast number of Jews who were concern'd in the Plot, and who had long liv'd at Lisbon in an outward Profession of the Christian Faith. These had lately offer'd the King a vast Sum of Money, if he would free them from the Persecution of the Inquisitors, and let them have their Syna-

Synagogues at Lisbon; but the Prince rejected their Offer, and deny'd their Petition. This had thrown the chief of them into a great Consternation, for appearing at the Head of the Petitioners, they had made themselves known, and thereby expos'd themselves to all the Torments which the Inquisition could invent.

With these the Archbishop took care to get acquainted, and taking Advantage of the Consussion they were in, promis'd them his Protection, which was not to be despis'd, since he had such an Influence over the Grand Inquisitor; but insinuated at the same Time, that they were in danger of being banish'd Portugal by the King, who affected very much to be thought a true and pious Catholick: And at the same Time promis'd in the Name of the King of Spain, that if they would be instrumental to his Restoration, they should have Liberty of Conscience, and Leave openly to profess their Religion.

So violent was the Passion of the Archbishop, that he was not asham'd to make use of the profess'd Enemies of Jesus Christ, to drive a Christian Prince from a Throne, which rightfully belong'd to him; and this was perhaps the first Time that ever the Inquisition and Synagogue went hand in hand

together.

Several Schemes were propos'd, but at last this, which was drawn by the Archbishop, approv'd of by the first Minister of Spain, was agreed upon; That the Jews should set fire to the four Corners of the Pa-

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lace on the 5th of August, and at the same Time to several Houses both in the City and Suburbs, that the People might every where be employ'd in extinguishing the Fire; that the Conspirators should all fly to the Palace under pretence of affifting, and that amidst the Horrour and Confusion which this vast Conflagration would cause, some of them should affassinate the King; that the Duke de Camino should seize the Queen and her Children, who might be as terviceable to them in regaining the Citadel, as the Dutchess of Mantua had been to their Enemies; that at the same time there should be. Fireworks ready to be play'd oif, to set the Portuguese Fleet on fire; that the Archbishop, with the Grand Inquisitor and all his Officers, should march thro' the Town, to keep the People in awe, and prevent their coming to the Affistance of the King, so much do they dread the Power of the Inquisition; and that the Marquiss de Villareal should take the Administration upon him, till they had receiv'd Orders from the Court of Spain.

But as they had not the least Reason to hope that the People would second them, they thought it necessary to make sure of some Troops, and to that end wrote to Olivarez to send a Fleet towards the Coasts of Portugal, which should be ready to enter the Port of Lisbon at the time when the Conspiracy should break out; and that there should be some Forces on foot on the Frontiers of the Kingdom, which should be in a readiness to all against any Place, which would

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not willingly furrender to the King of

Spain.

But the most difficult Part of their Labour was to keep an exact Correspondence with the Spanish Minister: for since the King had been inform'd that the Dutchess of Mantua had sent Letters to Madrid, there was such a strict Guard kept upon the Frontiers of the Kingdom, that no one could go into Cassile without the King's own Passport; nor did they dare attempt to corrupt the Guards, least they should reveal what had been offer'd them.

But at last, seeing themselves under an absolute Necessity of acquainting the Spanish. Minister with their Design, without which all their Measures would infallibly be broken; they cast their Eyes upon a rich Merchant of Lisbon, who was Treasurer of the Custom-house, and who, by reason of his great Trade, had the King's immediate leave to send Letters into Castile at any time. This Man's Name was Bacze; he outwardly profess'd the Christian Religion, but was suppos'd to be a conceal'd Observer of the Jewish Law, To him they offer'd vast Sums of Money for his Assistance; which, together with the Persuasions of the Jews who were engag'd in the Conspiracy, prevail'd upon him so far, that he promis'd to take care that their Letters should be deliver'd to the Duke d'Olivarez.

To this end he enclos'd the Pacquet dirested to the Marquis Daiamonti, Governour of the first Town on the Frontiers of

Spain,

Spain, believing his Letters safe, when once

out of the Dominions of Portugal.

The Marquiss, who was nearly related to the Queen, and was at that time negotiating a Business for the King of Portugal, was very much surprized to see Letters sealed with the Great Seal of the Inquisition, and directed to the first Minister of Spain; and beginning to sear that his own Business was discovered, and Notice of it hereby given to Olivarez, he opened them, and found that they contained the Scheme of a Conspiracy against the Royal Family, and which was speedily to be put in execution.

Startled at the Contents, he dispatch'd a Courier to the Court of Portugal, with the intercepted Letters. It is impossible to express the Surprise of the King, when he law that three Princes, who were so nearly related to him, with the Archbishop, and several Grandees of the Kingdom, were contriving how to take away his Life, and give

his Crown to a Stranger.

He immediately communicated their intended. Treason to his Privy-Council, who after a small Deliberation came to a Resolution, which some sew days afterwards was executed. The fifth of October was the Day appointed by the Conspirators, and the Time Eleven at Night. That very Morning about Ten of the Clock, all the Soldiers who were quarter'd in the neighbouring Villages, march'd into Lishon, it having been given out that they were then to be review'd in the Court of the Palace. The King at the same G3

ral Officers and others of his Court, which were seal'd up, with positive Orders not to open them till Twelve, and then punctually

to execute the Contents.

A little before Noon the Archbishop and the Marquiss de Villarael were sent for to the Palace about some Business, and coming into the King's Apartment, were arrested without the least Noise, or any Body's knowing it; and at the same time one of the Captains of the Guard made the Duke de Camino a Prisoner. Those who had receiv'd the seal'd Notes having open'd them, found Orders to arrest such a Man, whom they should convey to fuch a Prison, and not lose sight of him till farther Orders. In short, Matters were manag'd so prudently, that in less than an Hour's Time the Forty-seven Conspirators were feiz'd, without so much as giving any one of them Time enough to escape, or even the least Suspicion that their Plot was discover'd.

The News of their intended Barbarity reaching the Ears of the People, they came flocking towards the Palace, and in a tumultuous manner demanded the Prisoners, that

they might tear them piece-meal.

Tho' the King was well pleas'd with the Affection and Loyalty of his Subjects, yet was he a little troubled to see how easily they could be gather'd together, and what Mischief they were at such a Time able to do. Wherefore having thank'd them for the Care which they took of him, and having promis'd that the Traitors should be punish'd accord-

ing

ing to Law, he order'd the Magistrates to

disperse them.

But as he knew that the most violent Pasfions of an incens'd People will foon grow cool, and perhaps dwindle into Compassion, when they no longer should consider the Criminals as the worst of Villains, who would have destroy'd their King and Country, but as unhappy Wretches, who must shortly suffer an ignominous Death; he took Care to publish, that the Conspirators Intent was to assassinate him and all the Royal Family, to set the whole Town on fire, and those who escaped the raging Flames, would have fallen by the Sword of the Rebels: That Spain being resolv'd to have nothing more to fear from the Portuguese, would have sent all their Citizens into America, to toil like Slaves, and be bury'd alive in those Mines, were so many had already perish'd and to people the. City of Lisbon with a Colony of Castilians.

After this the King order'd the Traitors to be brought to their Tryal, and to this end he appointed Judges, which he took out of the supreme Court of Judicature, and to whom he added two Grandees of the Kingdom, upon account of the Archbishop of Braga, the Marquiss de Villareal, and the

Duke de Camino.

The King put their Letter, which they had sent to Olivarez, into the Hands of those who were appointed to prosecute them; but with Orders not to make use of them, if they could by any other Means prove them guilty of High Treason, lest the Court of Spain should G. thereby

thereby discover the Correspondence, which he held with the Marquis Daiamonti; but there was no necessity of producing them to discover the Truth; for Baeze, who was the first that was brought to the Bar, contradicted himself in almost every Question which was ask'd him, and being put to the Torture, his Courage fail'd him, he consess'd his Crime, and discover'd the whole Plan of the Conspiracy. He own'd that their Design was to kill the King, that the Office of the Inquisition was now full of Arms, and that they waited only for Olivarez's Answer to

execute their Design.

