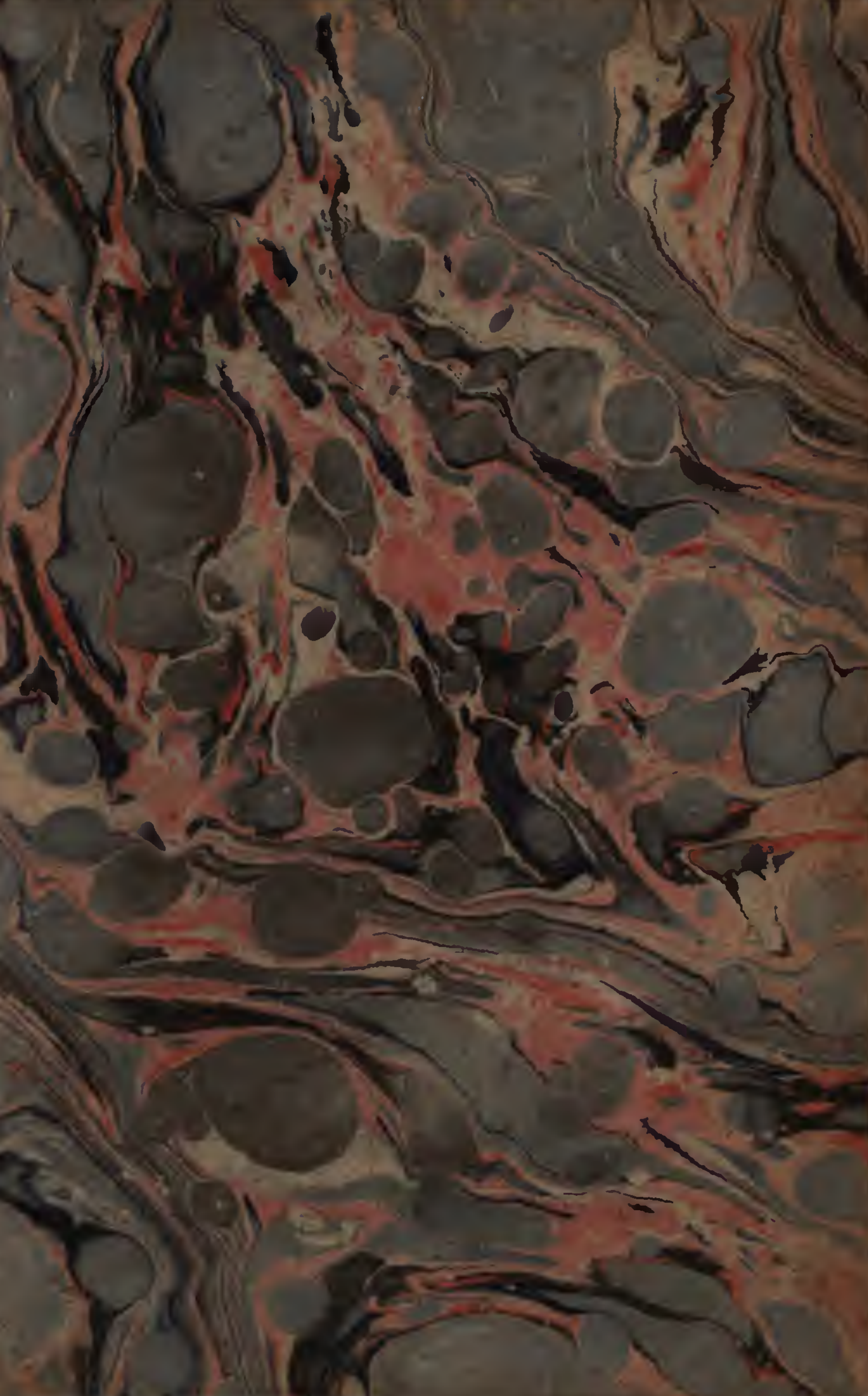


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L E T T E R I.

Lisbon, Jan. 26, 1777.

NO nation has probably been more an object of history than Portugal, whether we consider its various revolutions, or the rapidity of its conquests. Confined to very narrow limits, and only capable of a very slender force, we find, that the Portuguese, not only drove the Moors from the possession of their country, but followed them as conquerors, into their own, taking several places of consequence in the empire of Morocco, in Arabia, and on the west coasts of Africa, and afterwards extending their conquests through the eastern nations from the island of Ormus to the coast of China.

Portugal, the Lusitania of the antients, like most other countries, boasts of its great antiquity, and, according to the Portuguese writers, was first peopled by the family and descendants of Tubal, who himself settled in Portugal, and built a town, which was called after his own name, Tubal, now called Setubal or St. Tubal. Notwithstanding such a *convincing* proof, the Spanish historians dispute the antiquity of the two nations, but till they can produce as good evidence on their side, the argument must remain in favour of Portugal.

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The present name of Portugal is supposed to be derived from Portus Cale, or the harbour of Cale, which Cale was an ancient town, situated near the mouth of the Douro; and to confirm this opinion, it is remarked, that the first bishops of Cale signed themselves Portacalensis, and called the town Portucalia—But since they have changed their signature, styling themselves at present Portuensis, or bishops of Port.

Portugal has undergone many invasions, and passed under the dominion of the Romans, the Goths, and the Moors, till the year 1139. When after the battle of Campo Ourique, the Moors being defeated, Don Alphonso was declared king of Portugal, and confirmed by a Bull from the Pope in the year 1179.

From this time it enjoyed a succession of its own princes for about four hundred years, when, on the tragical death of Don Sebastian in 1578, the crown devolved to his great uncle the Cardinal Henry, who though a man of great piety and goodness, from the weakness and irresolution of his government, was the cause of the succeeding misfortunes that befel his country; so certain it is, that states are not to be maintained by counting a string of beads, or mumbling over a few paternosters; and though a king may be a very good man in his private character, he may not be a very good prince. This Cardinal king, dying without issue, and not having taken care to appoint a successor, the kingdom

dom fell under the dominion of Spain, and continued so till the year 1640, when the Portuguese revolting, threw off the Spanish dominion, and proclaimed Don John, Duke of Braganza, King of Portugal, in whose family the crown has since remained.

The decadency of Portugal may be dated from the time of that kingdom's becoming part of the dominions of Spain. The fleet of Portugal was, during that period, employed and ruined in the service of Spain. Their commerce was so destroyed, that the number of their ships was reduced by above two hundred large galleons. Their arsenals were emptied of stores, artillery and arms of all sorts. More than two thousand pieces of brass cannon, and an infinite quantity of iron ordnance, were carried to Spain. There were at one time nine hundred pieces of cannon in the great square at Seville, all marked with the arms of Portugal; and such were the exactions, by money levied on this kingdom, that it is computed in the short space of time, from 1584 to 1626, Spain had received from Portugal above two hundred millions of gold crowns, an immense sum in those days.

During the same period, the Dutch making war on the Portuguese, as being subjects of Spain, drove them out of the islands of Ceylon, Gale, Colombo, Ternate and Tidore, and took Malacca from them, after a siege of six months, by which means the Dutch became possessed of the monopoly of

cinnamon, cloves, nutmegs, and in a great manner of pepper.

They likewise seized the ports of Mina and Arquin, on the coasts of Guinea, as well as on Pernambuco, and a great part of the Brazils; and though, since the revolution, Brazil has been recovered, and several settlements remain in India, yet the maritime power and commerce of Portugal suffered so much during the interval they remained under the Spanish government, that it has been since in a very languishing condition.

L E T T E R II.

Lisbon, Jan. 30, 1777.

SUCH was the reduced state of Portugal on the accession of Don John de Braganza; the wars they were engaged in for a long time afterwards, to maintain their independency, were by no means favourable for restoring the commerce and former splendor of the kingdom, which had suffered too severely to be easily remedied.

Don John the Fifth, who succeeded to the crown about the beginning of the present century, was not a prince formed to raise the falling greatness of his country. He was one of those seeming good princes, who, without apparently oppressing their subjects, indulge

indulge themselves in the enjoyment of ease, indolence and pleasure, unmindful of the good, or the interests of their people.

With this disposition of the sovereign, added to the long illness of nine years that preceded his death, every branch of government was weakened, and the state was left in the same languishing condition, or rather worse, on the accession of Don Joseph the late king in 1750, than it was during the latter part of the Spanish government.

The beginning of this king's reign changed the system of the court; the Marquis of Pombal, who, under the name of Carvalho, had been employed in an inferior department of the state during the preceding reign, was now appointed first minister, the king giving him every kind of confidence and authority.

