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## *SOME CAUSES OF THE PORTUGUESE REVOLUTION*

THE extraordinary ease with which the House of Braganza was overthrown has been attributed to a profound popular dissatisfaction with the Monarchy; but, to overturn a Throne, something besides popular dissatisfaction is needed. Five years ago all Russia was much more profoundly dissatisfied with the Tsar than the Portuguese were, five weeks ago, with King Manoel; yet Nicholas the Second still reigns.

As a matter of fact, many causes have combined to make King Manoel an outcast. The Braganzas had ruled badly. King Manoel himself was weak and inexperienced. The financial and economic state of the country was deplorable. The taxes were heavy. By means of secret societies the Republicans had sapped the loyalty of some sailors in the fleet and of some soldiers in the Lisbon garrison. Then there was the clerical question. From all that I can learn, this question was, however, largely artificial.

I once knew a lady suffering from epileptic fits who imagined that the attacks were due to her wearing glasses which were a shade too strong for her sight; and I have frequently met neurasthenics who were convinced that the irritableness and the other unpleasant symptoms of their complaint would disappear if they wore a larger size in boots or made some trivial change in their habits. The Portuguese, a proud people with a great history, are keenly sensitive to the fact that now, in the twentieth century, they do not occupy the same relative position in Europe which they occupied in the fifteenth century. They have declined, and are in consequence irritable and despondent. Suddenly they are told that this decline is due to clericalism. The statement is repeated in a hundred different forms. The cry is taken up by fanatics who are as much opposed to Catholicity as the Jesuits are devoted to it. These anti-clericals are as well organised and as self-sacrificing as the Jesuits themselves. Their propaganda is carried out with great skill, persistence and courage. Finally, the Portuguese people believe them, just as the average man in the

street comes in time to believe the persistent advertisers who scream at him from every hoarding and every station on the Underground that their pale pills cure cramp!

A doctor who tells a patient that his troubles are due to the fact that he has inherited a poor physique and a weak heart is not so popular or so eagerly credited as a quack who tells the same man that if he fasts for a fortnight or takes Bullock's Malted Food with his coffee, or goes in for a complete course of Electric Foot-Baths he will soon be bursting with vitality.

This is the principle which lies at the root of all quack advertising, either in medicine or in politics, and it accounts in part for the success of the anticlerical cry in Portugal. That cry was popular because it flattered Portuguese pride and Portuguese indolence. They were still a great nation, but they were bent double under the burden of Monasticism. Let them but throw off that incubus and they would at once tower head and shoulders over all the other nations in Europe. Such was the remedy, so simple, so attractive. No need for an elaborate diagnosis, for long years of self-discipline. Put out the monks, and all will be well. This cry appealed, moreover, to Southern impatience and impulsiveness. Nothing needed but one short angry upheaval, one delirious week of rioting and convent-smashing. How perfectly delightful!

I do not think that the departure of the monks will make much difference to Portugal. There are proportionately more monks in Germany than there were in Portugal, yet Germany prospers. Whether or not the clericals injured Portugal in the past is another matter. Probably the Inquisition did injure the country; but the Inquisition was more Governmental than clerical. In the middle of the last century it was in the hands of the Marquis de Pombal, who expelled the Jesuits, and whose brother, the head of the Inquisition, even burned a Jesuit at the stake.

Confining ourselves, however, to the present, we cannot see that the departure of the Jesuits will make much difference. Many loose accusations have been made against their activity in Portugal; but careful inquiries which I have made on the spot convince me that there is no foundation for any of these charges. It is generally understood, for example, that they had in their keeping the sciences of the Royal Family, but several hundred years ago the Jesuit Society itself made what may be called a self-denying ordinance prohibiting its members from acting as confessors to any reigning monarch. When Queen Maria Amelia came to Lisbon in 1886 she asked for a Jesuit confessor; but the Provincial of the Order explained that he could not comply with her request. An Irish Dominican (now dead) was accordingly selected, and his successor was the French Lazarist, who was recently murdered

by the revolutionists. The King's confessor was a secular priest called Feidero.