Most of the other Conspirators were put to the Torture, and their Deposition entirely agreed with Baeza's. The Archbishop, the Grand Inquisitor, the Marquis de Villareal, and the Duke de Camino, being unwilling to suffer the Torments of the Question, confess'd their Crime. These two last were condemn'd to be beheaded, the rest of the Lay-Traitors to be hang'd, drawn and quarter'd, and the Sentence of the Ecclesiasticks was refer'd to the King himself. Upon this the King immediately affembled his Council, and told them, that the consequence of putting so many Persons of Quality to death, altho' they were criminal, might be satal: That the chief Conspirators were of the farst Families of the Kingdom, whose Relations would be for ever his conceal'd Enemies, and that the Defire of revenging their Death would be the unhappy Source of new Plots: That the Consequence of the Death of Count d' Egmont

d' Egmont in Flanders, and of the Guises in France, had prov'd fatal: That it he pardon'd some of them, and chang'd the Sentence of the others into a Punishment less severe than Death, he should for ever win theirs, their Friends, and their Kindreds Hearts, and bind them to his Service by the Ties of Gratitude: but yet, That notwithstanding he himself was inclin'd to Mercy, he had assembled his Council to know their Opinions, and to follow that which should seem the most reasonable, and the most

just.

The Marquiss de Ferreira was the first who spoke, and was for having them executed without delay: He represented, That in fuch Cases as these Justice only ought to be confulted, and that Mercy was most dangerous: That Pardon would seem not much the Effect of the Goodness, as Weakness of the Prince, or the Fear of their threatning powerful Friends: That if these should go unpunish'd, it would bring the Government into Contempt, and encourage their Relations to deliver them out of Prison, or perhaps to carry Matters farther: That now, at his Accession to the Crown, he ought, by an Example of Severity, to deter others from ever attempting the like. He urg'd farther, That they were Traitors not only to the King, but also to the State, whose present Constitution they had endeavour'd to subvert: That he ought rather to hearken to the Justice which he ow'd his People, and punish these Criminals, than

than to his own Inclination of forgiving them, especially at a Time when his Preservation and

the publick Safety were inseparable.

The whole Council being of the same Opinion, the King yielded, and the next Day Sentence was executed. The Archbishop of Lisbon being willing to fave one of his Friends, came to the Queen, and follicited her for a Pardon, with all the Assurance of a Man, who thought that nothing could be deny'd him, and that his former Services might claim a much greater Favour. But the Queen, who was convinc'd of the Justice and absolute Necessity of their suffering the Law, and how much a Distinction of this Nature would incense the Friends and Relations of the rest, answer'd the Archbishop in few Words, but with such a Tone, as made him see it would be in vain to urge his Request any farther; "My Lord, the only " Favour I can now grant you, is to forget that you ever ask'd me this."

The King unwilling to disoblige the Clergy, and especially the Court of Rome, who had not as yet acknowledg'd him King, or receiv'd his Ambassadors, would not suffer the Archbishop of Braga, or the Grand Inquisitor, to be executed, but condemn'd them to a perpetual Imprisonment; where the Archbishop shortly after died of a violent Fever, a Disease often fatal to State-Prisoners, who for some politick Reason

must not be led to open Execution.

Nothing

## of PORTUGAL.

Nothing could be equal to the Surprize of Olivarez, when this News was brought him; he could not imagine by what Means the King of Portugal had discover'd their Design, nor would it ever have been known, had not an Accident happen'd, which made him see that it was the Marquis Daiamonti, who had unravel'd the dark Design, and acquainted the

King with it.

This Prince still kept a very good Correspondence with the Enemies of Spain; his Ports were open to the Fleets of France and Holland; he had a Resident at Barcelona, and encourag'd the revolting Catalonians; In short, he did all he could to weaken Spain. not only by encreasing the Rage of its Foes, but also by endeavouring to raise up new ones. To to this end, he had already inclin'd the Duke de Medina Sidonia, his Brother-in-law, to rebel; whom the Marquiss Daiamonti, a Castilian, and their mutual Confidant, at length entirely seduced. This Nobleman was, as has been before observ'd, nearly related to the Queen of Portugal, and the Duke of Medina: He was Governour of a Place at the Mouth of the Guadiano, and just on the Frontiers of Portugal, which made it easy for him to keep a good Correspondence with that Court; nor did he question, but that by being serviceable to two such powerful Families, he should easily make his own Fortune. He was valiant, enterprizing, hated the first Minister, and at the same Time did not in the least value his Life; a Quality so very neces-Sary fary to those who embark themselves in any

dangerous Design.

He wrote privately to the Duke to congratulate him upon the Discovery of the Archbishop's Plot, and the Preservation of the Life of the Queen his Sister, and all the Royal Family; he at the same Time observ'd how grateful it must be to him to see the Crown of Portugal one Day adorn the Head of his Nephews, which made that Kingdom a sure Resuge for him in Time of Distress; which perhaps might be too near at hand, fince he could never recken himfelf safe while Olivarez was at the Head of Affairs, whose only aim was to ruin all the Grandees; nor was it to be suppos'd that the crasty Statesman would long leave him Governour of fo large a Province, and in the Neighbourhood of Portugal: That he would advise him seriously to reflect on these Things, and let him know his Resolutions; to which end he should send him a Person in whom he could confide, and to whom they both might safely trust their Secret.

The Duke was naturally proud and ambitious, and with Envy had beheld his Brother-in-law raising himself to the Throne; nor would he, on his side, willingly neglect any Opportunity of doing the like. Believing by what the Marquiss said, that he had some very advantageous Proposal of this kind to make him, he sent Lewis de Castile, his Consident, Daiamonti, who seeing his Credentials, at once open'd his Mind, and bid him remember with what ease the Duke of Bra-

ganza had made himself Master of the Crown of Portugal; nor could there ever be a more savourable Time for the Duke of Medina Sidonia to do the like, and make himself inde-

pendent of the Crown of Spain.

After this he represented the Weakness of that Kingdom, which was exhausted by the Wars which the French and Dutch had continually waged against them: That Catalonia now employ'd all its Forces, nor would the King know how to help himself, should Andalusia rise in Arms against him, and the War be thus carry'd into the very Heart of the Kingdom: That the People would certainly fide with him, being always fond of a new Government; besides which, they had reason enough to complain of the old one, which had so opress'd them with Taxes, and extorted fuch vast Sums from them: That the Duke of Medina was as well beloved by the Andalusians, as the Duke of Braganza was at the time of the Revolution by the Portuguese: That the only thing which now remain'd to be done, was to gain all those, who, under him, were Governours of Towns and Forts. without entrusting them with the Secret, which might be done; and to fill all Places of Trust with his furest Friends: That as soon as the Galloons, which were expected from the Indies, arriv'd, he should seize them, and the Riches which were on board would defray the Expences of this Enterprize: That the King of Portugal, with his Allies, should have a Fleet ready to enter Cadiz, and there land a sufficient Number of Forces, to subdue those who who would unseasonably shew their Loyalty

to Spain.

Lewis de Castile being return'd to his Master, gave him a faithful Account of all that
had pass'd between him and the Marquiss.
The Duke, dazled with the Prospect of a
Crown, resolv'd to hazard every Thing, rather than fail of obtaining one. He was
chief Commander there both by Sea and
Land, as Captain-General of the Ocean, and
Governour of the Province, in which he also
had a very large Estate, and several Towns
under his own immediate Jurisdiction. This
scem'd very much to facilitate his Design,
and made him believe, that it was in his
Power to put a Crown upon his Head whenever he pleas'd.

Upon this he sent Lewis de Castile back to

the Marquiss, that they might together agree upon the properest Measures of accomplishing their Project, and especially of engaging the Crown of Portugal to lend them all the Assistance it possible could. Mean while, he himself was disposing every Thing for the intended Revolution; he put his own Creatures in all those Places where their Assistance would be most serviceable to him; he frequently would pity the Soldiers, who were not paid as they ought to be, and the People, who were over-burden'd with excessive

Taxes.