It is perhaps more difficult to be minister in Portugal than in any other government in Europe, because its political state has nothing determined, nor nothing uniform in its laws; the Moors had given laws, the Romans had given laws, and custom has established laws. Alphonso, who was first crowned king of Portugal by the general consent and election of the whole nation, did, with their approbation, enact certain regulations which were to be deemed fundamental laws of the kingdom; these chiefly related to the rights of the kingdom and succession of the crown; such parts of them, as referred to the municipal government, were rather to be looked
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upon as sketches, by whose outline future laws were to be formed, than as perfect constitutions. The Roman law seemed the basis, and has continued of great authority in Portugal. In a government so unformed, it must be allowed to be more difficult to find the way, than in other political states, where every thing is already established, and the minister has only to follow a regulated system, where the grand machine is wound up, and only wants to be kept properly in motion.

Nothing more serves to prove the inconsistency of human affairs, than a retrospect to the political state of Portugal. We see a monarchy, that formerly was held of great consideration, almost reduced to nothing: a state, that having made great establishments in various parts of the globe, finds her own government without any. A country that, after having extended her conquests over a new hemisphere, is itself deprived of its own sovereignty. The riches of her conquests becoming the cause of her poverty at home.

In order to be able to form a proper judgment of affairs, it will be necessary to look back a little and consider the state of the country, when the Marquis of Pombal came to the management of the government.

The country was little cultivated, its lands yielding a very small produce. Such as were in cultivation, instead of being turned to produce the means of subsistence and cloathing, were substituted to the growth of superfluous articles

articles of merchandize. The chief produce was wine and fruit, while there was an absolute want of every article most necessary for life. Portugal depended entirely on foreigners for corn and cloathing, and her population had decreased, in proportion to the quantity of the productions of her own country. Many thousand inhabitants were wanting to Portugal, and those which she had were degenerating every day, from the difficulty of subsistence.

The arts were lost, industry was extinct, and all sort of business was in the hands of strangers. The monarchy was deprived of its cash; its coffers were empty; the crown was without a treasure, and the state without finances. Her military glory was no more. The kingdom had a nominal army, but no soldiers.

In the Brazils, affairs were in the same deplorable state. Its agriculture was carried on without plan, and without direction, the least necessary productions were attended to, while the cultivation of spices, with which the country abounds, was entirely neglected. The navigation to this country was fettered by every possible disadvantage, a single ship was not allowed to take her own opportunity to carry on her commerce, but the ships were obliged to sail in fleets, which, from various accidents fleets are liable to, frequently arrived too late, much to the prejudice of the
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merchants, as well as the additional expence, attending the increased length of the voyage.

The small profit arising from this colony, is the best proof of the faults of its government. From an extent of country, of above twelve hundred leagues, the produce did not amount, at the death of Don John the Fifth in 1750, to more than twenty-two millions of brown sugar, two thousand bales of tobacco, fifteen thousand hides, some sarsaparella, coffee, rice, and a little indigo, the whole not being the hundredth part of what it ought to produce.

Such was the state of the country when the late king first trusted the management of Portugal to the care of the Marquis of Pombal.

L E T T E R III.

Lisbon, Feb. 2, 1777.

THE first object of the minister's attention, was the state of agriculture, which he found very defective in its first principles. It seems allowed, that before Portugal became commercial, it not only furnished corn for its own consumption, but likewise supplied some other countries.

The treaty with England in 1703, who engaged to take the wines of Portugal in exchange for their woollen manufactures, turned
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the corn fields to vineyards, so that Portugal abounded in wine, and was in absolute want of bread: M. de Pombal, in order to remedy this inconvenience, gave an order for rooting up one-third of the vines and planting corn in their stead.

However arbitrary such a law may seem; yet, considering the nature of the government and the genius of the people, it appears to have been absolutely necessary; and though prohibitory laws bear with them the appearance of too great compulsion, yet there may be necessities of state to warrant their exercise, more particularly in a country so very much degenerated and so dependant as Portugal. . The event has proved the truth of this, for though, at present, Portugal cannot entirely supply its own consumption; yet it is less dependant on foreigners for the importation of corn.

It is a general received opinion, that there is very little part of Portugal but is capable of some sort of produce; and I believe the opinion is well founded. A great part of the country remains uncultivated, which might turn to good account in the hands of industrious people. Such of the lands as are in corn, are yet by no means in a state of cultivation equal with other parts of Europe. They have no knowledge, or what amounts to the same thing, no practice in the use of different manures; dung is the only manure they use, and the lands that are once sown

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with corn, remain corn lands in the same state from father to son, without a change of grain. This is a sufficient proof, if the soil and climate was not very favourable, the produce would be but very trifling, and likewise gives some idea what it might produce, by a proper mode of cultivation.

It must not be alledged, that there is a natural want of activity in the genius of the southern people. The annals of Portugal contradict the assertion; the Tyrians and Carthaginians serve as an example to the contrary. We must seek the cause in the nature of their government, rather than attribute the defect to their climate.

Strange as it may appear, Portugal absolutely presents a state of infancy, not to say barbarism, amidst the most polished states of Europe. With the loss of their commerce, they lost the spirit of industry; they lost the knowledge of the arts, the exercise of their reason, and the principles of sound policy.

Till of late years, their vegetables were confined to a bad sort of cabbage, onions and garlick, and in a country which now produces abundantly of all sorts, the pleasing variety of fruits and vegetables was unknown. Oranges, which now are become almost spontaneous, were first brought to Portugal from China in the year 1548.

The seas and rivers abound in variety of fish of the best kinds, and notwithstanding the exactions and tythes of the clergy, purveyors

veyors of the king's household and other taxes on the industry of the fishermen, yet the markets are very well supplied, and the fish sold at very reasonable rates.

L E T T E R IV.

Lisbon, Feb. 20, 1777.

TH E trade and commerce of Portugal, was another great object of the minister's attention. He knew that a country, whose constant imports so far exceeded the exports, as was the case with Portugal, must evidently become impoverished.

As a patriot minister, he endeavoured to increase the commodities of his country, and to bring her commerce more upon an equality with other nations. He therefore attempted to restore the spirit of industry, by encouraging arts and manufactures. He set before him the example of Holland, whose climate is by no means favourable to the arts, and whose soil does not excite a great spirit of activity; yet this country has been so changed by industry, that abundance has succeeded to a general scarcity, and a nation poor in itself, and formerly tributary to others, is now in that state, that all other countries contribute to the increase of its prosperity and riches.

To assist as it were at the birth or renewal of industry, to remove the obstacles necessary

to be overcome, and to give the care necessary to cultivate it, were objects worthy his attention, and what thanks are not due to that minister, who endeavours to establish and encourage all useful manufactures in his country; it is easing the state of a tribute paid to the industry of others.

The manufactures the Marquis endeavoured to establish were, silk, woollen, stufts and glass. No doubt, till the manufactures have arrived to a degree of perfection, they will cost more than those of other countries, but that is only a temporary disadvantage, which will be greatly repaid by perseverance. For by encouraging your own manufactures, you increase the number of workmen, the natural consequence of which is, that in time they will bring the work to a greater perfection, and at a more reasonable price than is possible at the beginning of any new undertaking.

The appearance of establishing these manufactures in Portugal, gave a general alarm to the English merchants, who considered every introduction of this sort as a direct breach of their privileges; and it must be confessed, they were very ingenious in inventing complaints. Every little competition between themselves and the officers of the customs was dressed up to a formal complaint, to show the ill usage given to the English factory, which occasioned public examinations to be made, all tending to very little purpose.

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The minister retaliated, and complained that England took more money than goods from Portugal, contrary to the treaty on which the English merchants founded their complaint. This was denied by the factory, and the minister put the proof of it on their own books, which they chose to decline.

The truth is, the minister did not wish the importation of such foreign merchandizes, as only served to keep up that luxury and idleness, so diametrically opposite to the spirit of industry he was so anxious to cultivate. He knew that the temptation was stronger, to make use of foreign commodities which were ready for service, and to which they had been accustomed, than to make improvements in those of their own country, which could advance but slowly. The only means therefore of checking this great importation, without infringing the treaties, was to prohibit the exportation of bullion, a law common to all other states, and more necessary in Portugal than in other countries, in order to excite a national spirit of industry.

The English merchants enjoy several privileges which seem altogether contrary to the spirit of the Portuguese government.

They appoint their own judge, who determines all causes of property in which they are concerned.

They have the right of having all sorts of necessaries for themselves, their families and
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their houses duty free, and they are allowed to be prisoners at large for debt.

