

MANIFESTO,

Or, *Justificatory Exposition of the Conduct of the COURT of PORTUGAL with respect to FRANCE, from the Commencement of the Revolution, to the Time of the Invasion of Portugal, and of the Motives which compelled it to declare War against the EMPEROR of the FRENCH in consequence of that Invasion, and the subsequent Declaration of War made after the Report of the Minister of Foreign Relations.*

"The Court of Portugal, after having kept a silence suitable to the difficult circumstances in which it was placed, and to the moment when the seat of Government was established, conceives that it owes to its dignity and rank among other Powers, a faithful and accurate exposition of its conduct, supported by incontestible facts, in order that its subjects, impartial Europe, and also the most distant posterity, may judge of the purity of its conduct and the principles it has adopted, as well to avoid the fruitless effusion of the blood of its people, as because it could not persuade itself that solemn treaties, of which it had fulfilled the burthenome conditions in favour of France, could become a despicable, an infant's toy in the eyes of a Government, whose immoderate and incommensurable ambition has no limits, and which has but too much opened the eyes of the persons most prejudiced in its favour. It is not in invectives, or in vain and useless menaces, that the Court of Portugal will raise its voice from the midst of the new Empire which it is about to create; it is by true and authentic facts, explained with the greatest simplicity and moderation, that it will make known to Europe and its subjects all that it has suffered; that it will excite the attention of those who may still desire not to be the victims of so unbounded an ambition, and who may feel how much the future fate of Portugal, and the restitution of its States, invaded without a declaration of war, and in the midst of a profound peace, ought to be of consequence to Europe, if Europe ever hopes to see revive the security and independence of the Powers which formerly composed a species of republic that balanced itself, and maintained an equilibrium in all its different parts. An appeal to Providence is the consequence of this exposition, and a religious Prince feels all the importance of it, since guilt cannot always remain unpunished, and usurpation and violence enfeeble and consume themselves by the continual efforts they are obliged to employ.

"The Court of Portugal, though it saw with regret the French Revolution begin, and deplored the fate of the virtuous King with whom it was connected by the closest ties of blood, did not take any part in the war which the conduct of the madmen who then reigned (by the confession even of the present Government) forced all Governments to declare against them; even when it sent succours to Spain for the defence of the Pyrenees, it always endeavoured to preserve the most perfect neutrality.

"In the year 1793, the French Government sent a Minister to the Court of Portugal, who was received with the utmost respect, but who was not acknowledged; for neither the principles of the law of nations, nor of public law, authorized Government to acknowledge extraordinary changes, unless they were known to be legitimate; and no nation is in that respect to judge for another, while its independence exists. The French Government, without any declaration of war, or any formality, began to detain the Portuguese merchant vessels; and after the peace of 1801, demanded and obtained indemnities for those which the Court of Portugal had detained to obtain a legitimate compensation, without paying any regard to the claims and remonstrances of the Portuguese merchants. The Court of Spain which had required succours from Portugal, and which, by the confession of even the French Generals, was obliged to acknowledge how useful and necessary they had been when it made peace with France, not only forgot its ally, which it ought to have caused to be declared in a state of peace with France, since the Court of Portugal, in succouring its ally to fulfil the conditions of the treaty of alliance which existed between the two Sovereigns, had no intention to make war against France; but what is perhaps unheard of, or at least very rare in the annals of history, Spain then made a common cause with France to force Portugal to receive unjust and humiliating conditions of peace, nor did Spain cease to declare itself the enemy of its ally till the moment when the treaties of Badajos and Madrid were signed; employing even the forces of France to wrest from Portugal a small extent of territory of the province of Alentejo, on the side of Olenza; thus leaving to posterity an eternal monument of the wretched recompense the bellowed on an ally, who, notwithstanding the ancient rivalry of the two nations, would not fail to fulfil the conditions of a treaty of alliance which existed between them.

"The treaties of peace of Badajos and Madrid, in 1801, are likewise a new proof of the bad faith in the enemies of the Court of Portugal, since the Treaty of Badajos having been signed there by Lucien Bonaparte, the Plenipotentiary, and the Prince of Peace, on the one side, and by the Portuguese Plenipotentiary on the other, the French Government refused to ratify it, and forced Portugal to sign a new treaty at Madrid, with much harder conditions, without being able to assign any other motives than its caprice and ambition. This latter treaty was signed almost at the same time with the treaty of London between England and France, which made valid conditions too oppressive to Portugal, and fixed the limits of the coasts of North America, which was confirmed by the peace of Amiens; and this consideration of England for its ancient ally was, in the eyes of France, a new proof of the servitude and bondage in which the English Government held that of Portugal. No sooner was the Treaty of 1801 concluded, than the Court of Portugal hastened to fulfil all its burthenome conditions, and to shew, by the religious and punctual observance of all its engagements, how much it desired to confirm the good understanding which was re-established between the two Governments, and which ought to cause to be forgotten all the injuries it had suffered, and which certainly had never been provoked on its part. The conduct of the French Government was very different; as, from the first moment that peace was re-established, it required all kinds

of unjust sacrifices on the part of the Portuguese Government, in favour of the most extravagant and unfounded pretensions of France. Europe ought then to have foreseen, that its subjugation from Lisbon, to Peterburgh, was determined in the Cabinet of the Thuilleries, and that it was necessary to combine to level the colossus to the ground, or submit to be its victim.