The Marquiss Daiamonti was well pleas'd to see the Duke in that Deposition he had long wish'd to see him in; he wanted to acquaint the King of Portugal with it, but was unwilling

unwilling to trust to Letters, and fear'd he could not send a Messenger so privately, but that the Court of Spain might discover it, and have just cause to mistrust his Fidelity: However, at last he cast his Eyes upon a crasty and intriguing Monk, who for love of Money, or hope of Preserment, would undertake any Thing; he was call'd Father Nicholas de Valasco, of the Order of St. Francis. No one could be sitter for his Purpose, since in the Countries where the Inquisition is, this Habit is so much respected, that no one would dare to pry into his Actions, and

observe his Steps.

As foon as he had receiv'd his Instructions, he came to Castro-Marino, the first Town on the Frontiers of Portugal, pretended to ransom some Castilian Prisoners which were detain'd in Portugal. The King, who had Notice given him of it, by a Letter from the Marquis Daiamonti, was desir'd to seize him, and bring him to Court: This was accordingly done; he was arrested as a Spy, loaded with Chains, and brought to Lisbon as a State-Criminal, whom the Ministry themselves would examine; where he was immediately cast into Prison, and seemingly watch'd very strictly: Some Time after he was set at liberty, since upon Examination it appear'd, that his only Intent was to ransom some Castilian Prisoners; and partly, to make him amends for his former ill Usage, he was permitted to come to Court, to treat with the proper Officer about it.

The

The King saw him himself several times, and promis'd him, that as a Reward of his Industery and faithful Service, he would give him a Bishoprick. The Monk, flatter'd with the Hopes of the Mitre, would never stir from the Palace; he made his Court to the Queen, and was always waiting upon the Ministers: He wanted to be let into all the State-Intrigues, and did all he could to shew what Credit he had at Court; and thus, without directly revealing his Secret, he betray'd it by his Pride and Inconsiderateness. It plainly appear'd, that the Severity of his Prison was only a Blind, and the Examination of the Ministery a pretence to introduce him into Court. Many and various were the Conjectures which were made about his real Business there; but at last a Castilian, who was Prisoner at Lisbon, discover'd the whole Intrigue.

This Castilian, nam'd Sancho, was a Creature of the Duke of Medina Sidonia's, and, before the late Revolution, Pay-master of the Spanish Army in Portugal. He, with the rest of his Countrymen who were taken up at that time, groan'd in Confinement, nor had they any Prospect of Liberty; but hearing of this Monk, and being inform'd of his Country, his extravagant Conduct, his Credit at Court, and several other Circumstances which made it plain that he was there employ'd in some secret Business; he thought he had now an Opportunity of obtaining his Liberty, and with this Hope he wrote the Monk a long Letter, full of Expressions sit

that the King of Portugal detain'd him in. Prison, (which the other Castilians) who was a Servant and Creature of the Duke his Brother-in-law: And to confirm it, he sent him several Letters, wrote to him by that Prince himself some little time before the Revolution, in which he treated him as one in whom

he repos'd an entire Confidence.

The Franciscan answer'd Sancho's Letter, and affur'd him, that nothing could recommend him more to him, than his belonging to the Duke of Medina; that he would use all his endeavour to procure him his Liberty, but in the mean time he must take care not fo much as to open his Mouth about it. The Spaniard waited some Days for the Effect of his Promise, and at last sent him a second Epistle, in which he represented, that seven Months were expir'd since he was cast into Prison; that the Spanish Minister seem'd to have quite forgotten him, since he neither talk'd of ransoming or exchanging him; and that therefore he had no Hopes of Liberty left, but what were built upon the Charity and Interest of the Reverend Father.

The Monk, who thought he should very much oblige the Duke of Medina, by procuring Sancho his Freedom, begg'd it of the King, and obtain'd it. He went to the Prison himself, to fetch him out of it, and offer'd to have him included in a Passport, which was to be given to some of the Dutchess of Mantua's Servants, who were then returning to Madrid. But the crafty

H Casti-

Castilian answer'd him, that Madrid was a Place to which he could never more return; that he must not pretend to appear at Court, unless he desir'd to be thrown into Prison again, seeing that Olivarez was so severe and unjust, that he would expect his Accounts to be made up, altho' in the late Revolution he had been stript not only of his Money, but had had his Books also taken from him: To this he added, that he desir'd nothing more than to be near the Duke of Medina, his Patron, who was both able and willing, he did not

question, to advance him.

The Franciscan wanting somebody whom he could trust his Secret to, and by whom he might give the Marquis Daiamonti-a strict Account of his Negotiation, cast his Eyes upon the Castilian, who seem'd very much attach'd to the Interest of the Duke of Medina. To this end he detain'd the Spainard some time, pretended that he could not as yet procure him a Passport, tho' his Intent was to observe him, and see whether or not he was a Person sit to be entrusted. Their being frequently together begat an intimate Acquaintance, which they both mutually defir'd; the Monk, that he might engage the Spainard to scree him; and the Spainard, that he might make himself Master of the Monk's Secret.

This Holy Man, like the rest of his Brethren, pussed up with Vanity, could not forbear one Day telling his Friend, that he would not long see him in that Garb in which he was, that he had a Bishoprick

promis'd him, and that he did not despair of obtaining the Roman Purple. Sancho, to make him prattle the faster, pretended that he did not believe a Word of what he said. The Fryar laugh'd at his Incredulity: " And I " suppose, continued he, you would not be-" lieve me neither, if I should tell you, that "the Duke of Medina will shortly be a "King." The other, to get the Secret quite out of him, urg'd the Impossibility of it; upon which the Monk told him the whole Story: That Andalusia must in a little time acknowledge the Duke for their Sovereign: That the Marquiss Daiamonti, who had also discover'd the Spanish Plot to the King of Portugal, was the chief Negotiator and Instrument of this intended Revolution: That he should shortly see strange Alterations in Spain, and that he had now an Oppertunity of making his Fortune only by being feeret, and taking Care to deliver some Letters from him to the Duke and Marquis.

Sancho, well pleas'd at the Discovery of this Secret, which he had long labour'd to get out of him, renew'd his Protestations of Fidelity and Secrecy, and his Offers of Service; and having taken Valesco's Letters, told him, that he should be proud of the Opportunity of serving the Prince, and hoped that he should be thought worthy of the Honour of bringing him an Answer. Upon this the Castilian set out for Andalusia, but was no sooner got into the Spanish Territories, than he took the Madrid Road; and as soon as he arriv'd

arriv'd, went strait to the Minister's House, and sent him word that Sancho, Pay-master of the Army in Portugal, was just escaped out of Prison, where he had been confin'd by the Usurper, and had some important Bu-

finess to communicate to him.

It was a very hard Matter to gain Access to Olivarez who had his set Hours of granting Audience, and at which time he sent word the Pay-Master must return. Enrag'd at this Resusal, Sancho cry'd he must, he would speak to him; that his Business was no Trisse, but the Sasety of the Kingdon depended on its being immediately reveal'd.

This being told Olivarez, he order'd him to be admitted: Sancho enter'd the Room, and threw himself at his Feet, crying the Kingdom was fav'd from the Ruin which threaten'd it, since he had gain'd Admittance to one, in whose Power it was to prevent it; then told the whole Story of the Duke of Medina's Intent, encourag'd in it by the King of Portugal, and persuaded to it by the Marquiss Daiamonti, his Design of seizing upon the Galloons, and of making the Soldiers of Andalusia turn their Arms against their King: To justify all which, he deliver'd those Letters given him by the Franciscan for the Duke and Marquiss, and which contain'd the Scheme of the Conspiracy.

Olivarez was so surpriz'd at the Strangeness of this News, that he could not for some time utter a word, but at last recovering himself, he prais'd Sancho for his Loyalty,

and

and told him that he deserv'd a double Reward, not only as he had reveal'd the Plot, but also as he had been assaid to discover it even to the nearest Relation of the chief Conspirator. Then order'd he the Spaniard to be conducted into a private Apartment, and be debarr'd the Liberty of speaking to any one.