Another great privilege they are allowed, though not by treaty, is that of having a packet boat weekly; not liable to the visitation of the custom-house. These privileges, which answer no public good for Portugal, are frequently, and must naturally be, the source of many jealousies and complaints on both sides. In countries where commerce is better understood, no such exclusive privileges are allowed, for the freedom of commerce does not consist in a power granted to the merchant to do what he likes, nor is a restraint on the merchant a restraint on commerce. The merchants of England and Holland are much more under constraint than the English factory at Lisbon, though at the same time it must be allowed, that there is less restraint on the trade.

L E T T E R V.

Lisbon, March 1, 1777.

IF it is allowed, that the trade to Portugal is not so great as it was formerly, it must be accounted for from the loss of the Portuguese trade to Buenos Ayres, which amounted to 60,000 l. a year, from the importation of corn being much lessened, from the improved state of their cultivation, and from the establishment of their own manufactures.

factures, and not to any favours granted to other nations.

The direct trade from the American colonies served very much to lessen the English exports, as the American vessels brought corn, flour, rice, pulse, salt-fish, and several other articles, which formerly were exported immediately from England.

The following extracts from the custom-house books of Lisbon, will serve to set this matter in a clearer light than many arguments, and will shew the share the English still have in the Portugal trade to Lisbon.

PORT OF LISBON:

| Ships Entered. | | | |
|----------------|-------|----------------|-------|
| In 1774. | No. | In 1775. | No. |
| Portuguese | 104 | Portuguese | 121 |
| Dutch | 52 | Dutch | 41 |
| French | 43 | French | 45 |
| Swedes | 45 | Swedes | 40 |
| Danes | 41 | Danes | 28 |
| Spaniards | 7 | Spaniards | 9 |
| Venetians | 4 | Venetians | 4 |
| Hamburghers | 1 | Dantzwickers | 1 |
| | <hr/> | | <hr/> |
| Of all nations | 297 | Of all nations | 289 |
| Of English | 248 | Of English | 371 |

This account does not include the ships who trade to Oporto for wine, to Aveiro for the commerce of the province of Beira, to
Figueira

Figueira for the commerce of the university of Coimbra and its jurisdictions, to St. Ubes for salt and other articles, to Faro, and to all the other parts of Portugal, of which, tho' they must make a considerable number, I cannot speak exactly.

It appears, from the foregoing state, from the custom-house books, that, independent of the trade of the natives, the English proportion of the commerce of Lisbon is above double that of all other nations put together:

By the treaty of 1703, England enjoys an exclusive dispensation of the laws of Portugal, by which the introduction of all woollen goods are strictly prohibited, without any exceptions, but such as the English themselves desired in favor of the Dutch, who at their intercession were allowed the importation of their woollens in the year 1705:

The trade to Portugal consists in cloths; bays, serges, shalloons, Spital-fields, Norwich, Manchester and Coventry stuffs, printed linnens, silk and worsted stockings, watered tabbies; all kinds of Birmingham and Sheffield wares, wrought plate, clocks, watches; lead, shot, copper, pewter, tin, coals, salt-provisions, such as beef, pork, fish and butter; corn of all sorts, pulse, flour, biscuit, staves, hoops, and almost every article we manufacture.

The exports at present of Portugal consist in wine, oil, skins, salt, fruit, figs, almonds.
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cork, orchilla, tobacco, sugar, and several other merchandizes.

That Portugal does, and must pay a considerable sum in bullion to those countries that trade with her, is a matter quite out of doubt, the fact is too obvious in itself. It is demonstrable from the registers of the fleet, that in the space of sixty years to the year 1756, there had been brought into Portugal 105,010,000 l. sterling, though it is a fact, that in the year 1754 all the cash in Portugal did not amount to much more than 750,000 l. at the same time that the nation was 3,150,000 l. in debt.

It is likewise as evident, that the English commerce is the least disadvantageous of any to Portugal, as the great quantity of wine, lemons, oranges, dried fruit, and other articles of their produce, which are constantly exported to England, brings their trade more on a balance of commodities than with any other country.

The Portuguese exports to Holland, France, and the Baltic, are but very trifling in comparison to their imports, so that they are in an error, who suppose that the Portuguese bullion centers in England, which probably has arose from the English ships being almost the only carriers of it, a preference given them from their acknowledged superiority in navigation, so that they not only carry money to England to be remitted to Holland and other commercial countries, but likewise to

every part of the Mediterranean, by which means the English ships being the only carriers, England appears, at first sight, to be a much greater gainer in the Portugal trade than she really is.

It has been much the custom of late, to throw every blame on the Portuguese minister, as the cause of the decline of the English trade to Portugal. I am certain, he was fully sensible of the disadvantages the commerce of Portugal lay under, and meant to remove them, though at the same time he was convinced, that the English trade was the least prejudicial, and was very firmly attached to the alliance with England. If by seeking to promote agriculture, to introduce arts and manufactures, and a spirit of commerce, and endeavouring to lessen the dependance of his country on foreigners, are to be attributed to him as breaches of faith with England, I believe he must plead guilty to the charge; but these measures, however contrary they may be to the interested wishes of foreign merchants, certainly redound to the honour of the minister, who thus promotes the good of his country, without the least injustice to foreign nations, though perhaps to the detriment of individual merchants; and it must be a very narrow policy indeed, not to suffer a minister to judge what best suits the interest of his country, for whatever may be said about the good faith and spirit of treaties,
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it has always been allowed, that every independent state is the sole judge of its own interests, and has an undoubted right to take such measures, as shall from time to time be thought necessary for its preservation.

L E T T E R VI.

Lisbon, March 5, 1777.

IN regulating the finances of Portugal, M. de Pombal met with many difficulties. The long illness that preceded the death of John the Fifth, had relaxed every branch of the government, and introduced every species of abuse and speculation. The state was without money, and above four millions in debt, and though the importation of bullion from the colonies was annually very great, yet the current cash of the kingdom did not much exceed seven hundred thousand pounds.

He endeavoured to redress the abuses which had become so interwoven with the management of public affairs, that it required great authority, great perseverance, and great integrity to root out. He began by reforming and suspending places and pensions that had been granted for no service done to the state. He abolished the custom which had prevailed through the last reign, of giving gratuities to almost any body that would ask for them. He diminished the number of officers and

collectors of the revenue, and regulated the collection of it in all its branches, which he so simplified, that the revenue was only charged with one half *per cent.* for the collection, which arose chiefly from the carriage by post from the distant provinces, the post in Portugal being farmed by a particular family. He examined the accounts of those to whom the state was indebted, and in examination found large sums fraudulently charged, which he corrected, and settled all those accounts, so as to prevent the introduction of the same practices in future.

By such wholesome regulations, he put the publick finances on a much better footing, and saved great sums to the state, so that in a short time the treasury began to be in a circulation of cash.

In the midst of these regulations, the whole face of affairs was changed by the dreadful earthquake, which happened on the 1st of November 1755. Of all the calamities that have affected a country, this appears to be the most shocking; it is computed, that above fifteen thousand people were buried in the earth. The distress was general, the city was a heap of ruins, the wealth of the prince, of the church, and of the people all underwent the same fate, and the earth received again into her bosom those metals that avarice had tore out of her bowels.

The minister on this occasion gave orders to the provinces that had not suffered to assist
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the sufferers; he dispatched couriers to all parts of Europe, to acquaint the different powers with the dreadful event, and to do justice to the humanity of our century, Portugal received assistance from all parts. For once political maxims gave way to humanity, and those who might be supposed to be ill-inclined to the Portuguese, were the first to offer them assistance.

The disorders that must necessarily follow such a disastrous event, were many. Numbers of people, who found themselves deprived all at once, of the very means of subsistence, became thieves and robbers. To restore public tranquility and order, required not only very great exertions, but very masterly abilities.

The ruinous state of the city offered many arguments against its ever recovering its former condition. It was debated in the council, to remove the seat of government to Coimbra, which the Marquis of Pombal strenuously opposed, and fortunately for Lisbon his advice prevailed. He gave the necessary directions to prepare plans for the rebuilding of the city, in a more regular and convenient manner, and endeavoured in the mean time by the most minute and strict attention, to restore the public ease and happiness of the people.

Scarcely were affairs a little settled, when the state was disturbed by an attempt to assassinate the king. I know that this conspiracy

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racy has been differently considered in several parts of Europe. If the whole proceedings were not made public, there were several reasons that they should not have been so. The policy of the state, and probably the interest and peace of the people, required, that several articles should not be known. But one very strong reason was the absolute will of the king, who could not bear the thought, that any person with whom he had had affairs of gallantry, should be publicly exposed and punished, and in this instance the honour of the gallant prevailed over the duty of the sovereign.

It has been generally supposed, that the punishment of the criminals was too severe; I do not mean to deny it. But at the same time if we consider the nature of the Portuguese government, we perhaps may not be so much astonished at the rigour of the sentence.

