

various senses, every fact, with a view to the concealment of the whole truth; and though their statements may have a basis of truth, still no man of reason would ever venture to found a grave proceeding on the statement of the newspaper press of France. We were therefore, under the necessity of waiting for authentic information, to be in a condition to come down to Parliament, with the confidence in the truth of our representations, which the occasion called for. Another ground for our hesitation was this--In former instances when Portugal claimed assistance from Great Britain, the regular constitutional Executive power was vested in the person of the Monarch. So that the bare signification of his wish, the simple expression of his desire, the putting forth of his individual claim, was always held a conclusive ground for action. But in the present state of affairs, when it was stated to me that the Authorities of Portugal called for our assistance, one of my first inquiries was necessarily this, whether or not the demand for assistance was made by an authority competent, according to the existing Constitution of Portugal, to make it, compelling that with the question as to the reception, and which as the troops of an ally, our army had a right to expect? It was, I say, our duty to take care that before a British soldier set his foot on Portuguese ground; nay, if possible, before he left this country, to take care, I repeat, to have an assurance that this call for aid on the part of the Executive Government was sanctioned by those Authorities whose approbation was necessary to it. It was only this morning that I received the intelligence of this sanction having been given by the Chambers of Lisbon to the call for assistance. Thus then, had we proceeded faster in this matter, we might justly be charged with precipitancy, and while acknowledging the obligation on our part to assist, we were bound to see that every caution was used not to involve this country in proceedings which might be proved by the result to be unnecessary, and expose our troops to the chance of an unpleasant reception. The accounts which I received this day respecting the sanction given by the Chambers are as follows:--

"Extract from a despatch dated Lisbon, the 29 Nov. from Sir W. A. Court: The day after the news arrived of the entry of rebels into ---, the Minister demanded from the Chamber an extension of the Executive power, and a permission to apply for foreign assistance. The Deputies gave their assent by acclamation, and the same spirit was manifested by the other Chamber, the members of which rising in a body from their seats, expressed their devotion to their country and their readiness to give personal assistance in repelling the invasion. The Duke de Cadaval, President of the Chambers of Peers, was the first who set the example. 'It was,' said the Minister of Foreign Affairs, who described this scene to me, 'a moment worthy of the best days of Portugal.'--(Cheers.)

The necessary sanction, as well as the guarantee for the proper reception of our troops being given, the next question we have to consider was whether or no the *casus fœderis* had actually risen. The case is this: Bands of Portuguese refugees, armed, equipped, and provided by Spain, have crossed the frontier of Portugal, not at one, but at several points, under the eye of Spanish authorities; and what is very remarkable is, that the attack on the Portuguese territory, upon which British aid was asked, is not the act of invasion on which the demand was, complied with. It was only this day that we received the authentic account of the attack, mentioned in the French papers, in the North of Por-

tugal, in the province of Trás-os-Montes, whilst intelligence of the attack in Villa Viciosa, in Alentejo, in the South, was received on Friday. The statement, certainly, of this new fact, was even more satisfactory than a mere confirmation of what had been already known and complained of. It undoubtedly is possible, that an irruption from Spain into Portugal might have been the work of some undisciplined party of refugees, some stragglers acting not on the commands of authority, but in defiance of them. But an attack on a whole line of frontier implies organization and concert, so as to give a decided character at once to this aggression.--[Hear.] The nature of that aggression would be ascertained at once, if even a single Spaniard had passed the frontier. But shall it not be considered to be an invasion when Portuguese rebels, being armed and paid by Spain, cross the frontier into Portugal; shall it not be called a foreign invasion I repeat, because, forsooth, the arms are borne against the bosom of Portugal, by men whom Portugal had nurtured; (cheers); by men, who, returning from refuge in Spain, carry back desolation to their mother country by means furnished forth by the foreigner? [Cheers.] I shall not discuss the petty quibble by which it would be attempted to show that this was not a foreign invasion, because the foreign power had instead of other mercenaries, employed mercenaries purchased from Portugal itself--on this account; forsooth, the aggression was to be accounted harmless, and ought not to be repelled! [Cheers.] I have already stated and I now repeat that it never was the intention of the British Government to interfere in the internal concerns of Portugal. I beg it may be observed, that I make a broad distinction between internal and external concerns. In the discussions of the Portuguese, carried on at home; for the regulation of their own affairs. God forbid we should ever interfere--but when bands of renegades, with arms in their hands, and presuming that they can put off the mother country, and put it on again with pleasure, return to violate her soil, then I say, that in the case of such an ally as Portugal, to refuse our assistance and support, would be a laxity in politics and a solecism in morality, the adoption of which, for the sake of getting rid of the obligation of treaties, would subject us to as great a degree of reprobation, as I trust, the contrary conduct entitles us to of commendation.--[Cheers.] Here then is the case which I submit to the House--a case of undoubted obligation, arising from a compact, not framed in a corner, not kept secret, but known and conspicuous to the whole world, and recorded in the recollection of the history of our time. Here, on the other hand is an undoubted fact of foreign aggression, furnished forth by foreign means, and directed to foreign objects. I take the fact and the obligation, and I say neither could his Majesty refuse the call for assistance made by Portugal, nor will the Parliament, I am convinced, desert his Majesty on giving effect to that obligation. (Great cheering.) This is the case on which I rest the whole of this question. I put it, as I have already done, without reference to any collateral questions, because I wish the simple case which I have submitted to the House to be kept separate in their minds, as well as in the minds of others to whom what I say will find its way. I wish, I say, that the legal gist of the question should be kept separate in their minds, from any collateral questions which, though they would not in themselves be a sufficient ground for calling on the House for assistance, ought nevertheless to have their share of influence. What I