Mean while the Minister went into the King's Apartment, and told him all that Sancho had Kelated, and thew'd him the Let-

ters which he had deliver'd him.

Never was Prince in a great Consternation than Philip was, long had he observ'd and dreaded the haughty Carriage of the Gusmans; and as the Loss of Portugal, which he thought was owing to the Dutchess of Braganza, was still fresh in his Memory, he could not forbear telling Olivarez in a reproachful manner, that all the Misfortunes which the Spaniards had lately suffer'd, they were beholden to his Family for. This Prince wanted neither Wit or Judgment, but he was so addicted to Pleasure, that he would never apply himself to any thing that carry'd the face of Business, but would rather have lost half his Dominions, than be oblig'd to quit his indolent and effeminate manner of Living: Wherefore having vented his Passion in this Reproach, he gave the Franciscan's Letters back to Olivarez, without so much as opening them; ordering him to have them examin'd by a Committee, compos'd of three Members of his Privy-Council, who should make their Report to him.

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This

This was all that Olivarez desir'd, for now he could give the Business what Turn he pleas'd. He chose three of his own Creatures for the Commissioners, into whose Hands the Letters were put, and by whom Sancho was examin'd several times; all their Aim was to acquit the Duke of Medina, to which end Olivarez himself came to Sancho, and affecting an estable Behaviour, and an extraordinary Kindness for the Man; " How, my dear Sancho, said he, shall we contrive to acquit the Duke of Medina of a Crime, which is testify'd only by the Letters of " an unknown Monk, and who probably was bribed by the Duke's Enemies to lay " this to his Charge; for certain it is, that never Governour of Andalusia discharg'd " his Duty better, both towards the King " and his Province."

Sancho, who was fully persuaded of the Truth of his Disposition, and fear'd that any of the Criminals should be acquitted, less he should lose his hoped-for Reward, still maintain'd, that he was well assur'd that there was an horrid Conspiracy form'd against the Government in favour of the Duke, who was also at the head of it; that the Marquis Daiamonti was the Contriver of the Plot; and that he himself had read several of their Letters, which were shewn him by the Franciscan, and was certain: that if Olivarez did not prevent it in time, all Andalusia would be up in Arms, to make their Governour their Monarch.

Olivarez, very unwilling that this Business should be too narrowly search'd into, took an opportunity of telling the King that the Monk's Letters had been decypher'd and examin'd, and that he really believ'd him to be some Wretch who had been bribed to calumniate the Duke; for there was no Letter of his produc'd, nor did Sancho make any formal Deposition against him. However, as it was impossible to be too cautious in fuch a case as this, his Opinion was, that the Duke must be artfully drawn to Court, for if he had any fuch Design on foot, it was not safe to arrest him in Andalusia; that some Forces must be sent to Cadiz under a new Governour; that the Marquis Daiamonti must be taken up the same time, and if they were found guilty, his Majesty might deliver them over to the Severity of the Law.

This haughty Minister's Will was not only generally a Law to the Subjects of Spain, but was always one to the King; who told him, that he should manage this Business as he thought sit, for he lest it entirely to him. Upon this, Olivarez sent his Nephew, Don Lewis d'Haro, to the Duke of Medina, to tell him what had been depos'd against him, and with Orders, that guilty or not guilty, he should immediately come to Court, which if he did, his Pardon should be granted; but that if he deser'd his Journey, it would no longer be in his power to procure it.

H 4

This Message thunder-struck the Duke of Medina, and he saw himself under a necessity of obeying, or immediately slying into Portugal: but then considering how ignominious it was to spend his Days in Indolence, and live a banish'd Man, especially in a Country where there was no Employment worthy of him, and at the same time knowing how great Olivarez's Power was; he resolv'd to trust him; and set out for Madrid, and with such diligence did he pursue his Journey, that the King was immediately inclin'd to believe him innocent, or to forgive him, should he be sound guilty.

Whilst Don Lewis d'Haro was employ'd in this Business, a Messenger was sent to take up the Marquis Diamonti; and the Duke of Ciudadreal march'd into Cadiz at the head of

5000 Men.

As foon as the Duke of Medina arriv'd at Madrid, he went and alighted at Olivarez's House, to whom he conseis'd the Conspiracy, shew'd him the Scheme by which they were to proceed, but cast all the Odium of it upon the Marquiss. Olivarez that instant introduc'd him into the King's Closet, where he threw himself at his Majesty's Feet, and with Tears consess'd his Crime, and begg'd his Pardon. Philip, who was of a fort and compassionate Nature, mix'd his Tears with the Duke's, and easily forgave him. But as it would have been very imprudent to have expos'd him to the same Temptation a second time, he was order'd to stay at Court; part

part of his Estate was also confiscated, the King being sensible, that had he not been too rich, and too powerful, he would never have made an Attempt of this kind: And a Governour and a Garrison were plac'd in Saint Lucar de Barameda, the Town in which the Dukes of Medina Sidonia generally resided.

Olivarez, to perfuade the King that his Relation's Repentance was sincere, advis'd him to fend a formal Challenge to the Duke of Braganza; which he refus'd at first, objecting that both Divine and Human Laws forbad Duels. But Olivarez persisting in his Resolution of having one sent, Medina reply'd, that he could not in Conscience come to this Extremity with his Brother-inlaw, unless the King would obtain a Bull from the Pope, which should secure him from the Censure of the Church, which always excommunicated Duelists.

Olivarez answer'd him, that this was not a time for Scruples of Conscience, but that he must now think of satisfying both the King and People of the Sincerity of his Repentance; that in short it was no Matter whether he would fight or not, provided he would not disown a Challenge, which he would publish in his Name. The Duke who now plainly saw that Olivarez's Intent was only to amuse the People, consented to it, and the Minister drew up one himself. Several of them were fent into Portugal, as well as into most Courts of Europe. A Copy of it may probably not be displeasing to the Reader, 106

## The Revolution

Reader, who will be surprized to see a Challenge, which by its Length, Formality, and Stile, would better have became a Knight-Errant of old, than such a Prince as the Duke of Medina Sodonia was.



Don

Don GASPAR ALON-CO Perez de Gusman, Duke of Medina Sidonia, Marquiss, Earl, and Baron of Saint Lucar de Barameda, Captain General of the Ocean, of the Coasts of Andalusia, and of the Armies of Portugal, Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber to his Catholick Majesty; Whom God Preserve.

been more conspicuous to the whole World, than the treasonable Practices of John late Duke of Braganza; Be also his

his damnable Intentions known, of seducing and tainting with Disloyalty the faithful Family of the Guimans, which ever has been, and for the future ever shall be most true and loyal to the King their Master, in whose Service so many of them have shed their Blood. This Usurper has endeavour'd to insinuate into the Minds of Foreign Princes, as well as of his own Rebel Portuguele, that I would aid and afsist him, and enter into his Measures; hoping thereby to keep up the Spirits of those who have join'd with him, and to put me out of favour with the King my Master, (whom God preserve) thinking that by these Means he should alienate my Duty and Affection from my Master, and then I should consent to his cursed Designs, without that Repugnance which

which he has found in me. And the better to accomplish his Design, he has made use of a Monk, who was sent by the Town of Daiamonti to Castro-Marino in Portugal, to treat about the Ransome of a Prisoner, which Monk being carried to Lisbon, was Suborn'd, and persuaded to give out that I was engag'd in the Conspiracy, and that I would. permit any Foreign Army to land in Andalusia, to favour their Designs; and to give the better colour to his Story, he show'd some forg'd Letters, and which he pretended to have received from me.

All this was done with a Design to persuade several Princes to send him some Forces, and would to God they had, that I might have shewn my Loyalty, by destroying them and their Ships; Ships; which will easily appear to have been my Intent, by the Orders which I left on all the

Coasts.