In absolute monarchies, whose first principle of government is fear, the punishments are always severe, as the obedience to the laws is enforced only by the terror of punishment. In such governments regicide is held the greatest of all possible crimes, and consequently the most severely punished. We must feel for the misery of human nature, when we read of the tortures of Damian, in comparison of which, the punishment of the Portuguese conspirators was mild, who suffered the same punishment as is by their laws

laws inflicted on those convicted of falsifying the coin, or any other crime against the state. We may complain of the severity of the law, but we have no right to accuse the judge of injustice or cruelty, who gives his judgment according to the law.

L E T T E R VII.

Lisbon, March 20, 1777.

SOON after the melancholy event of the conspiracy, the minister endeavoured to reform the abuses which had been introduced into the church and his first step was abolishing the processions of the Auto da Fé, a barbarous ceremony, which was equally a disgrace to the nation and to humanity.

He made a law, that no criminal condemned by the inquisition should suffer death, or be deprived of his property, without the trial being first laid before the council, and a warrant signed by the king for the execution of the sentence. The excellence and humanity of that law speaks strongly in its own favour. The nation were delivered from an oppression, perhaps the most horrid and disgraceful that ever any people had submitted to.

The expulsion of the Jesuits took place soon after, and if Europe enjoys any benefits from the expelling those fathers, she owes
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it to the spirited exertions of the Marquis of Pombal.

This expulsion caused much ill-humour between the court of Rome and that of Lisbon, which shewed itself plainly on the marriage of the Infant Don Pedro. In the three days of public rejoicings on that occasion, the Pope's Nuncio refused to put up lights, and the disputes that arose in consequence were the cause of his dismissal from the court of Portugal.

The Marquis of Pombal, who saw the impossibility of making any great improvements, without reducing the exorbitant power and influence of the clergy, availed himself of this opportunity, to lessen the authority of the Nuncio, who was received afterwards only on the same footing as the ambassadors of other states, and not allowed to exercise the power and supremacy over the clergy, who being considered as subjects to the see of Rome, were before in many cases not amenable to the laws of their country.

The vast sums given constantly to the churches for masses for the souls of the deceased, was a great tax on arts and industry, and a great stoppage to the circulation of cash. The minister did not abolish those prayers; he acknowledged, that the revenues of the church ought to be as certain as those of the state, and was quite persuaded of the rectitude of rendering to God the things that are of God; and to Cæsar the things that are
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Cæsar's ; but at the same time he saw clearly, the necessity of fixing some bounds to these Mortmain gifts, or otherwise, what was done with the most religious intention, must in its consequences become a vice, as it tended to impoverish the revenue of government; which ought to be as inviolate as that of the church ; for these reasons he regulated the number of masses that should be said for the dead, and affixed a certain price to each mass.

The great number of convents and religious houses was another very great burthen on industry : in a kingdom so exhausted as Portugal, there were above six hundred convents, and different religious establishments ; many of them, with very great endowments, to the amount of above ten thousand a year. These institutions, besides depriving the state of a great number of useful subjects, and lessening the population of the kingdom, were in such a *state of* affluence, that it was a doubt, whether the revenue of the king, or that of the church, was the greatest.

The Marquis saw clearly, that a reformation was absolutely necessary ; he likewise knew the difficulties attending it, and the unpopularity that would be the natural consequence of the measure ; but the necessities of his country required it, and his duty as a patriot minister led him to undertake the task in the most tender manner possible.

He formed a resolution, which he never broke thro' during the course of his administration, not to fill up the vacancies that happened in the different orders, but *to allow them to remain vacant*, and as the number reduced, by such vacancies to engraft one order on another.

It is not to be doubted that the clergy took the alarm, and exerted all their influence to render the administration of the Marquis unpopular and odious. Nor were the clergy the only men who found themselves hurt by this regulation. The good things of the church were become a very desirable provision for the younger sons of the nobility, who not being inclined to maintain themselves in any other manner, found a comfortable situation in the idleness of a cloister. Deprived of this retreat, they naturally joined the voice of the church, in exclaiming against the minister, who bore his unpopularity with a firmness and perseverance that does honour to his character. Satisfied that he was acting for the good of the kingdom, he adhered steadily to his resolution, disregarding the numerous solicitations that were made, and the unpopularity of his proceedings.

The inquisition had always taken upon themselves the office of licensing the press. The Marquis thought proper to establish a council for that purpose, which was to consist of a mixture of magistrates with the clergy; the consequence of which was, that no books
were

were prohibited, but such as had a manifest tendency, to loosen the ties of civil and ecclesiastical government, and to corrupt the morals of the people.

L E T T E R V I I I .

Lisbon, March 25, 1777.

I Have already observed the situation of Portugal, from the recovery of her liberty in 1640, to the death of John the Fifth in 1750, and the reduced state of the kingdom at that time; a long peace had entirely destroyed all military spirit, and annihilated every system of discipline.

We have likewise seen the minister endeavouring to reform the abuses in the administration, and holding up against the most dismal calamities that could befall a state.

It must be considered, that the disorders occasioned by the dreadful earthquake in 1755, by which both the crown and the people were reduced to the same state of distress, must have weakened the power of government very considerably; these disorders were increased by the conspiracy against the king; for all such as were attached by connection or interest with those who had suffered, and all, who from bigotry and religious prejudices, had taken part with the banished Jesuits, or considered the necessary re-

form among the clergy, as an attack on the religion of the country, were probably little inclined to make any extraordinary efforts, in favour of a government, which their prejudices and resentments must represent to them, in the most odious light.

In this situation, France and Spain thought Portugal by no means capable of acting contrary to their inclinations, and therefore with a very strong insinuation of using force, if they were refused, they invited the king of Portugal to join their alliance, and to co-operate with them in the war they were engaged in, against the crown of Great Britain. They demanded by their ministers a categorical answer in four days.

In this emergency, the Marquis of Pom- bal acted with that spirited firmness, which will deliver his name to posterity with distinguished advantage, he resolved to remain steadfast to his alliance with England, and to support the kingdom inviolate in its faith, against all difficulties that might arise.

The king of Portugal remonstrated against the injustice of breaking his alliance with England, and concluded by a declaration, that will always do honour to his memory.

“ That it would affect him less, though re-
 “ duced to the last extremity, to let the last
 “ tile of his palace fall, and to see his faith-
 “ ful subjects shed the last drop of their
 “ blood, than to sacrifice with the honour
 “ of his crown, all that Portugal holds most
 “ dear ;

“ dear ; than to submit by such extraordinary
 “ means to become an unheard of example
 “ to all pacific powers, who will no longer
 “ be able to enjoy the benefits of neutrality,
 “ whenever a war shall be kindled between
 “ other nations, with which the former are
 “ connected by defensive treaties.”

In consequence of this answer, France and Spain declared war on Portugal, who, as she suffered this war from her alliance with England, was furnished by England with every assistance necessary to support her against the combined force of France and Spain. England sent to Portugal officers, troops, artillery, stores and money, with every thing that could enable Portugal to exert her own natural strength, and to supply the want of it, where it was deficient.

The activity of the English, assisted by the Portuguese, soon drove the Spaniards back, from some advantages they had gained on the frontiers of Portugal ; and in one campaign put the fate of the country quite out of doubt, and saved it from that destruction, which a little while before had appeared to be almost inevitable.

The return of peace once more gave an opportunity to the Marquis of Pombal to continue his reform of the abuses of government, which he reassumed with his usual vigour and perseverance.

LETTER

L E T T E R IX.

Lisbon, March 30, 1777.

THE university of Coimbra had experienced the same fate as the rest of the kingdom, scarcely any thing of an university remained but the name, so certain it is, that the liberal and mechanic arts have a natural correspondence with, and dependance on each other.

It has been a remark verified by experience, that in a country where they did not know how to make a good plow, or a spinning-wheel, they never made a figure in philosophy, or any of the liberal sciences.

The university was so much reduced, as to have fallen totally into the hands of a few ignorant priests, who, regardless of its institution, considered only the profits that might be made to arise from it. Those who were called the students, amounted to six or seven thousands, that is to say, names that were entered in the colleges, while the presence of the students was dispensed with, on paying the usual fees. After a certain time they were entitled to their degrees, which, as they paid for, was considered as a thing of course.

By this means the source of improvement in the sciences was so choaked up, that it is not to be wondered at, if the different branches were in the same state of neglect.

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The minister revived such of the old laws as he found to be good, and added others formed from the models of the universities of England, France and Germany.

He regulated the time each student was to remain resident in college, without which residence he could not be admitted to his degrees, and not then without a publick examination.