'But,' we are told, 'the Jesuits interfered in politics. They were behind the anti-republican paper *Portugal*.'

The facts of the case are as follows. Some years ago a Portuguese paper called the *Correo Nacional* happened to be on its last legs—not an unusual state of things in Portuguese journalism. A Jesuit priest called Fernando thought this was a good opportunity to create a Catholic Press which would insist on purity in political life, social reform, a revival of the religious spirit, civic pride, patriotism, and an interest in public affairs. This was at least his object, but he could hardly be blamed, of course, if he also thought occasionally of the interests of the Jesuits.

Father Fernando accordingly made a great appeal for money wherewith he might buy the *Correo Nacional*. He got 40,000 francs, and with this money he bought the moribund newspaper and re-christened it the *Portugal*. Under Father Fernando's direction this paper became a strongly doctrinal organ, devoted to teaching Christian Apologetics. It tried to awaken an interest in religious matters and in education. But it evidently appealed more to ecclesiastical students than to the general public, and finally Father Fernando retired.

He had done something, however, to raise the standard of the Portuguese Press. When Dom Carlos, for instance, was assassinated, the *Portugal* was the only paper which denounced the murder from the very day on which it was committed.

The other papers did not know what to think of it or what to say about it, so they said nothing. Will it be credited that for at least a week after the King's murder no other paper in Lisbon ventured to pass the slightest criticism on the assassination?

The *Portugal* did not mince words, however, in speaking of the assassins and of those who had egged them on. It denounced, too, the great demonstration of 50,000 persons which was held in honour of the murderers, and the way in which the graves of the latter were strewn with flowers.

Finally, some of the Royalist papers rallied to the *Portugal's* side so far as to admit that the murder of the King and the Heir Apparent was on the whole rather bad form.

When Father Fernando retired from the editorship of the *Portugal* that paper was taken over by other Roman Catholics, who continued it on the same lines, but who had no connexion whatever with the Jesuits. It was certainly a very outspoken organ, and it conducted a vigorous campaign against the Republicans, but the latter were, on their side, equally outspoken.

For all the strong things the *Portugal* said, the Jesuits were

blamed by the Republicans, and this accounts to a great extent for the intensity with which the latter hated the Society of Jesus.

One notorious politician the *Portugal* attacked with great violence. This was Senhor Alpoïn, an ex-Minister, whom, on the strength of something which he said eight days before the murder of King Carlos, it accused of having been a party to the assassination. It is not quite certain whether this was true or not, but it did harm to Alpoïn and prevented him from attaining the object of his ambition, which was to become Prime Minister.

Finally Senhor Alpoïn sent a friend of his, a journalist, to the Patriarch begging him, in the name of Christian charity, to make the *Portugal* cease its attacks. The Patriarch complied with the request, and wrote a strong letter to the editor, but the latter flatly refused to comply. He said that, as a journalist, he was not in this matter bound to obey the Patriarch. He knew his facts and his business. He also knew Alpoïn, and was determined to drive that politician out of public life.

Senhor Alpoïn then took a last desperate step. He sent a friend with a confidential message to the Provincial of the Jesuits. 'If you make the *Portugal* to cease attacking me,' so ran this message, 'I shall not forget you when I am Premier. If you fail to do so, then you shall feel my vengeance.'

The Provincial said that he had no authority over the *Portugal*, and that, even if he had, he could not sell his conscience for any favours.

Thus the negotiations were broken off, and open war was declared between Alpoïn and the Jesuits. Alpoïn's paper, the *Dia*, attacked the latter as violently as the *Portugal* attacked Alpoïn. In the public examinations, conducted by friends of Alpoïn, nearly all the pupils of the Jesuits were "plucked." Then Alpoïn left the Progressistas and became chief of the Dissidentes, who were allied to the Republicans.