shall henceforward say to the House is meant rather to meet the charge which might be urged against me of wishing to keep back any thing that bears on the question, than as a further support to prop up my case. When then I state that I am willing to rest my case here, the House will bear in mind this circumstance--namely, that the vote which they are called on to give this night is a vote of defence for Portugal--not a vote of war against Spain. [Hear.] I beg the House to keep those matters separate and distinct, and though in what I am about to state I should bear hard upon the Spanish Government, yet, that unjustifiable as her conduct has been to Portugal; contrary as it is to the laws of nations; the laws of good neighbourhood; contrary as it is to the laws of God and of man, I still do not mean to say that there is no *locus pœnitentiæ*, no possibility of redress being granted--no opportunity for reconciliation left to Spain--all I say is, that it is our duty to fly to the defence of Portugal, be the assailant whom he may. [Cheers.] I now come to the question of the assailant: and although it proves no necessary part of the case on which I rest the claims of Portugal to our assistance, the present situation of that kingdom is so unusual, and the recent years of its history crowded with events so extraordinary that I am sure the House will not think it an unprofitable application of their time, if I take the liberty of shortly and succinctly calling their attention to that series of events, and to the effect they have produced in the position of Europe. It is very well known that the consequence of the residence of the King of Portugal in Brazil had to raise that settlement from a colonial to a metropolitan condition; and from the period when the Emperor had fixed his departure from that place there grew up in Brazil an increasing desire of independence which threatened the peace of Europe. It is further known, that Great Britain mediated between the Sovereign and his subjects in Brazil, when he resolved to acknowledge its independent existence, and to consent to a division of the two Crowns, leaving one on the head of his eldest son. The ink with which this arrangement had been concluded was scarcely dry, when the premature and unexpected death of the King of Portugal produced an entirely new state of things, for it forcibly reunited on one head those crowns which it was the policy of Great Britain, of Portugal, and of Brazil, to keep separate. In this posture of affairs advice was tendered to the Emperor by Great Britain, in conjunction with another European power, supposed to have an interest in Brazil. And here it is fair to state that that advice was not the origin of the arrangement to which it certainly tended, for before it could reach Brazil the Emperor had determined upon abdicating the Crown of Portugal in favor of his eldest daughter. But what had not been advised, and what had not even been foreseen, and what, in fact, was not the province of any Government to advise, the Emperor also determined that the surrender of the Portuguese Crown in favour of his eldest daughter should be accompanied with the grant of free constitution to that kingdom. It has been supposed that this act of the Emperor was the offspring of British influence. No such thing--Great Britain did not disapprove of the act, nor was she called in to approve of it, and simply because it was no part of her duty to make suggestions for the internal regulations of any State. [Cheers.] But it so happened that the Constitution was by accident brought to Europe by a gentleman then resident in Brazil, who filled various high employment of trust under his own Government. Sir C. Stuart was in Brazil at the time the ar-

angement was made, and on his return to Europe, was requested by the Emperor to take charge of the Constitution to Portugal. No fault was found with him for complying with the Emperor's desire--but it was undoubtedly felt at home, that unless the messenger and what he bore were immediately separated, a case would be raised before the eyes of Europe, as if free England was the contriver and importer of this Constitution; at the same time that no blame was attached to Sir C. Stuart, he was directed to return forthwith from Portugal to England, lest his stay in the former place, at the particular time when the Constitution would be carried into practice, might be misinterpreted into a circumstance confirming the conjecture that this Constitution was the fruit of the agency of England. Now, with respect to the character of that Constitution, I am not called on, nor, indeed, have I any right to pass an opinion, although, as a private individual, I have formed my opinion upon it. But, as an English Minister, all I can say is, May God prosper this attempt at Constitutional liberty, and may the nation where it is made be as prepared to receive and cherish it, as in other respects she is able to discharge her duties amongst the nations of Europe.--[Much cheering.] Of that Constitution I am neither the champion nor the critic; but I remember that it has proceeded from the legitimate authority--a circumstance which may reconcile to it the Powers of the Continent; and I know that it is recommended more strongly to our approbation by the ready accordance it has met with from all orders of Portuguese. That Constitution, unquestioned in its origin even by those who are most jealous of new institutions--thus sanctioned by the acceptance of those who are to live under it--a Constitution, in principle, resembling our own, though differing in its modifications--such a Constitution, I say, it is impossible that an Englishman should not admire and desire to see flourish. But we would be far from attempting to impose it on an unwilling people, or fight the battle for it, in case we saw a fair, honest schism amongst the people respecting its adoption.--(Cheers.) We do then go to Portugal in compliance with the obligations of a treaty; and when there, nothing shall be done by us forcibly to maintain the Constitution! but as certainly shall we take care that nothing shall be done by others to prevent it from taking effect. (Cheers.) This much I say, and another word is not necessary on the point. Internally let the Portuguese settle their own affairs; but external force--while England has an arm to lift in her defence--external force shall not be used to controul the opinions of the people of Portugal!--(The animated delivery of this sentence called forth universal and repeated cheering.) External force has not, it is true, been openly directed against Portugal; but what can be said of a force which seeks other channels, assumes other shapes, finds its way to Portugal, strives to change its character from external to internal disorder, by the employment of renegades and rebels of its own arming? That is a species of foreign force which ought not to be allowed against any power, and least of all against a power which has the honour and happiness of being the ally of Great Britain.--(Cheers.) Has Spain used that force? I do not enter into the question, whether the aggressions proceeded from a Government acting in deliberation and foresight (and when it ceases so to act, it ceases to be a good government), or that it is the work of some factious fanatical agency which overrules the counsels of the Government, which defies it in the capital, and disobeys it on the frontier, it matters not to Portugal--it matters not to