He appointed professors in most of the sciences, and was careful to choose those he found most capable; he established two new faculties, one of Natural History and one of Mathematics, which occasioned great alarms among the clergy, who exerted themselves exceedingly to prevent it: they judged that it was little less than the introduction of heresy, and thought that the demonstrations of the Mathematics was downright impiety, incompatible with the principles of Christianity.

He built two elegant schools, several chambers for the students, a cabinet for Natural History, Physic and Chemistry, and these buildings were laid out in so good a taste, as does honour to the country, and infinite credit to the architect. He gave directions for building an observatory, and made a temporary one for present use.

The clergy raised the cry against the expence of these buildings, unmindful of the extent and grandeur of many of their own convents, whose national advantages, if admitted

mitted to be any, were not to be put in competition.

The consequences attending these good and wholesome regulations, was lessening the nominal, and increasing the number of resident students, whose minds expanding by the more liberal mode of education adopted, began to exercise their faculty of reasoning, and bid fair to pave the way for an immersion out of that dark bigotry and superstition, which has so long held the nation in fetters.

The Marquis likewise established public schools throughout the kingdom, and formed a college, or royal school for the Noblesse, and at the same time founded a royal academy at Mafra, and another at Lisbon, in the last of which is taught the theory of commerce in all its branches.

He endeavoured in like manner to regulate the affairs of Brazil, and to cultivate the same spirit of industry in the colonies, he was so desirous to establish at home.

He knew that a state of slavery destroys the faculties of the mind, and stifles every spirit of exertion. He therefore passed a decree, declaring every native of Brazil to be as free as a native of Portugal; a decree that does honour to humanity, and which no other European nation has yet had the justice to adopt. This humane act, by which thousands of mankind were restored to the enjoyment of the privileges of human nature, from which former severities had excluded them,

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is worthy the great minister who was the promoter of it, and should be considered as a proof of his humanity, in opposition to those acts of rigour, which have been imputed to the severity and harshness of his disposition.

In order to encourage the trade of the Brazils, he took off the restriction on the navigation to that colony, and allowed the merchants to send their ships whenever it suited best with their own convenience; whereas, before they could only sail at stated periods in fleets, very much to the disadvantage of their commerce.

He likewise restricted the power of the viceroy, and lessened the taxes and imposts that were most burthenfome to the people.

L E T T E R X:

Lisbon, April 2, 1777.

BEFORE the management of the affairs of Portugal were intrusted to the care of the Marquis of Pombal, Corruption, that canker-worm of all states, had introduced itself into every branch of the government. Their finances; their commerce, their agriculture, and even the church, was in danger from its infection.

The army was by no means singular, the late war had sufficiently exposed the state of
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their troops, but as the disorders of the state were so general, in which almost all ranks were concerned, it required time, and a very skilful hand, to repair the devastations that were made.

Formerly the army of Portugal was composed of three different orders, one part belonged to the king, one part to the nobility, and the third part was raised by the principal cities and towns in the kingdom, the whole were paid by the king when in actual service.

While the nation was frequently at war, these different methods of raising men was not attended with any great inconvenience; a military spirit prevailed through the whole kingdom, and the minds of the people were too much engaged on success, to furnish their quota of bad troops; but when a long peace succeeded, and the country found itself exhausted, the military spirit degenerated, and an army of peaceable soldiers no longer excited the young nobility to enter into the service. The consequence was, improper officers were appointed, which completed the destruction of the military discipline, and as the abuse continued increasing, the officers of the army were taken from among the servants of the nobility. It was not uncommon to see a captain of infantry groom of the chambers, or an officer of horse coachman to one of the nobility. The lower ranks of officers may be supposed not to be better appointed; to remedy this abuse, the minister
suffered

suffered such commissions as became vacant to remain unfilled, resolved at some more proper time to make a general reformation.

This may account for his seeming neglect of the army, and though some people may suppose, a minister enjoying full authority might have made the reform without temporizing, yet when they consider how many other branches of government were defective, and the strong interested prejudices there were to get the better of, they must allow the Marquis judged rightly in acting with as little violence as possible.

The reform already made in the church had affected the order of Noblesse, as it deprived them of a maintenance for their younger children, and the complete reform of the army would have deprived them of the means of supporting a number of domestics, which is their favourite vanity. This would probably have been too strong a measure at once, and it was certainly prudent to proceed cautiously; the minister therefore only proceeded to establish a more regular payment, a better mode of cloathing, and a more exact discipline amongst the troops.

The army of Portugal was without any regular establishment till the year 1735, when Don John the Fifth published an ordonnance for its regulation, by which ordonnance every regiment of infantry was to consist of two battalions of 600 men each, divided into ten companies of sixty men a company, in-

cluding officers, excepting two adjutants, two chaplains, two surgeons and a drum major; each company was to have a captain, a lieutenant, an ensign, two serjeants, four corporals and a drum, each regiment to have three field officers, a colonel, lieutenant colonel and major.

The regiments of horse and dragoons were to be composed of 500 men, divided into ten companies of 50 each, officers included, except one adjutant, one chaplain, and one surgeon. On this establishment the army of Portugal consists at present of forty regiments of infantry and sixteen of horse.

To give an idea of the force of Portugal at different periods, before the revolution in 1640, I shall mention the following accounts taken from their history. At the time of the revolution their forces were so distributed, that I cannot estimate their numbers, and since that time to the present period, I have no accounts for my information.

| | Infantry. | Horse. |
|--|-----------|--------|
| 1139 Don Alphonso at the battle of Campo Ourique, where he defeated the Moors and was elected king | 12,000 | |
| 1414 Don John the First for the war in Barbary, ——— | 20,000 | |
| 1459 Don Alphonso the Fifth, | 14,000 | 5,600 |
| 1506 Don Manuel, ——— | 14,000 | 9,000 |
| 1578 Don Sebastian for the war in Barbary, ——— | 11,000 | |
| 1776 Don Joseph the late king, | 48,000 | 8,000 |

LETTER

L E T T E R XI.

Lisbon, April 10, 1777.

THE peace of 1763 had not so fully determined the boundaries of the possessions of Spain and Portugal in America, to prevent all future altercation and dispute; which, as they are not generally understood, I will endeavour to place in as clear a light as I can.

The limits of the Brazils, to the southward, has always been supposed to be the river of Plate, which appears plainly to have been formerly admitted in its fullest extent; for we find by a treaty signed at Lisbon the 7th of May, 1681, that the governor of Buenos Ayres having invaded and occupied a post called Colonie de St. Sacrement, on the north side of the river of Plate, the king of Spain, then Charles the Second, ordered immediate possession to be restored to Portugal, with a restitution of effects and damages, and punishment of the governor for his invasion.

The sixth article of the treaty of peace, signed at Utrecht on the 6th of February, 1715, between the two crowns of Spain and Portugal, recites authentically, that Spain having put an end to all subject of the discussion by the preceding treaty of the 7th of May 1681; solemnly renounces all right
which

which they had or might have to the north side of the river of Plate, and declares, in the same authentic manner, and in the strongest terms, *That the said territory belongs to the king of Portugal, his heirs and successors.*

This territory was again more firmly settled to Portugal by Great Britain.

First, By the 21st article of the offensive alliance of the 16th of May 1703.

Secondly, By the fifth article of the defensive alliance, signed at the same time.

Thirdly, By the 20th article of the treaty of Utrecht, 1713, between England and Spain, and formally confirmed by the act of guaranty, which passed the great seal of England, August 8, 1713.

Fourthly, By the act of guaranty signed at Utrecht, between Portugal and Spain, which passed the great seal of England May 3, 1715.

In the year 1762, Don Pedro de Cevalhos the Spanish general, in consequence of the war between the two courts, took possession of this country from the colony of St. Sacrement to the Rio Grande de Sao Pedro, which was again formally restored to Portugal by the treaty of Paris of the 10th of February 1763, and again formally guaranteed by England, by the 26th article of the same treaty, the execution of which treaty was afterwards ordered by a decretal, signed the 3d of June of the same year, by the king of Spain in his own writing.

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Notwithstanding these treaties, the governor of Buenos Ayres still kept possession, using as a pretext the boundary line of Pope Alexander the 6th; and as a farther pretext, that all treaties formed before a war were made void by that war; not admitting the force of the second article of the treaty of Paris, which expressly declares, “ That the
 “ treaties between the two crowns of Spain
 “ and Portugal of the 13th of Feb. 1668,
 “ of the 6th of Feb. 1715, of the 12th of
 “ Feb. 1701, of the 11th of April, 1713,
 “ with the guaranties of Great Britain, should
 “ serve as a foundation and basis for the peace
 “ and present treaty, and for this effect they
 “ are renewed and confirmed in the most
 “ ample manner.”