The late Premier, Senhor de Souza, was only a tool in the hands of Alpoïn, who really engineered the recent revolution, and who has now declared himself an out-and-out Republican.

So much for the vague charges against the Jesuits. As for the facts in their favour, they are not vague. The magnificent college of Campolido is—or rather was two weeks ago—a very large and concrete fact. It was the only educational and scientific institution in Portugal which was worthy of the name. It had three hundred boys, some of them the sons of Republican leaders. It turned out, during the fifty years of its existence, a long list of distinguished men. It published a scientific magazine called the *Broteria*, which is favourably known to scientists all over the world.

The correspondents who visited Campolido after its destruction

saw a strange spectacle. The Republican apostles of progress and enlightenment were smashing the valuable microscopes and up-to-date scientific apparatus of the so-called obscurantist priests. It was not a chance contrast this, a fortuitous reversal of rôles. It holds good throughout all this revolution. The Portuguese Republican is vague and windy. He will establish a reign of 'austere justice' and poetic politics, and will, in short, bring about the Millennium. Judging by the studies and library of Campolido, the Jesuits seem to have been trying in a hard-headed, businesslike way that would do credit to Glasgow, to direct the attention of young Portugal to concrete things like metallurgy, zoology, botany, modern languages, modern business methods, engineering, &c. Father Narcisso Martins wrote largely and extremely well on arboriculture and agriculture. He also drew up, not vaguely like a dreamer, but with plans and maps that would satisfy the most exacting engineer, a splendid scheme for the irrigation of all Southern Portugal by means of an enormous barrage (240 feet in height) constructed at Villa Velha de Rodam in such a way that the level of the water might be raised by 240 feet, in which case it could be carried through aqueducts throughout the whole *Alem Tejo*. This plan had been ventilated about a hundred years ago by Bento de Moura, who was regarded as a madman for advocating it. Father Martins revived the scheme in March last, and showed conclusively by examples drawn from the Rhine, India, and Egypt that it would be comparatively easy. If it were successfully carried through, the economical question in Portugal would almost be solved, for the want of water is the great trouble in Southern Portugal, and if water was plentifully supplied by irrigation works the whole face of that country would be changed for the better, and the Republican peasants of the South would, in all probability, become ardent Royalists, like the peasantry in the well-watered North.

The Jesuits thus did their best to turn the attention of the Portuguese to the development of their country's inexhaustible resources and to the study of science. Father Alphonse Luisier, S.J., published a complete list (about 1000) of the plants growing in the Setubal region (see the Bulletins 'da Sociedade Broteriana 1902,' Coimbra). The same Jesuit has since made a careful study of Bryologia, and is well known among bryologists. He devoted special attention to the mosses of Portugal, and had collected at Campolido a fine library and a great number of specimens.

Father Antonio Pinto, professor of physics and chemistry, is well known by his works on the radio-activity of water. He had just returned to Campolido from the Congress of Electricity and Radiology, held at Brussels in August and September last, when he was arrested. In the *Broteria* magazine, which was edited by

Father Camille Torrend, S.J., himself a remarkable scientist, he wrote several articles on physics, especially on electricity. Many distinguished laymen wrote in the same magazine : for example, Valerio Cordeiro, Paulin Vielledent, Manuel Rebimbo, the engineer d'Ascensão Guimarães. Many foreign scientists also wrote in it : viz. Father Narres, a Spanish Jesuit ; Father Rick and Father Theissen, who dealt with the mycology of Brazil ; Father Narruro, a Spaniard, and a disciple of Father Cirerra, the well-known Director of the Observatory of Tortosa. Father Narruro wrote exclusively about earthquakes.

The decree expelling the Jesuits from Portugal declares that this step is taken 'because they [the Jesuits] are an anomaly in modern civilisation.' Really, however, the Jesuits of Campolido seem to have been more in touch with the twentieth century than the revolutionists who expelled them.