"After a short interval, war broke out anew between England and France; and the Court of Portugal having made the greatest sacrifices to avoid war, and the harsh and humiliating propositions of the French Government, thought itself fortunate to be able to conclude, with the greatest sacrifices of money, the Treaty of 1804, in which France promised, in the 6th article, as follows:—

"The First Consul of the French Republic consents to acknowledge the neutrality of Portugal during the present war, and not to oppose any measures that may be taken, with respect to the Belligerent Nations, agreeably to the principles and general laws of Neutrality."

"The French Government from that time received all the advantages of such a treaty; it never had occasion to make the smallest complaint against the Portuguese Government; yet it was during this same war, and after such a stipulation, that it required of the Court of Portugal, not only the infraction of the neutrality, but the declaration of war, in violation of all the treaties that existed between the two countries; and in which, in the case of war acknowledged possible, it was determined how the subjects of the two nations should be treated; and all this without Portugal having any cause of complaint against the British Government, which had even given it every kind of satisfaction, when the Commanders of its ships of war had failed in that respect which was due to a neutral flag.

"The Emperor of the French, in the mean time, caused one of his squadrons, on board of which was his brother, to put to sea. It anchored in the Bay of All Saints, where it was received with every kind of respect.

Yet, what is worthy of attention is, that at the very time the French Government received on the part of that of Portugal so many marks of friendship and consideration, the squadron burned some Portuguese vessels, to conceal their route, with a promise of indemnity to the proprietors, which promise was never performed. Europe may hence conclude the fate which awaits it, should the French acquire an ascendancy by sea equal to that it has obtained by land, and may properly estimate the foundation of the complaints it so loudly utters against the English government. England never made any remonstrances against the succours granted to the French squadron, for they were within the acknowledged limits of the law of nations; but the Minister of Foreign Relations of France has dared to assert, in the face of Europe, that Portugal gave assistance to the English for the conquest of Monte Video and Buenos Ayres; while it is a fact known by all the world, that that expedition which sailed from the Cape of Good Hope received from Portugal neither vessels, money, nor men, nor in fine any merchandize considered as contraband in time of war; and that the English squadrons, during this war, obtained nothing at Rio de Janeiro, or the other ports of Brazil, except what is not refused to any nation, and which had been supplied plentifully to the French squadrons. The Court of Portugal, defies the Court of France to produce any fact in contradiction to this assertion, which is founded in the most impartial truth.

"France received from Portugal from 1804 to 1807, all the colonial commodities and first materials for her manufactures. The alliance of England and Portugal was useful to France; and in the depression, suffered by the arts and industry, in consequence of a perpetual war by land, and a disastrous war by sea, in which she only met with defeats, it was certainly a great advantage to France that the commerce of Portugal should suffer no interruption.—Undoubtedly it was equally useful to both countries. By ravaging Portugal, by subjecting her to excessive contributions in an unheard-of manner, without war, or any resistance having been made on her part, France has not obtained that advantage, which a commerce useful to both countries would have procured her.

"The Court of Portugal might then justly, and with every kind of foundation, flatter itself that that of the Thuilleries would respect a neutrality which it had acknowledged by a solemn treaty, and from which it derived such decided advantages, when it was awakened from its security in the month of August, 1806, by a formal declaration of the Minister of State for Foreign Relations, M. Talleyrand to Lord Yarmouth, by which the former notified to the latter, that if England did not make a maritime peace, the French Government would declare war against Portugal, and order that country to be occupied by thirty thousand men. It was not with thirty thousand men that the invasion of Portugal could be effected; but the Emperor of the French, who knew the security in which Portugal found herself, in consequence of the Treaty of Neutrality; thought he could take her by surprise, and this was sufficient to justify his proceedings. The Court of England was alarmed by the above declaration, and proposed and offered to that of Portugal all kind of succour; but France (which at that period had arranged every thing to crush the Prussian Court, which then alone bid defiance to the superior power of the Emperor of the French, while a twelvemonth before it would not attack, and perhaps compel him to receive the law, and save Europe jointly with Russia and Austria) found means to pacify the Court of Portugal, which she then chose to spare, and could not conceive that a similar perfidy would be the attribute of a power, whose greatness should keep pace with that integrity and those dignified sentiments which suit so well an exalted rank. The war which was afterwards continued with Russia, and which might yet, perhaps, have saved Europe, if the union of the Governments which divide it, had been as close as it should have been, still retarded the execution of the views of the Emperor of the French with regard to the Court of Portugal; and it was only by concluding the Peace of Tilsit, that the Court of the Thuilleries, in a dictatorial tone, such as might have become Charlemagne, addressing the Princes whose sovereign Lord he was, caused the strange demand to be made