Another pretext used by the Spaniards is, that the Portuguese, in consequence of the treaty of limits of 1750, have possessed themselves of lands incontestibly belonging to Spain. This relates to lands bordering on the country, formerly possessed by the Jesuits, of which the Portuguese deny the Spaniards to have the least claim, any more than to the lands of Uruguay, where the Jesuits, taking their catechism for pretext, were the first settlers, and held their lands with such secrecy and caution, that the Spaniards had not the least connection or even knowledge of them, till the Jesuits, persuading themselves that they were superior to the forces of both the crowns of Spain and Portugal; declared their empire
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established under their general, publishing a geographical chart, which was printed at Rome in the year 1732 by *Jean Petroschi*; and afterwards reprinted at Venice by *Joanno Domingo*; the title of which chart is,

Paraquariæ; Provinciæ, Societ. Jesucum adjauntibus, novissima descriptio, admodum in Christo Patri suo Patri Francisco Ritz. Soc. Jesu. Præp. Generali 15. Hanc terrarum filiorum suorum, sudore & sanguine exultaram & rigataram Tabulam, D. D. D. Provinciæ Paraquariæ Soc. Jesu Anno. 1732.

Under sanction of this pretended empire of their general, they made war in the years 1754 and 1755 against the subjects of both monarchies, till in the year 1756; the Portuguese general Freire de Andrada defeated them with great loss, and possessed himself of their settlements, situated on the east shore of the Uruguay, and the Portuguese assert; that the Spaniards, with their general Don Joseph Andonaigui, never saw the lands of the Jesuits, till they were led there by the victorious army of Portugal.

The Portuguese of the capitanery of St. Paul, which bordered on the country of the Jesuits; finding the Jesuits wished to enlarge their dominions on that side, had built a fort to prevent it, which fort, situated on the river Pardo, was marked in the Jesuits chart as belonging to Portugal.

L E T T E R X I I .

Lisbon, April 15, 1777.

BY the chart published by the Jesuits it appears, that the Rio Pardo was under the dominion of Portugal, and that they were in peaceable possession of the country in the year 1732, which is a long time before the treaty of limits in 1750.

The two plenipotentiaries named to negotiate this same treaty of limits on the 13th of January, 1750, were Thomas da Silva Telles, and Don Joseph de Carvajal y Lancaster, who agreed it would be impossible to execute their commission without a plan of the country, and ordered that a chart should be laid down from their directions, on which should be demonstrated the possession of both crowns, and what should be given up on both sides, this chart to remain the groundwork and basis of the treaty of limits:

The chart was rendered authentic; by the same plenipotentiaries attesting the two duplicates, one in Portuguese, to remain in the archives of Madrid, the other in Spanish, to remain in the archives of Lisbon; the title of which is

Mapa:

De los Confines del Brazil con las tierras de la Coronna de España en la America Meridional. En el Anno 1743.

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This chart settled all disputes that had arose till the year 1743, and consequently till the year 1750, as the conference then agreed to, made that chart the basis for the treaty of limits concluded at that time. There *only* remained a large extent of country from the Rio Pardo to the Uruguay settlements of the Jesuits, which was to be settled according to the agreement of the two courts by the mediation of their common friends.

L E T T E R X I I I .

Lisbon, April 20, 1777.

THE disputes between Spain and Portugal becoming every day more serious, several attempts were made to reconcile the differences between the two crowns, when a circumstance happened; which it was hoped might serve to convince the court of Spain of the friendship of Portugal, and her desire to be on the most amicable terms with his Catholic Majesty.

The insurrection at Madrid in 1766; gave the Marquis of Pombal an opportunity of paying a very handsome compliment to the Spanish court. Immediately on the news being known at Lisbon, an express was sent off to Madrid, to make every offer of assistance, and at the same time to say, that the troops on the frontiers of Portugal had orders
to

to obey the king of Spain, and to march immediately under his directions, if his Majesty thought it necessary.

This offer was extremely well received at Madrid, and the intercourse that attended it gave the minister of Portugal hopes, that from the friendly disposition of the two courts, their disputes would at last be amicably settled.

Accordingly the Marquis of Grimaldi, in May 1767, proposed to the Portuguese ambassador, that a treaty should be formed, in which their disputes might be fully and amicably settled.

On this information the court of Lisbon instructed their ambassador to agree to the proposal, and to acquaint his Catholic Majesty, that the king of Portugal was of opinion, that they should agree in sending orders to their respective generals to suspend all hostilities, and to restore every thing to the state they were in at that time (the 28th of May, 1767) and the letter of instructions finished in these words " In case his Catholick Majesty agrees to this proposal, and will entrust you a copy of the orders sent to Mr. de Bucarelli (governor of Buenos Ayres) you are then to give a copy of this (inclosed) to Mr. de Grimaldi, to serve him as a letter of reversal.

In answer to this the Marquis of Grimaldi, on the 12th of October following declared, that his Catholick Majesty had agreed to the proposal, and had the greatest desire to shew

his ready compliance, of which he might inform his court.

These orders having been sent, the two neighbouring governments in America remained in peace during the time of Mr. de Buccarelli's administration till the end of the year 1773, when they suffered some insults, which the Portuguese considered as arising from the common consequences of two rival nations bordering on each other.

But they were soon undeceived, for Mr. de Virtin, by the authority of Don Francisco Bruno de Xavala, published a manifesto at the Rio Pardo, at the head of an army of six thousand regular troops, and a large body of Americans, declaring, that all that country belonged to the king of Spain, and that he should treat all the Portuguese as *Thieves and robbers*.

And they were the more astonished when they found, that in the course of the year 1774, they were receiving every kind of reinforcement by ships of war, in artillery, ammunition, and every military preparation, and that they fired continually on the Portuguese vessels that were bringing supplies to the port of Patrao Mor, situated on the north side of the Rio Grande de San Pedro, from the opposite side of the river, which was the only passage by which the Portuguese inhabitants could receive the necessary *supplies*.

The Marquis of Grimaldi, on the clear conviction of these facts, proposed another nego-

negociation, explaining himself several times by saying, let the king your master tell what he wants, and his Majesty will agree to it entirely, even by giving up his own property.

The negociation was begun a second time on the 27th of November, 1775, the Portuguese ambassador informing his court, that the king of Spain had given orders to the governor of Buenos Ayres, to suspend all hostilities from the date of the negociation.

In answer to this, the ambassador of Portugal was instructed to declare, that his most Faithful Majesty had ordered a ship to be got ready for the Rio Janeiro, who should carry the most positive orders to the commanding officers by sea and land, not only to suspend all hostilities, but to restore every thing to the state it was in the preceding 17th of July, which was the day on which the present negociation was first begun, and this letter of instruction ended by saying, “ Your Excellency may give this assurance officially to the court of Madrid, requiring the like reversal from Mr. de Grimaldi.”

The ambassador made his official declaration in writing, in conformity to his instructions, and while the ship was waiting for the letter of reversal from the Marquis of Grimaldi, the court of Lisbon received a dispatch from the ambassador, in which he acquaints them, “ That a common friend (Lord Grantham) had taken upon him to adjust all differences, and that with this view

“ view he had represented, that the better to
 “ avoid all difficulties, the only way was, to
 “ withdraw his first letter and to write ano-
 “ ther, without mentioning dates of restitu-
 “ tion, or the state in which things might
 “ be, or without entering on the argument
 “ at what time his Catholick Majesty had
 “ ordered the suspension, that not being
 “ known at Lisbon, but by the participation
 “ of the conference of the 12th of August.”

The ambassador believing the good offices of his friend, might assist him in conciliating affairs, takes upon himself to withdraw his first official letter, and writes a second, which was as follows.

“ A courier has this instant arrived with
 “ an order to assure your excellency positive-
 “ ly and clearly, that the king, my master,
 “ has dispatched a ship to the Brazils, with
 “ the most exprefs and peremptory orders to
 “ cease all hostilities.”

“ I beg your Excellency to give me a letter
 “ of reversal, by which my court may de-
 “ pend on his Catholick Majesty having done
 “ the same.”

Mr. de Grimaldi's answer was to the following purport.

“ His Majesty orders me to signify to your
 “ Excellency, that ever since the 12th of
 “ August last, orders have been given to the
 “ governor of Buenos Ayres, to avoid all
 “ hostilities with the Portuguese troops, pro-
 “ vided they undertake nothing against the

Spa-

“ Spaniards, and that they do not make any
 “ farther encroachment on the territories of
 “ Spain.”