As for the other religious Orders, it is hard to see in what manner they were a drag on the country's progress. The Franciscans are allowed to stay so long as no more than three of them live together. This is on account of their sympathy with the Republicans and their intense hatred of the Jesuits. Their little monthly magazine, *The Voice of St. Antony*, was so distinctly modernist that it was censured by Rome and suppressed. For some years it had been conducting a running fight with the *Messenger of the Sacred Heart*, the very anti-modernist organ of the Portuguese Jesuits. After the *Voice of St. Antony* was suppressed the Franciscans started at Oporto the *Correio do Norte*, a daily paper, republican in politics ; and the Franciscan group in the Chamber afterwards supported Teixeira de Souza.

This internecine warfare weakened, by the way, the clerical and monarchical parties, and gave a bad example to the common people. Similarly, it will be remembered, the expulsion of the Jesuits by Pombal was preceded by a hundred years' conflict of the greatest ferocity between the Jesuits and the Dominicans ; while a Jesuit-Dominican war preceded the expulsion of both Jesuits and Dominicans from China and Japan.

For many years back the Jesuits and Dominicans in Portugal have been at peace, owing to the fact that there were no Dominicans. That Order disappeared from Portugal, and is only represented there by the three or four Irish Fathers in the Church of Corpo Santo. Even they tell me that they are not self-supporting. They could not exist for a day, were it not for the help they get from Ireland. The collection they take up in the church on a Sunday does not pay for the candles on the altar. For some years past they have been trying to establish again a native community of Dominicans, but owing to the inconstancy of the average Portuguese novice the scheme has not been much of a success. Just

before the revolution they had succeeded in getting together a few native Postulants, but the Republicans have now dispersed them, and in any case the new branch would hardly have taken root. It was a very withered and sickly shoot.

But, indeed, the Jesuits themselves are not a self-supporting community in Portugal. Once they were. Once there were four Jesuit Provinces in Portugal, and that country was the best recruiting-ground of the Society. Now there is only one Portuguese Province of the Jesuits. The Jesuits in Portugal are, however, dependent on the Spanish Province, and, like the Dominicans and most of the other Orders, they bring foreign money into the country instead of sending native money out of it.

In Lisbon alone the religious Congregations gave, until the outbreak of the revolution, 2000 free meals daily, and about 30,000 free meals were given daily by the monasteries and nunneries throughout Portugal. Education was almost free (at Campolido a boarder had only to pay two pounds a month for his education and his board), so that the new Government will find itself compelled to spend a great deal of money on schools and on the unemployed. As economy is the great watchword of President Braga (so he told me himself), and as the heavy taxation was a potent cause in bringing about the revolution, the Republic will be in difficulties directly. Schools of course are necessary, but it will be years before the Portuguese peasant comes to see the good of them; and for my own part I am doubtful if the new Republican schools will be of much account. We know what these new business schools are in Spain, presided over by briefless lawyers with a craze for politics, journalism and frothy oratory.

The uprising against the Jesuits was the great feature of the revolution. In fact, the whole revolution was simply an anti-Jesuit and anti-clerical outburst of which the Republicans took advantage in order to compass the overthrow of the dynasty and the Monarchy. Nevertheless, as I have tried to show, the case against the Jesuits and the religious Orders is not strong. There are in the country only 300 priests belonging to religious Orders and 500 nuns. Some of the Orders possessed no property. Their great monasteries and colleges were nominally lent to them by pious associations of Catholic laymen. That property cannot be confiscated. Neither can the property which is held in the names of foreigners. Germany has already intimated that she will demand compensation if the property of any German subject—be he monk, Jesuit or priest—is confiscated or destroyed. Great Britain will probably object to the confiscation of the Jesuit houses at Goa and elsewhere which are registered as the property of English Jesuits.