These things have been a sore Affliction to me; but what grieves me still more, is, that his Wife should be my Sister, whose Blood I would gladly shed, since by Rebellion tainted and corrupted, that I might give an evident Proof of my Loyalty to my King, and efface all those Suspicions, which these Rumours may have imprinted in the Minds of the People.

For these Reasons therefore I challenge the said John late Duke of Braganza, as being a Traitor both to God and his King, and invite him to meet me in Person, and in single Combat try our Fortune, with or without Seconds, and arm'd in what

robat manner he please; the Place shall be near Valentia d'Alcantra, which is on the Frontiers both of Caltile and Portugal, and where I will wait for him fourscore Days, from the first of October to the nineteenth of December of this present Year. The twenty last Days 1641. I will wait for him in Person, and on the time which he shall appoint I will enter the Lists; which time, though it be long, I give him, not only that he the said Tyrant, but also that all Europe, nay, that the whole World may know it. To this end, I will send Ten Chevaliers a League within Portugal; as also, he shall send Ten a League within Castile, as Hostages, and on that Day I will shew him the Heinousness and Baseness of his Crime.

But if he the said John late Duke of Braganza, should fail meeting me, to give me Gentleman-like Satisfaction, and thereby deprive me of the Opportunity of shewing my Loyalty to the King my Master, and the natural Hatred which our Family has to Traitors; I offer (with Submission to his Catholick Majesty, whom God preserve) my good Town of St. Lucar de Barameda, which always has been the Seat of the Dukes of Medina Sidonia, to any Man who shall kill him. To which end, I beg of his Catholick Majesty, that I may not have any longer the Command of the Army which is to march against him, being so transported with Rage, that I should not be Master of that Sedateness and Conwhich are so necessary duct,

a General; but that his Majesty would give me leave to be only at the Head of a Thousand of my own People, on whose Courage, as well as my own, I may rely, that in case the said Usurper should not accept my Challenge, we may bring him dead or alive to his Said Majesty. And that I may not be thought to be wanting in my Duty to my King, I offer one of my best Towns to the first Governour, or other Officer, belonging to the Vsurper, who will surrender any Place to the King my Master; never thinking that I can do enough for his Service, since to him, and to his glorious Ancestors, I owe all that I enjoy.

Given at Toleda the 29th of September, 1641.

## PROMERS,

CCORDING to his Promise, the Duke of Medina appear'd in the Lists, follow'd by Don John de Garray, Lieutenant-General of the Spanish Cavalry; there the

Duke of Braganza, was summon'd in a formal manner: But that Prince was too prudent to play a part in this Farce; or had the Thing been of a more more serious Nature, a Sovereign was not to venture his Life a-

gainst a Subject of his Enemy.

Whilst Olivarez amus'd the People in this manner, he was also taking care to turn the Resentment of the King and People upon the Marquiss Daiamonti, whom he intended to prove the only guilty Person; to this end he flatter'd him with the Hopes of a Pardon and that, as well as the Duke of Medina, he should taste the Bounties of a merciful, Prince, provided he would be open in his Consession; but that Kings, like God, whose Images they were, never forgave any, but those whose heartily and sincerely repented them of their Crimes.

The Marquiss trusting to this Promise, which the Duke of Medina's Example gave him no room to doubt of, sign'd a Paper which d'Olivarez brought him, and which he immediately put into the Hands of those who were to try him. Upon this Consession of his he was indicted, and condemn'd to be beheaded. When the Judge pass'd Sentence,

he

he heard it, without the least concern, or so much as murmuring at Olivarez or the Duke. That same Night he supp'd as heartily as usual, and when they came to lead him to Execution the next Morning, he was still asseep. He ascended the Block without speaking one Word, whilst a Contempt of Death might be read in his Looks, and died with a Courage and Resolution worthy of a better Cause. Such was the end of a Conspiracy, from which the King of Spain escaped meetly by Accident, or rather by a Decree of Providence, which cannot connive at Crimes of this Nature, and will seldom suffer Treachery to prevail.

The King of Portugal seeing this Project miscarry resolv'd to maintain himself on the Throne no longer by such clandestine Means, but upon Force, and the Assistance of his Allies. France seem'd particularly to take the House of Braganza under its Protection, as being the most antient Branch of their own

Royal Family.

The foreign War so employ'd the Spanish Forces, that the Portuguese had always the advantage over them, and they drove them still farther from their Frontiers. The King might easily at that time have enter'd into the very Center of Castile, had he had a good General, and disciplin'd Soldiers; but his Army was chiefly compos'd of Militia, sitter to make sudden Incursions into the Enemy's Country, than to bear the Fatigue of a regular Campaign. Another thing that hinder'd his making a greater Progress with his I 2

Army, was, that he had not Money enough to pay them, and consequently not Forces enough on foot; for as at his coming to the Crown, he had taken off all Taxes from the People, that they might the better relish his Government, and had only his own-Estate to defray the Expences of the War; nor would he ever venter to lay new Taxes upon them. But this Want of his was partly recompens'd by the Necessity of Spain, who at that Time had no better Generals than the Portuguese, and whose Treasures, towards the latter end of Philip the Fourth's Reign, were exhaufted.

On the fixth of November, 1656. died this Prince; in all the Encomiums and Panegyricks made upon him by the Portuguese, he is celebrated for his Piety and Moderation. Foreign Historians upbraid him with Cowardice, and report, that he always distrusted both himself and others; that it was a difficult point, especially for the Grandees, to get Access to him; and that he was free with no one but his Antient Domestick Servants, especially with one that was always in Company with his Confessor. In short, from what we can gather of his Life, he was a Peaceable and Religious Prince, and endow'd with Qualities which would better have became a private Gentleman than a Monarch; so that we can attribute his being rais'd on the Throne only to the inveterate Hate which the Portuguese bore the Castilians, and to the Ambition, Courage, and Counsels of his Queen, whom by his last Will he nam'd

son's Minority; not doubting but that one who could raise herself to a Throne, would not want Courage to preserve it for her Children. He lest behind him two Sons and a Daughter; the elder of the Sons was Don Alphonso, of a peevish and melancholy Temper, who had quite lost the Use of one Side, and was at the time of his Father's Death near thirteen Years old: Donna Catharina, their Sister, was older than either of them, and was born before the Revolution.

Don Alphonso was immediately shewn to the People, and proclaim'd King, and the Queen took the Regency upon her. This Princess would willingly have signaliz'd herself by some glorious Action, but the Commanders of the Portuguese Army were fitter for Soldiers than Generals, and there was not an Officer amongst them, who was Engineer enough to know how to fortify a Place, or besiege a Town. Nor was there a Man in the Privy-Council, who could be look'd upon as a Statesman; most of them could indeed make fine Speeches and elaborate Difcourses upon the Necessities of the State, and the Misfortunes in which it would probably fall, but never a one of them knew how to prevent or remedy them.

TO these Evils we must attribute the ill success of her Arms before Olvenza and Badajos, where the Spaniards obliged them to I 3 raise

raise the Siege. Besides this, they had sallen out with the Dutch about the Trade to the Indies; and the French, after the Pyrenean Treaty, seem'd to have forgotten them.

The Queen finding herself without any regular Troops, without able Officers or good Counsellors, and without foreign Alliances, was obliged by her Courage, Capacity, and Application, to supply the Want of all these; she herself discharg'd the Duty of a Secretary of State, and took care to keep a good Correspondence with all the Courts of Europe, which might be serviceable to her: In short, had she never encounter'd all these Difficulties, she could not have reveal'd all those hidden Vertues, which shun the Day, and lie conceal'd in the smooth Seasons, and the Calms

of Life.

By such Care and Deligence for a long time flie fav'd Portugal from that Ruin which threaten'd it; but Spain now pouring all its Forces in upon her, she found herself unable to resist them, unless she could procure better Officers. To this end she cast her Eyes upon Frederick Count of Schomberg, whose Name and Valour were already sufficiently known. She would willingly have given him the chief Command of the Army, but was afraid at this Juncture of disobliging her Generalissimo; wherefore she order'd the Count de Soure, her Ambassador in France, to treat with the Count de Schomberg about his coming into Portugal, where he should have only the Title of Lieutenant-General; but in case of the Death or Resignation of the present Commander,

## of PORTUGAL.

mander, he should be made Generalissimo of all her Forces.