The court of Portugal, though surprized at the liberty of their ambassador, who had so positively asserted, that the ship for the Rio de Janeiro *had sailed*, which was so contradictory to the publick notoriety, were willing to accommodate all disputes, and accordingly dispatched their orders to suspend hostilities as soon as possible, which orders did not arrive in the Brazils till the 1st of April, 1776. The very day on which the court of Lisbon received advice of the destruction of nine Portuguese ships in the Rio Grande de San Pedro, and that the Spaniards had raised and garrisoned six forts at the very time the negotiation was going forward, and further, that they were fortifying the difficult passes, and had brought up a frigate and five large armed ships, in order to destroy the Portuguese ships which they had effected on the 19th of Feb. 1776.

L E T T E R X I V .

Lisbon, April 25, 1777.

ON the receipt of the letters to suspend hostilities, the Marquis of Lavradio, the Viceroy of *Brazil*, was very much perplexed at first from the critical situation he found

found himself in, but, paying implicit obedience to the king's orders, he dispatched the necessary instructions to the different governors; to cease all hostilities.

Some few days after he had dispatched those orders, advice was brought him, that the Spaniards had made several attacks on the 26th of March, and the 1st and 2d of April, and he soon after received letters from the governors of the Rio Pardo and Rio Grande, in which they told him, that from the situation of affairs, they found it impossible to obey his orders without throwing themselves and the country entirely on the mercy of the Spaniards, who, according to their manifesto, had declared they meant to treat them as *Thieves and robbers*. They made their excuses, by saying, that nothing but absolute necessity could force them to act in an hostile manner, so contrary to their own inclinations, to his orders, and to the express commands of the king.

In this situation affairs remained, when, on the death of the late king, Mr. de Pombal having repeatedly asked for his dismissal; was allowed to retire to his estate, reserving to him, for his life-time, the salary of his place as secretary of state, which was the only salary he had ever received during the course of his long administration.

I must take notice, that in the commencement of the negotiations between Spain and Portugal, it was always intimated to the Portuguese

tuguese minister, tho' they were not authentically proposed to him, that to settle all disputes, and cement the friendship that Nature seemed to have designed should exist between the two nations, they should reciprocally guarantee each other's dominions in America, and that an attack made, either on the dominions of Spain or Portugal, should be considered and defended as one common cause. On these terms Portugal was to fix her own limits, as Spain allowed they had already sufficient extent of territory, and that the lands now in dispute were by no means of such value to Spain, as to be any farther an object of consideration, than as they might tend to promote the desired friendship and alliance of Portugal.

The Marquis of Pombal saw very clearly the tendency of this desired friendship and strict alliance, he knew how dangerous it would soon become to the interests of Portugal, to be too closely connected with the court of Spain. He knew the policy of the Spanish court wanted to make Portugal a dependant kingdom, and though not in name, a mere province of the crown of Spain! This system, first formed by Philip the Second *, had continued the court policy of his

* Philip the Second left instructions for the management of Portugal, from which his son and grandson never digressed.

He observes, that Portugal can be of little value till it is absolutely reduced, but that prodigious advantages
H might

his successors to the present times, which, as it shewed itself openly in the manifesto published by Spain in the year 1762, just preceding the war, was now too thinly covered for him not to be able to see clearly through the deception.

L E T T E R X V .

Lisbon, May 1, 1777.

TH E power and influence of the clergy in Portugal is more extensive than can be easily imagined, from the great bigotry and superstition of the people.

The priests know, their very existence depends on this superstition, and that the grossest ignorance is its best support. The few books that were printed in Portugal, before the Marquis regulated the office for li-

might be drawn from it when reduced, the way to do this, he says, is not by invading their privileges, but on the contrary by treating them gently, and behaving mildly to them, caressing their nobility, and entieing them to Madrid, by marrying the poor nobility of Spain to the rich heiresses of Portugal, and till all marks of a separate government could be removed; he directs, that the government should always be in the hands of a prince or princess of the blood, but surrounded by ministers who should alone be intrusted with ministerial secrets, that where they could be trusted, Portuguese should be employed, which would provoke odium, and take from them all connection or concern for their countrymen.

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censuring the Press, consisted chiefly of the fabulous lives of the saints, books of miracles performed by relicks, and such others, as served to keep up the superstition of the people, and their submission to the priests, as to the chosen ministers of God.

It will be easy then to conceive, that their whole influence would be exerted against any spirit of improvement, as serving to open and enlarge the minds of the people, and to lessen their dependance on the clergy. But when they found their interests were undermining by the Marquis's regulations, and their perquisites reduced by his reformation, they spared no pains to render his administration odious, and to excite the people against him, by every unfair means in their power. He was publickly accused of being an Englishman, both in religion and politics, by which charge they meant to brand him as an atheist and heretic, and as a man whose design was to establish heresy, on the destruction of their most holy religion.

Though every sensible man must know, that independent of religious principles, the Marquis of Pombal was too able a politician to wish for the introduction of the reformed religion, in a government which is so absolutely monarchical, and which a minister who enjoys the full power of, can scarcely wish to alter, yet it is certain, that those ideas were inculcated by the clergy.

The bishop of Coimbra, a man who had just sense enough to become an enthusiast, published some writings, in which he did not scruple to assert, that heresy had possessed itself of the minister, and was advancing fast to the throne, and that the whole kingdom was in danger from its infection.

The folly of this priest led him to expect, he should be considered as a champion, or treated as a martyr for religion, but to his great disappointment, he was only removed from his bishoprick into confinement, that he might not be in a situation to excite disturbances in the state. Several other of the clergy, following his example, were treated in the same manner, by which means the general tranquility of the state was maintained, and the views of the clergy frustrated.

The great number of holidays and processions in Portugal, is a manifest tax on the industry of the people, and tends rather to deprave than amend their morals. The priests do not concern themselves about the morality of the people, provided they shew no neglect to the due observances of the church, so that these holy farces are the bane of a state, serving no one good purpose, but, on the contrary, tending to make people idle, and to introduce all kinds of vice and immorality.

L E T T E R X V I .

Lisbon, May 4, 1777.

TH E resignation of the Marquis of Pombal, and the general pardon granted after the king's death, was a time of rejoicing to the clergy. Those priests who had been confined in the course of his administration, were restored to their convents, and received there in triumph, as so many suffering martyrs. The flattering prospect of being restored to the full exercise of priestly power and authority, compleated the victory of the church over the minister.

All criminals, without distinction, were set at liberty; many of them who had been confined for a number of years for different crimes, the particulars of which were now forgot, through time, found themselves at full liberty to form their own story. Thus circumstanced, no man allowed himself to have been guilty of any fault, but pretended to have been confined entirely from the caprice or cruelty of the Marquis's administration.

The hardships they had suffered in their confinement, and the distressed condition in which they appeared, caught the publick compassion, and the severities and other villainies of the different goal-keepers, were all charged

charged to the account of the Marquis. The most improbable stories were believed, and the church doors in particular were surrounded by wretches, who were encouraged to tell their miserable tales, in order to increase the popular cry against the Marquis. Those who were prisoners of state, had now no one to accuse them, and of course they found it very convenient to lay all blame on the minister, in order to clear their own character.

The nobility; who had been kept from any management of the state, and who had suffered in their families, from the reforms and regulations of the minister, were happy, in the prospect of an entire change, in which they might expect to share the posts and emoluments of government, as they formerly had done.

The common people were led by the church, as has been already observed, and were outrageous for some time against the Marquis, but as their fury subsided a little; they became sensible of several good regulations he had made; and I have no doubt, if left to themselves, will in a little time more, do justice to his character.

The English merchants considered the retreat of a minister, who supported fabricks and manufactures contrary to their interests; as a favourable circumstance to their commerce; they had every reason to suppose the manufactures would soon decline, for want of their former support, and that their trade
would

would encrease in proportion. The authority of the clergy they knew would introduce more holidays, more processions, and more exact observances of fast days, which would in their turns introduce more idleness; and a greater consumption of salt fish, which is a very material article of trade. So that from the degeneracy of one set of men, and from the ambition and interested views of others, the resignation of the Marquis was considered as a cause of general joy and gladness.

When we reflect on the situation the kingdom was in, at the time the Marquis of Pombal took the administration of affairs, and see the country so much reduced, as to have fallen into a worse state than that of infancy, because in every department it was become corrupt and venal to excess, when we consider the kingdom without agriculture, without finances, and without money, and to add to this deplorable state, reflect on the calamities occasioned by the earthquake, the conspiracy, and the war, which followed close on one another, we must confess, that the obstacles were very great to any improvements, and that it was hardly possible, for the spirit of legislation to accomplish the restoring the nation to any degree of its former power and consideration, without very extraordinary exertions.

Lisbon, that was previous to the administration of the Marquis of Pombal, so remarkable

markable for its bad government, that it was unsafe to be in the streets after dark, where assassinations were considered as common accidents, is now become so changed by the police he has introduced, that I believe there is less disturbance in the streets of Lisbon at present, than in any other capital city in Europe.