Thus the confiscation of the monasteries will yield nothing to





the Republican Government but debts and diplomatic difficulties. The uprooting of the Trinas, a native Order of nuns devoted to works of charity, will soon be felt by the poorer classes. Then there will be a natural reaction against the savagery of the last few weeks. Even during the height of the anti-clerical riots soldiers and sailors could be seen weeping for the poor nuns. When some of the Jesuits left, people said, 'God must have some awful fate in store for us when He's sending *you* away.'

The people are more superstitious than ever they were. Their belief in the underground passages of the monks and their hair-raising stories of the magical performances of the Jesuits show this clearly. It only needs a slight shock of earthquake at Lisbon to provoke a counter-revolution that will bring back not only the Jesuits but even the King.

Innocently or not, clericalism was undoubtedly one cause of the revolution. Senhor Teixeira de Souza, Dom Manoel's last Premier, was another cause. All the Royalists and clericals and a good many of the Republicans say that he deliberately betrayed his master. The clericals are especially angry with him, and, judging by the way in which they speak of him, the Jesuits would, I think, be rather pleased than otherwise if they saw him immersed in boiling oil.

As for the Republicans, the *Povo de Aveiro*, one of their papers, says that 'the Premier had a most minute and perfect knowledge of the plot.' João Chages, editor of the Republican paper *Capital*, says that the Republicans hailed with delight De Souza's appointment as Premier, and redoubled their efforts, being sure 'that the pseudo-Liberalism of the regenerador Government would second these efforts.'

None of this of course is decisive evidence, and indeed the *Povo de Aveiro* comes to the conclusion that if the Premier was not a knave, he certainly was a fool. And, as a matter of fact, Teixeira de Souza has long enjoyed a reputation for quite remarkable stupidity. The only public position he ever held before was that of head of the Custom House, and, as Premier, he was understood to be the tool of his fellow-townsmen Senhor Alpoim, the leader of the Dissidentes. That burly, loud-voiced intriguer from the Trazos Montes was indeed the villain of the piece. He now says so himself daily in his paper, the *Dia*. But, though a great friend of Affonso Costa and a member of the same secret society, he is as much distrusted by the Republicans as he was by the Royalists, and he will never be able to do anything in politics—save manipulate puppets.

What tells most against the ex-Premier is the record of his activity—or rather, of his non-activity—during the last few weeks of the monarchy. It is an amazing record, very hard to explain,

especially during its latter stages, except on the assumption that Senhor de Souza had at least a tacit agreement with the Republicans.

Before the elections of August last, King Manoel found himself in a political *cul-de-sac* similar to that in which his father had been at the time of his murder. Several gangs of corrupt politicians had periodically plundered the country under the pretence of governing it. Constitutional rule was impossible, and meanwhile the Republicans were increasing their activity. Under similar circumstances, Dom Carlos had effected a *coup d'état* and appointed Franco Dictator. It was now open to Dom Manoel to do the same thing or else to take the opposite course, the course of leniency and mildness. The King's gentleness, apathy and dislike for vigorous mental or physical action led him to take the line of least resistance. He offered the Premiership to Teixeira de Souza, a man of Liberal, almost Republican, sympathies. His object in doing so was to imitate King Alfonso by inaugurating an anti-clerical campaign with the object of making himself popular with the really large section of his people who were anti-clerical (but not anti-monarchical), and thus taking the wind out of the Republicans' sails.

The first great mistake of Teixeira de Souza was his alliance with the Republicans at the last elections. It was a critical moment in the history of the monarchy. It was the Premier's first duty to make a clear issue of it, to raise a flag round which all friends of the King might rally. It was a question of Monarchists against Republicans. No other division was possible. Yet the Premier allied himself with Venceslão de Lima, Reymão, Alpoim, and the Republicans against the Royalists and Conservatives—viz. the Progressistas, Franquistas (Liberal Regeneradores), Henriquistas, and Nacionalistas. Thus he split the Royalist vote. Some Royalists voted for the King's Premier. Some voted for the Conservatives. On the other hand, the Republican vote was solid everywhere, and no fewer than ten Republicans were returned for Lisbon alone. This has well been described as a 'notice to quit' served upon the Monarchy.