The Count set out for Lisbon with fourscore Officers, and above four hundred Horsemen, all Veterans, who perfectly understood the Discipline of an Army, and would upon

occasion make good Leaders.

Before the Count went into Portugal, he made a Voyage into England, where he faw King Charles the Second, who was lately restor'd: He had private Orders from the Regent, to endeavour to discover whether King Charles might be brought to marry the Infanta of Portugal. The Count negotiated this Business with so much Address, that he made both the King and Chancellor Hyde desirous of this Alliance. The Queen extremely satisfy'd with what he had done, desir'd him to hasten into Portugal, and sent the Marquiss de Sande to conclude the Bufiness.

But the King of Spain, foreseeing what might be the consequence of this Match, did all he could to prevent it; he offer'd to give any Protestant Princess Three Millions for her Portion, provided the King would marry her; and by his Ambassador propos'd the Princesses of Denmark, Saxony, or Orange. But the Chancellor represented to the King how nearly it concern d him to maintain the House of Braganza on the Throne, and not let Philip become Master of all Spain and the His Speech produc'd the desir'd Effeet, and King Charles married the Infanta, May 31. Thus did a Protestant Statesinan persuade

his Sovereign to marry a Catholick Princess, whilst a Prince of the Roman Communion who valued himself in a particular manner upon the Title of the most Catholick King, offer'd him vast Sums of Money, to engage

him to wed a Protestant.

Shortly after King Charles, by his Mediation, establish'd a Treaty of Commerce between the States of Holland and the Crown of Portugal; after which he fent a confiderable Number of Troops into that Kingdom, commanded by the Earl of Inchequin: But having recall'd him, he order'd that the Forces should stay under the Command of Schomberg; so that the Count shortly saw himself at the Head of the chosen Forces of three Kingdoms. Not but that there was a Portuguese, Generalissimo, or at least one who had the Title, but the Count had all the Authority, which he made use of to establish an exact and regular Discipline amongst the Portuguese He taught them the Order of Marching, Encamping, Besieging, and regularly Fortifying a Town; so that all those Places on the Frontiers of the Kingdom, which were before naked and defenceless, soon became capable of making a vigorous Defence.

The Regent Queen, proud of having met with such a General, carry'd the War vigorously on, and her Arms were almost every where crown'd with Success; never were the Portuguese Forces better disciplin'd, the People bless'd her Government, the Grandees continu'd in perfect Submission to it through Fear and Respect; but though Fortune fa-

vour'd her abroad, she met with domestick Cares and Troubles, which chang'd the Face

of every thing.

Whilst the Regent was taking care to place the Crown with Surety on her Son's Head, he on the other Hand endeavour'd to make himself unworthy of it; by his irregular manner of Living; he was mean-spirited, melancholy, and cruel, could not bear the Authority of his Mother, and dispis'd the Advices of his Governours and Ministers; he always refus'd the Company of the Lords of his Houshould, and would divert himself with none but Negroes, Mulattoes, and all the Scum of the Lisbonite Youth; and spite of the Care of his Governours, he had got a little Court compos'd of such like People, whom he call'd his Bravoes, with whom he us'd to scour the Streets at Night, and infulted all those who unfortunatly fell into his way.

This Disorder of Mind had been first caus'd by a Palsy, which had afflicted him when about four Years of Age, and which had made fatal Impressions not only on his Limbs but also on his Brain. Whilst he was young, his Faults had been wink'd at by his Tutors, who thought that so infirm a Child could never bear the Fatigues of a severe Education, and hoped that Time would both strengthen his Body, and sweeten his Temper; but this Indulgence ruin'd him. 'Tis true, that by the Assistance of Remedies, and help of Time, his Constitution grew stronger, he could sence, ride, and bear any Fatigue; but his Tem-

Temper never became better. His Passions encreasing with his Age, they soon prevail'd over his Reason, which was but weak, and he gave a loose to Licentiousness and Debauchery. He would bring common Prostitutes into the Palace, setch them himself from the Stews, and very often spend whole Nights

amongst them there.

The Queen, overwhelm'd with Greif, and fearing that the Irregularity of her Son would at once destroy the Labours of her whole Life, resolv'd several times within herself to have him confin'd, and make his Brother reign in his stead; but dreading the excite of a Civil War, which would have favour'd the Spanish Arms, she dropp'd the bold Defign; sometimes the hoped the King might yet be reclaim'd, especially if he was depriv'd of the Company of Conti, a Merchant's Son, his first Favourite, and Companion of all his Debaucheries. To this end she had Conti privately seiz'd, and carry'd on board a Ship which was bound for Brazil, with Orders that he should never return to Portugal on pain of Death.

The King at first seem'd very much griev'd at the Loss of his Favourite, but comforting himself by little and little, he was at last pacify'd, and seem'd very much alter'd for the better, would hearken to Advice, and paid the Queen an unusual Respect, who was congratulated by the Ministry and the whole Court, upon the extraordinary Success of her

Enterprize.

But

But this apparent Tranquility and Alteration of the King's, was only a Veil to cover a deep Design, and of which his Mother never thought him capable; so that this Princes, who could read in the very Hearts of the most dissembling Courtiers, was over-

reach'd by a half-witted Youth.

The King had complain'd of Conti's Banishment to the Count de Castel-Melhor, a Portuguese Nobleman, of an illustrious Birth, fubtle and infinuating, but fitter to manage a Court-Intrigue, than a Business of Importance. The Count thought that a fair Opportunity offer'd of supplying Conti's Place in the King's Favour; wherefore to ingratiate himself, he deplor'd the Exile's Missortune, and promis'd to use his utmost Endeavours to have him recall'd. He told the Prince at the same time, that it was in his own Power to remedy this, or any Grievance of the like nature; that he was of Age, and had been so a great while; that he might as soon as he pleas'd, take the Supreme Command upon himself, then recall Conti, and let him triumph over the Queen, and all his other Enemies.

The King was pleas'd with this Advice, and determin'd to follow it; the Count was his fole Confident and Favourite: However, he desir'd the King that their Intimacy should still be a Secret, that the Queen might not suspect him: But it could not be long conceal'd from this Princess, who meeting him one day in the King's Train, caught him by the Arm, and staring him in the face with

with that Majestick Air, which made every one tremble; "I am inform'd, Count, said " she, that the King is wholly govern'd by

your Counsels; take therefore good Care of him, for if he does any thing to thwart

me, your Lise shall answer it."

The Count, without answering, made a submissive Bow, and follow'd the King, who call'd him. As soon as he was alone with him, he gave him an account of what the Queen had said: "I suppose, continued he, that I shall shortly share Conti's Fate, but yet with Joy should I go to Banishment,

could I at the same time see my King shake off the Authority of an imperious

Mother, who will let him enjoy the Title, but never the Power of a Sovereign."

This artful Discourse threw the Prince into a violent Passion, and he would go immediately and take the Royal Authority from the Queen, by taking the Great Seal, which is the Mark of it; but the Count, who knew too well what the consequence of this would be, advis'd him to retire to Alcantra, and from thence to send Couriers to the Magistrates of Lisbon, and to all the Governours of Provinces, to let them know that he was of Age, and had taken the Government upon himself.

The King approv'd the Counsel, and having that Evening disguis'd himself, he lest the Palace, sollow'd only by the Count and a sew Friends. That Night they arriv'd at Alcantra, from whence he sent Orders to the Secretaries of State, and to the German

Guard,

Guard, to come to him; and at the same time dispatch'd Couriers to every Town of Portugal, to let them know that he was of Age, and by consequence the Regency of

the Queen at an end.