to the Court of Portugal, through the medium of the French Charge d'Affaires and by the Spanish Ambassador: First, to shut up the ports of Portugal against England; secondly, to detain all Englishmen who reside in Portugal; and thirdly, to confiscate all English property; or, in case of refusal, to expose itself to an immediate war with France and Spain; as the French Charge d'Affaires and the Ambassador of Spain had orders to depart on the 1st of September, about three weeks after the said proposition was made, in case the Court of Portugal should not comply with all the pretensions of the two Courts. The good faith of the French Government is no less remarkable with regard to the celerity with which, after having made that declaration and without waiting for the answer of Portugal, it ordered all Portuguese merchant ships to be detained, which were in the ports of France, and by that measure actually commenced hostilities without any previous declaration of war, and thus carried to a far greater length all the proceedings which formed its continued topic of reproach against England, which, after such conduct, will be justly valued.

"The Court of Portugal might then well have adopted the known maxim of the Romans, and been convinced that disgraceful conditions frequently saved those who refuse them, and brought destruction on those by whom they were proposed; but on the one side it could not believe that the Court of the Thuilleries made in earnest proposals, which committed both its honor and its dignity, and on the other side it hoped to ward off the storm. Desirous of sparing the blood of its people, and placing implicit confidence in the friendship of His Britannic Majesty, its old and faithful Ally, it endeavoured to render the pretension of the French Government more moderate, by acceding to the shutting up of the ports, and refusing the two other articles, as contrary to the principles of public law, and to the treaties which subsisted between the two nations; and his Royal Highness the Prince Regent of Portugal had no hesitation to declare, that those articles wounded equally his religion and the principles of morality, from which he never deviates, and which are, perhaps, the true cause of the unshaken fidelity which he has experienced on the part of his subjects.

"The Court of Portugal then began to adopt measures for securing its retreat to that part of the Portuguese dominions which is not exposed to any invasions, the consequences of which ought to create alarm.

"For this purpose, it ordered all such ships of war as were fit to keep the sea to be fitted out, and also directed all the English to leave its dominions, and sell their property, with an intention of shutting the ports against England, in order thus to avoid an effusion of the blood of its subjects, which would probably have proved useless, and to endeavour to comply with the views of the Emperor of the French, in case he should not allow himself to be softened by that justice, with which the Court of Portugal, asserted the rights of its independence, along with those which resulted from the treaty of neutrality concluded in 1804. The Court of the Thuilleries, unwilling to agree to any conciliatory measures, and having not only demanded the shutting up of the ports, but the imprisonment of all British subjects, the confiscation of their property, and the dereliction of the project of retreat to America, his Royal Highness the Prince Regent of Portugal, who knew on the one side that his Britannic Majesty, his true and old ally, informed of the transactions which were going on, would consent to the shutting up of the Ports, in order to save Portugal from the invasion of the French, and who was convinced on the other side, that there was no longer any Englishmen in Portugal who was not naturalized in that country, and that all English property had been sold, and even its amount exported, adopted the resolution to shut the ports against England, and even to comply with the rest of the demands and pretensions of France; declaring, however, at the same time, that, should the French troops enter Portugal, his Royal Highness was firmly resolved to remove the seat of Government to Brazil, which formed the most important and best defended part of his dominions.

"His Royal Highness then ordered his whole army to move to the coast and sea ports, and supposing that, as France had essentially obtained all she demanded, she would have nothing else to ask, confided in that good faith, which ought to be considered as the fundamental principle of every Government which has ceased to be revolutionary, and felt conscious, that having done every thing in his power to secure the tranquillity of his people and avoid an useless effusion of blood, he had fulfilled all the duties of a virtuous Prince, adored by his subjects, and who to the Supreme Being alone has to account for his actions.

"The French Government observed a line of conduct towards his Royal Highness and his dominions which would be unprecedented in history, were not the invasion of Switzerland by France, at the time of the Executive Directory, of a similar description, General Junot, without any previous declaration, without the consent of the Prince Regent of Portugal, entered that kingdom with the van-guard of his army, assuring the people in the country that he was marching through it, to succour his Royal Highness against an invasion of the English, and that he entered Portugal as the General of a friendly and allied Power. He received on his journey convincing proofs of the good faith of the Portuguese Government, for he witnessed the perfect tranquillity which prevailed with regard to France, and that all the Portuguese troops were near the coast. His Royal Highness the Prince of Portugal, surprised in such an extraordinary manner, might have rallied around him the body of troops which were at a small distance from him, caused the English fleet to enter the port of Lisbon, and thus cut to pieces the small and miserable corps with which Junot was advancing with a degree of temerity which would have been ridiculous, had not General Junot, whose conduct at Venni and Lisbon has made him too well known, relied on the feelings of a virtuous Prince, who would never expose his people to the most dreadful calamities by a certain first success, which only could have served to chastise the audacity of a man, who, like many others, abused the power with which he was entrusted, or who acted in pursuance of orders which cannot be justified.

"His Royal Highness the Prince Regent then adopted