Dom Manoel's choice of De Souza as Premier had already lost the Monarchy its best friends. I have been assured by a most competent authority that this choice and the results of the subsequent elections made all the loyal officers lose heart, and accounted for the amazing supineness of the Army leaders when the revolution at length burst. Many things are permitted to a King, but one thing he must not do, he must not turn Republican. If he does, Royalists will not fight for him with any great enthusiasm.

The Premier's fatal splitting of the Royalist vote might possibly have been due to an error of judgment such as makes many

a good captain run his ship on the rocks, but in the present instance there was not only bad steering, there was also something that looked like scuttling.

Why did the Premier not rouse himself when he must have learned that the Revolution was due in a few days? It could not have been that he was ignorant. Many people knew that a revolution was coming off in Portugal. Senhor Magalhaes de Lima sounded London and Paris about it. When Lisbon was isolated by the cutting of the railway and the telegraph wires, Oporto, and even Paris, knew very well what had happened.

Yet Teixeira de Souza knew nothing of it at all, and never, I suppose, spoke to the King on this subject. Instead of making counter preparations he began to appoint Republicans as civil governors and provincial officials. I have this on the best oral authority, and I also have it before me in print in the *Povo de Aveiro*, a Republican and anti-clerical paper. One of these governors, Senhor Motta Veiga, Governor of Guarda, went during this period on a picnic with Senhor Affonso Costa, the present Republican Minister of Justice, and took part in a public and demonstrative singing of the Marseillaise.

On occasions of previous unrest, it had been found that fire-arms were smuggled into Lisbon in motor-cars. At first these motors rushed with such speed past the guards stationed at the outskirts of the city that they could not be stopped, but finally chains were placed across the roads and vehicles of all kinds were thus brought to a standstill whether they liked it or not.

On the present occasion no such precautions were taken. Motors were free to enter the city in dozens with cargoes of rifles. Large consignments of firearms were also smuggled in by railway, thanks to the energy of Republican emissaries employed on the trains, thanks also to the carelessness and blindness of the military authorities at the stations.

Everybody outside the Royal palaces knew of these ominous preparations, which made the Royalists lose heart in proportion as they inspired the mutineers with courage.

But the Premier did not act. When the revolt actually broke out he was in town, but did not trouble to call on the King or even to answer Dom Manoel when the latter telephoned to him. He remained quietly in one of the barracks, and the report which he afterwards caused to be circulated, that he was wounded in the leg, was ludicrously untrue. The fact that he was never once molested by the Republicans speaks for itself; also the fact that he has now recognised the new *régime*. In a few years (if the Republic lasts so long) he will probably be President.

Before taking leave of Senhor Teixeira de Souza I must not omit to mention his great mistake (or his great treachery) in allow-

ing the fleet to return to Lisbon. The fleet in Portugal is a sort of reformatory. The worst and most desperate characters are made to serve in it. Consequently there was little difficulty in winning over some of the sailors to the revolutionary side. Everybody knew that the fleet was revolutionary. Yet the Premier allowed it back to the Tagus.

And yet even in the fleet the Royalists were in the majority, only that, like their King and their Premier, they were an apathetic majority without a head, while the Republican minority was energetic and vigorous and well directed. When the revolution first broke out, the *Dom Carlos* threatened to sink the *San Raphael* if she approached. Then two Republican officers and fifty bluejackets seized the powder-magazine on the *Dom Carlos*, and finally, with the assistance of boatloads of armed civilians from the shore, got possession of the vessel.