S 7

Most of the Court set out for Alcantra, and the Queen saw herself in a manner forfaken; notwithstanding which, she resolv'd to lay down her Authority as became her: Wherefore she wrote to the King, to ask him the Reason why he took possession of the Throne like an Usurper, that had no Right to it; and added, that if he would return to Lisbon, she would lay down her Authority in presence of the Grandees and the Magistrates. The King accordingly return'd, and the Queen having summon'd the Grandees, Magistrates and others of the Nobility, to attend her, in presence of the Assembly took the Seals out of the Great Purse, and putting them into her Son's Hand, "Here are, " said she, the Seals, which, together with "the Regency, were entrusted to my Care " by the Will of my late Sovereign Lord: "I return them to your Majesty with all the "Authority, which they are the Emblems " of; I heartily pray God that you may " make a good use of them, and that your "Reign may be as prosperous as I can wish " it." The King took the Seals, and gave them to the first Secretary of State; after which the Prince, and all the Grandees, kis'd his Hand, and acknowledg'd him their Sovereign.

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The Queen Dowager had given out, that she intended in six Months time to retire into a Convent, but that fix Months she would spend at Court, to see what Measures the young King would take. But the Favourite Count, who still dreaded that Princess, who knew her tow'ring Genius, and was senfible of the natural Sway which a Mother has over the Mind of her Son, persuaded the King to treat her most inhumanly, that by frequent. Affronts he might oblige her to leave the Court much sooner than she intended. The Queen, who was of a haughty Temper, could not bear to be thus us'd, but immediately threw herself into a Convent; where, being fully fatisfy'd of the Vanities of human Greatness, she spent the Remainder of her Time, which was scarce a Year, in preparing herself for another World, and died on the eighteenth of February, 1666. lamented by the whole Nation; for never was there a Princess of a more extraordinary Genius, or more amply endow'd with all the Virtues requisite to either the one or the other Sex. Whilst on the Throne, she shew'd a truly great and heroick Soul; when she quitted it for a religious Life, she seem'd entirely to have forgotten what Pomp and Grandeur were, and all her Ambition then was to deserve Heaven.

The King, who now faw himself sully at liberty, and no longer fear'd the prudent Queen's just Reproofs, gave a loose to his Passions, and indulg'd his pernicious Inclinations. He would scour the Streets at Night with

with his Bravoes, and abuse every one he met with: Nor did the Watch fare better than their Neighbours. Never a Night did he ramble, but the next Morning tragical Histories were publish'd, of several who had been wounded or murder'd in the Streets; and People sled before him with greater Fear than they would before a hungry Lion, just

broke loose from his Den.

The Count de Castel-Melhor was his first Minister; he was an intriguing, insinuating Courtier, but far from being an able Statesman; haughty in Prosperity, sawning and timorous in Adversity. In his Hands were the Reins of the Government, the King reserving no Authority to himself, but that of doing what Mischief he pleas'd unpunish'd; nor did the Count ever make it his Business to reclaim him, well knowing that the King's Follies and his Authority were inse-

parable.

The Spaniards flatter'd themselves with the Hopes of easily reducing Portugal, whilst it had such a Monarch as Don Alphonso. To this End they sent a strong Army against it, under the Command of Don John of Austria, natural Son to Philip IV. The King of Portugal sent Schomberg to oppose him, notwithstanding the Count de Villa-Flor had the Title of Generalissimo. And to the Count of Schomberg's Courage and Condust it was that Don Alphonso ow'd the Preservation of his Crown: He beat the Spaniards several times, notwithstanding what Villa-Flor did; who, jealous of his Glory, endeavour'd all he could to cross

it, had not Schomberg's Interest been greater both at Court and in the Army, which joy-fully obey'd the Commands of their brave Leader, who always led them to a certain

Victory.

Castel-Melhor did all he could to persuade the People, that this happy Success was owing to him; though if the Truth had been search'd into, it would have appear'd that all he could justly boast of, was his being the first Man to whom the News was sent. By these Means the Minister's Credit encreas'd; and he actually enjoy'd the Sovereign Authority. The King was nothing but a Piece of Clock-work, whose Springs he could wind up, and put into what Motion he pleas'd. The Barbarity of his Temper he made use of, to ruin and destroy all those of whom he was jealous; amongst those were the greatest part of the late Queen's Ministry: So that there was a strange Alteration at Court, all Places were fill'd with the Count's Creatures; nor could any one hope for Favour, but those who took care to please the Favourite. Melhor went farther than this, for Conti being recall'd, he got him banish'd a second time; for no sooner was he landed, but the King sent him an Express, to congratulate him upon his safe Arrival, and Melhor, by the same Express, sent him Orders not to come near the Court; such a Sway had this Minister over his Sovereign, that he durst not contradict his Orders, but for fear of displeasing him, was obliged to see Conti

Conti in private. The Count had notice of it, and fearing that should their antient Intimacy be renew'd, there would be no place left for him in the King's Favour, had him accus'd of a Design upon the Prince's Life; and tho' there were no Witnesses found, no Proofs, no Probabilities of his Guilt, yet Sentence of

Banishment was pass'd upon him.

The Count, no longer apprehensive of Conti, began to consider how he should secure his Interest at Court, in case of any Accident. To this end he endeavour'd to ingratiate himself with Don Pedro, the King's Brother, but a Prince of a quite different Character: His Soul was truly great, and his Inclinations noble; his Actions princely, and his manner of Living regular; the Portuguese admir'd, or rather ador'd him, for he had not his own Virtues only, but his Brother's Vices also, to set him out.

To this end, Melhor plac'd a Brother of his in the Prince's Houshold, and had him do all he could to infinuate himself into his Master's Favour, as he had into the King's; hoping by these Means to govern both the

Princes.

Don Pedro us'd him with all the Civility imaginable, and shew'd him more than common Respect; but as for giving him any place in his Favour, or Considence, he could not; the whole was taken up. The late Queen having always look'd upon her younger Son as the Hopes and Support of her Family, she had taken care to put about him none but those, whose Wisdom, Learning, and Integrity K

might entitle them to a Share of the Prince's Love; such were his Governours, and of such chiefly was his Houshold compos'd. These had taken Care to let the Prince know, that he need not despair of one Day wearing the Crown of Portugal, for that there was no great likelihood of his Brother's ever having any Children; but at the same time they told him, that there was nothing but Melhor was capable of doing, to keep him from inheriting the Crown, since he was well assured that he must never hope for any Share in the Ministry, when Don Pedro should ascend the Throne.

By degrees these different Views and Interests divided the Court into two Cabals; the Count indeed had the greatest Number on his side, there being more who love to swim with the Stream, than against it. But the ablest Statesmen, who plainly saw that so violent and arbitrary a Government could not last long, with all the Grandees, and the best of the Nobility, who would not cringe to such a Favourite as the King's was, were always about the Prince, to whom they paid their Respects as to the Heir apparent.

The Count being sensible that the Hope of the adverse Faction was founded upon the Infirmity of the King, determin'd to destroy it at once, by marrying him; and by his Advice a Match was propos'd and concluded between the King and Mary-Elizabeth-Frances of Savoy, Daughter to Charles Duke of Nemours, and Elizabeth de Vendom. Casar d'Estrées, a Relation of hers, Bishop

and

and Duke of Laon, and known all over Europe by the Name of the illustrious Cardinal
d'Estrées, conducted her into Portugal, accompany'd with the Marquis de Ruvigni, the
French Ambassador, and several other Persons

of Quality.

This Marriage was celebrated with all the Pomp and Magnificence imaginable. The whole Court admir'd the young Queen's extraordinary Beauty, but no one was more fenfibly affected with it than the Prince. The King was the only Person who seem'd regardless of her Charms, and who by his Indisference soon convinc'd the whole Nation, that he had taken the Name of a Husband, but was not capable of discharging the

Duty of one,

Count Melhor had at first flatter'd himself with the Hopes of governing a Queen as well as the King, but foon found that the had got too great a Spirit for such a Submission. Enrag'd at this, he resolv'd to lose no Opportunity of revenging himself, and all publick Desires were cross'd; her Recommendation certainly excluded any Person from the Place to which she recommended him. Shortly after, neither the Expences of her Houshold, nor her own Pensions were paid, under pretence that the War and other Necessities of the State had exhausted the Royal Treasury. And so insolent was this haughty Minister to every Body, to the Prince himself, but especially to the Queen, that she has been often seen coming K 2 out

out of the King's Apartment bath'd in Tears.