During the course of the Marquis's administration, the nation has become more enlightened, the state of agriculture is greatly improved, the commerce very much increased, arts and sciences have been introduced and cultivated, manufactures established, and the treasury restored to good order. These facts speak the praise of the minister, and future times will do justice to his character, when the prejudices against him are forgot, and when history shall relate the state and improvements of his time, he will be considered in the honourable light of a patriot minister, as a friend of mankind, and a preserver of his country.

L E T T E R X V I I .

Lisbon, June 3, 1777.

PORTUGAL having failed of the protection that nation had a right to expect from England, and finding themselves too weak without her assistance, to withstand the force of Spain, have found themselves under the necessity to submit to such terms as the king of Spain shall choose to offer, and perhaps they have given the first instance of a state disarming itself to enter into a negotiation for peace, with a superior power, who continued to make every warlike preparation.

The memorial that preceded the declaration of war by Spain and France against Portugal in 1762, clearly points out the views of those monarchs, for it sets forth, That the two sovereigns of France and Spain, being obliged to support a war against the English, have found it proper and necessary to establish several mutual and reciprocal obligations between them, and to take other indispensable measures to curb the pride of the English nation, which by an ambitious project, to become despotic over the sea, and consequently over all maritime commerce, pretends to keep dependant, the possessions of all other powers in the new world, in order to introduce themselves there, either by an underhand usurpation, or by conquests.

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That

That the first measure which the kings of France and Spain had agreed upon, was, to have the most faithful king in their offensive and defensive alliance, and they desire him to join their Majesties forthwith. His Catholic Majesty desires likewise the king of Portugal to consider, That it is the brother of his Queen, a true friend, and a moderate and a quiet neighbour, who makes the proposal to him; who, considering the interests of the most faithful king as his own, wishes to unite the one with the other, so that either in peace or in war, Spain and Portugal may be considered as belonging to one master. And on the answer given by the king of Portugal, that he was determined to observe a strict neutrality, the king of Spain acquaints him in reply, That such neutrality was become offensive, because from the situation of the Portuguese dominion, and from the nature of the English power, the English squadrons could not keep the sea in all seasons, or cruise on the principal coasts for intercepting of the French and Spanish navigations, without the ports and assistance of Portugal, that these islanders would not insult all maritime Europe, they would let others enjoy their possessions and their commerce, if all the riches of Portugal did not pass into their hands, consequently that Portugal furnishes them with the means to make war, by which means their alliance with the said court is offensive. And in the declaration of war which

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immediately followed, the king of Spain alleged, he had received an insult from the king of Portugal by the injurious preference of the friendship of England to that of Spain and France; and the French declaration of war made at the same time, sets forth, That the king of France could only consider the king of Portugal as a direct enemy, who, under the artful pretext of a neutrality, which would not be observed, meant to deliver up his ports to the disposal of the English, to serve for sheltering places for their ships, and enable them to hurt France and Spain, with more security and with more effect.

From the foregoing account, and the present appearance of affairs in Portugal, we have every reason to suppose, that Portugal either has, or must accede to the family compact, but we are certain, that whether they have, or not, in case of a future war, Portugal will not be allowed to maintain a neutrality, so that it may not be improper to consider the consequences that may attend the loss of Portugal, as an old and useful ally.

Whoever considers the geographical situation of Lisbon, will be immediately convinced, that the track of all vessels, whether going to the Mediterranean, the coast of Africa, or to the East and West Indies, must necessarily pass between Lisbon and the western islands. Hence it naturally follows, that England having the use of this port, is possessed of an important post, not only for the

protection of her own navigation, but likewise as it furnishes her the means of annoying the commerce both of France and Spain; deprived of this and the other ports of Portugal, whenever there should happen a war with those powers who join the Bourbon alliance, England would remain without a port the whole range of the western ocean, from the land's end to Gibraltar, while, on the enemy's side, the ports of Portugal, and the western islands, will give shelter and encouragement to swarms of privateers, who will avail themselves of that advantageous situation to cruize on our trade. Some few men of war of the enemy, stationed at Lisbon, might not only annoy our commerce very much, but would prevent our merchant ships passing by, without strong convoys, to the great prejudice of trade; our navy, instead of scouring the seas of privateers, and distressing the enemy's trade, as was effectually done in the last war, must be obliged to be always employed in protecting our different fleets of merchant ships.

The advantages England now draws from the commerce of Portugal, which arise from that kingdom not being able to furnish raw materials, or manufactures sufficient for its own consumption, much less for the supply of their colonies, in Asia, Africa and America, to which the English merchandize is carried, through the means of the commerce, to Port and Lisbon, will cease of course.

Upon

Upon an average on several years state of the Portuguese trade, our exports to Portugal may be estimated in round numbers, at one million sterling annually, and our imports at about half that sum, so that the annual balance in favour of England, will be five hundred thousand pounds. From a consideration of the exports to Portugal, it will be found they consist chiefly in goods of our own manufacture, on which we have already had our profits. It must likewise be taken into the account, that we were the carriers for Portugal, we transported the greatest part of their merchandize, notwithstanding which we find in the six years war, from 1756 to 1761, we had decreased the number of our trading ships above seventeen hundred, and increased the number of foreign ships trading to England, above eight hundred and sixty, notwithstanding that at this time we had the trade of Portugal and America in our favour, but with the loss of both, our carrying trade will be greatly reduced in a future war, which will naturally be followed, by a decay of the various businesses, dependant on maritime commerce. This must occasion a great diminution of seamen and artificers, and the whole value of their labour must be taken out of the ballance in favour of this country. But the greatest fear is, that our rivals the French, will become the carriers instead of us, the present appearance of affairs authorising such an opinion; they have already increased

creased their West India trade to double what it was in the year 1764. They have not only began a very lucrative and extensive trade with our revolted colonies, but have cruised for them on the English commerce, by which their markets have been so fully supplied, as to have forced trade into new channels, and has raised such an active spirit of commerce, in all parts of the French dominions, as to be much more alarming than the loss of the value of those articles of our merchandize, that have been taken by them.

To a maritime nation, the loss of her carrying trade is of the greatest importance, it is so wide and so extensive in its effects, as not easily to be estimated. It is the existence of a commercial country, the support and nursery for seamen and artificers, whose numbers will be greater or less in proportion to the extent or diminution of this trade. Heavy taxes and low wages will force the seamen, the artificer and the manufacturer to emigrate and seek a cheaper country, and raising their wages would so enhance the price of our merchandise, as to lessen the demands from abroad. In either case the nation loses its trade, and the revenue is lessened of course.

It may be said, that Portugal cannot exist as a state without the protection and alliance of England; whether that is the case or not, I shall not take upon me to determine. Of one thing I am sure, that neither France or Spain will make that the least object of their

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consideration. We have seen both those powers endeavouring to force Portugal to accede to the family compact, and to break her alliance with England. The firmness of the Portuguese government at that time, and the spirited protection of England, preserved Portugal from the danger that threatened her. At present the political system of both governments is changed, and Portugal is not in a state, if it was inclined, to resist the force of Spain, who, considering the acquisition of Portugal as the utmost consequence to the interests of their crown; are not likely to miss any opportunity that offers of uniting themselves so closely to Portugal, that to use the king of Spain's own words, in his memorial preceding the declaration of war in 1762, Spain and Portugal may be considered as belonging to one master.

The losses the Portuguese government may suffer abroad in their colonies, in consequence of a war, will be of no other consideration to Spain, than assisting her political views in the subjecting of Portugal. Spain cannot, nor does not want, any extention of colony; South America will be theirs entirely, and Spain will garrison the ports of the most consequence in the Brazils, under the specious pretext of security and protection. England will lose an old useful ally, a profitable trade, and a principal vent for her manufactures. How far such a loss may affect the interests of this country, I leave to the
 serious

serious consideration of those who wish well to her commerce.

It will be found, by future experience, that touchstone of all publick actions, that the severity and illiberality with which many people have treated the character of the Marquis of Pombal, has proceeded from not considering the nature of his situation, and the people over whom he presided. He was the only support of the English alliance, to which he was connected by the strongest of all motives, *He knew it to be the interest of his country.* He may truly say with Sully, “ That
 “ the king permitted him to lay before him
 “ the state of his affairs, and though he re-
 “ trenched the needless expence of the court,
 “ he amassed him treasure, filled his maga-
 “ zines, and taught him the way to render
 “ himself of consideration to all Europe, in
 “ spite of the intrigues of those venal cour-
 “ tiers, who he had made his enemies, by
 “ reducing their pensions.”

F I N I S.







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