Her Beauty, her Merits, her Missortunes, and the Complaints of all the Ladies of the Court, and the Officers of the Queen's Heushold, whose Salaries were stopp'd, touch'd the Hearts of all those who had not an immediate Dependence on the Minister; and these form'd a third Party at Court, where nothing now was talk'd of but the Improbability of the Queen's having any Children, tho' she had not yet been married a Year.

What encreas'd every one's Suspicion, was the Report which was spread of a private Door, which by the King's Order was made in the Queen's Chamber, and open'd just against her Bed-side, and of which he himself kept the Key. The Queen was alarm'd at the Novelty of the Thing, and the Danger to which she saw her Honour expos'd, And many concluded, that this was an Artisice of Melhor's, who, notwistanding the Insirmity of the King, was nevertheless resolv'd that the Queen should have Children.

The poor unfortunate Princess discover'd her Apprehensions to her Confessor, with Orders to impart them to the Prince's. These two Religious Men advis'd them to unite their Cabals, and go hand in hand together in a Matter so much the Concern of them both. The Count of Schomberg was easily draw into this Party, and the Prince took Care to make himself beloved by the

Magistrates of the City, and all those who

had any Influence over the People.

It would have been a very easy matter to have push'd the King from out his Throne, had he not had a Minister to support him, who was ambitious, could govern the King as he pleas'd, make him do any thing, and who would spare no Pains to preserve himself at the Head of Assairs; the only way therefore of compassing their Ends, was to remove this Man, which was at last brought about in this manner. One of his Friends was bribed to tell him, that the Prince had swore he would sacrifice him, if he continued any longer at Court. The Count upon this Information doubled the Guards, arm'd all the Officers of the Household, and would have had the King go at the Head of them, and seize the Prince. But as furious as the King was in his Midnight-Revels and Debauches, he had not Courage enough to attempt any thing of this Nature, justly fearing that he should meet with no small Resistance. Wherefore he only wrote a Letter to the Prince, to order him to come to the Palace. He excus'd himself, objecting that he could not come whilst the Count was at Court, who had spread so many Stories to his disadvantage, and endeavour'd all he could to blast his Reputation; besides which, the Count was Master of the Palace and that therefore he fear'd he could not be in sasety there. Several Letters pass'd between the King and Prince; the former offer'd, that Melhor should come, and on his K 3 Knees

Knees beg his pardon. But this was not what the Prince wanted, and he openly refus'd to come to Court till Melhor was banish'd from it.

The News of this had put Lisbon into a strange Consussion, and a Civil War was just beraking out; but Melhor with grief perceiv'd that Schomberg favour'd the other Party, and that the Grandees of the Kingdom had all unanimously declar'd themselves in Favour of the Prince; who, affifted also by the Queen's Friends, grew too powerful for him. Nay, Melhor's very Relations, and those whom he had rais'd, forfook him, and told him, that if he must sink, he should sink alone. Wherefore disguising himself, he by Night escaped from the Palace, and retired to a Monastery seven Leagues from Lisbon; which he soon after lest, to seek a sure Refuge in the Court of Turin.

Upon this the Prince immediately came to the Palace, to pay his Devoirs to the King; every thing fell under his Management, and he soon dispersed all the late Favourite's Creatures. The King, destitute of Counfel, lay at the Prince's Mercy, who had a Design upon, but durst not as yet touch his Crown, for fear of being thought an Usurper; but waited with Patience till it should be given him by Lawful Authority, that is, by a Decree of the States of the King-

But then it was in the King's Power only

to call together this Affembly of the States, which he was often advis'd to do, there being

being an absolute Necessity of their Meetting, to remedy the present Grievances of the Nation.

The King was not so weak, but he plainly perceiv'd that this Advice was given him, with a Design to transfer the Royalty from himself to his Brother; wherefore he long resus'd it, but was at last so press'd to it both by his Council, and by different Petitions from several Parts of the Kingdom, that he call'd them together, and they were order'd to meet on the first of January,

1668.

The Prince having obtain'd this, which he look'd upon as a fure step to the Throne, gave the Queen notice, that it was time for her now to appear, and play her part. Upon which she immediately retired into a Convent, and wrote a Letter to the King, to tell him, that she thought herself in Conscience obliged to quit the Palace, since he was not capable of being her Husband; that he was very sensible that their Marriage was never consummated, and that therefore she begg'd that he would repay her her Portion, and give her leave to return to her Country, and amongst her own Relations.

Upon the Receipt of this Letter, the King in a great Rage flew towards the Convent, to fetch the Queen back to the Palace by force; but the Prince who foresaw the Essect of her Message, took Care to be at the Convent-Door, with all the Nobility, and told his Brother this was a Place too sacred to have any Violence us'd in it, and per-

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fuaded, or rather forc'd the King to return to the Palace, who all the way complain'd of being calumniated. and was for bringing half the Prostitutes of Lisbon to prove his Virility and swore that he would be reveng'd both on the Queen and the Prince.

But Don Pedro was not in the least frightned at his Menaces, knowing that the whole Power of the Kingdom was in his own

Nov. 23. Hands; and the next Morning (thinking it 1667. unsafe to delay the mighty Work any longer) order'd the Council to affemble, and follow'd by the Nobility, the Magistracy, and a whole · Crowd of People, who wanted to see the Event of this Business, he went into the Palace to them; and after a short Debate, an Order was sent by the Prince to arrest the King, who shortly after this sign'd his own Abdication.

Notwithstanding this, the Prince would not 'take any other Title, but that of Regent; under which Name the States of the Kingdom took the Oath of Allegiance to him,

The next thing he did, was to secure a Peace with Spain; the King of England made himself their Mediator, and Spain, by a so-Febr. 13. lemn Treaty, acknowledg'd the Crown of

1668. Portugal independent of the Crown of Spain.

But one thing was still wanting to compleat the Regent's Happiness: He loved his Sister-in-law; who, as soon as she was got Nov. 22. into the Convent, had presented a Petition to the Chapter of the Cathedral of Lisbon,

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to desire them, during the Vacancy of the Holy See, to declare her Marriage void; fince, notwithstand in fifteen Months Cohabitation with her Husband, it had not been consummated. The Chapter, without waiting for any farther Proof, immediately de-

clar'd the Marriage void.

By these Means the Regent saw himself at liberty to marry his Sister-in-law; however, he was advis'd, for fear of scandalizing any one, to get a Dispensation from the See of Rome. Just at this time the Cardinal de Ven- March 2. dome, Legate à Latere, was order'd by the See to put on the Papal Dignity, that he might affift as Pope at the Christning of the Dauphin of France; from him was the Difpensation obtain'd, which Mr. Verjus arriv'd with in Portugal about the time that the Chapter pronounced their Sentence. which Accidents falling out together, made some People imagine that they were premeditated. The Bishop of Targa, Coadjutor to the Archbishop of Lisbon, married them in virtue of this Brief, which was afterwards Dec. 10. confirm'd by Pope Innocent IX.

Don Alphonso was banish'd to the Isle of Tercera, which belongs to the Portuguese. This something displeas'd the People, who generally pity the Unfortunate, and who now cry'd out, that it was enough to rob him of his Wife and Crown, without driving him from his Country; but however, no one dar'd speak to the Regent about it. continued in this Exile till the Year 1675, at which time the Regent recall'd him,

Mar. 24. 1668.

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ing inform'd that there were some discontented People contriving how to setch him from Tercera. and reinstate him in the Throne. He died not far from Lishon, 1683, and at his Death Don Pedro was proclaim'd King; a Title he would not, during his Brother's Life, accept, and the only thing of which he had not depriv'd that unfortunate Prince.

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