The Army seems to have been mostly Royalist, but it had no one to lead it. Only two regiments were disloyal, the 1st and the 16th. Of the 16th only half was disaffected, and it had no revolutionary officer, so that Santos Machado, a naval officer, took control of it. Meanwhile, all the cavalry and infantry and the 5th Chasseurs remained loyal, but they got no advice from the Government or from their superiors.

There is an extraordinary resemblance between this revolution and the Turkish reaction of April 1909. In both cases we have the same secret societies debauching the rank and file, the same seizure or murder of officers, the same profound discontent worked up in connexion with a matter which had in reality no direct bearing on the national welfare—the Turks wanting the Sheriat, the Portuguese the expulsion of the friars. In both cases the same Press agitation, the same deafness, dumbness and invisibility of the Government once the revolt broke out.

In Lisbon as in Stamboul the apathy of the Government lost all.

Even when the revolution had been raging for a day the Minister of Justice was still amusing himself in a seaside hotel, and an extraordinary number of Army officers were on leave in various health resorts.

In enumerating the causes of the revolution mention must also be made of King Manoel, for had not the Monarch been young, inexperienced, indisposed to exertion, the revolutionists might not have succeeded so easily.

The whole state of things at the Royal palace was extraordinarily favourable to the Republicans. Even if the King had manifested any desire to act with vigour before or immediately after the revolution, his mother and his grandmother would not have allowed him to take any risks. The appointment of

De Souza as Premier had alienated all the Royalists; so that when the shells from the warships were falling on his palace Dom Manoel had no one to whom he could turn for advice. His abrupt flight made the Royalist cause hopeless. King Manoel's place on the 5th of October was in the Avenida da Liberdade, where so many leaderless brave men were dying for him. His presence would have rallied all loyal subjects around him. And even after Lisbon was taken, there was still hope if he had gone at once to Oporto. Oporto always wants to do the opposite of what Lisbon does, and, moreover, the north is more Royalist than the south.

There are even now in the north two regiments which have not yet given in their formal adhesion to the new *régime*, and it is a most significant fact that the anti-clerical movement in Oporto was far from being as strong as it was in Lisbon. In fact, there is still near Oporto a monastery belonging to the Order of the Holy Ghost, whose inmates have not yet been disturbed. In short, it is clear that Dom Manoel would have been received with open arms in Oporto if he had gone there immediately after leaving Lisbon, and that he would soon have had all the north in his hands. But he went to Gibraltar, awaiting a 'call' to come back. If Napoleon in Elba had waited for a 'call' from France he would never again have entered the Tuileries. Kings must in these matters take a certain amount of initiative and of risk.

Another leading cause of the revolution was the corruption of the Army. The whole system by which this result was attained has now been described in great detail by the principal agents, by Senhor João Chagas, Captain Palla, and others. As it is based on the undermining of discipline and Christianity among the soldiers, it is a dangerous weapon, not only to the men against whom it is used, but also to the men who use it. The artillerymen, who revolted first, now want higher pay. The sailors all want to be policemen, with large salaries and plenty of leisure. The soldiers have contracted an awkward taste for murdering their officers. The regiments know that they are ruled by some secret club, not by the colonel.

And here I must say frankly that many of these clubs are Freemason Lodges. Writing in the *Mundo* of the 18th of October, Captain Palla states this distinctly. He tells how he began his propaganda in 1894 by 'the foundation of the Lodge Portugal, whose members were exclusively officers.' Captain Lobinho Zuzarte, of the General Staff, was president, and the object of the club was to gain the adhesion of most of the officers in the garrison. The present Minister of War belonged to it. Few officers joined, however, only sergeants and common soldiers. The *carbonarios* were invited to help in the debauching of the men. Captain Palla wanted to pass to the First Artillery in

order to corrupt that regiment, and he applied, not to his superior officers, but to the *Directorio* of the secret society. He speaks of group this and group that, so that evidently there was an army inside an army, a secret army of conspirators inside the Royal Army of soldiers. Civilians were also enrolled in this secret army. Captain Palla soon had 15,000. The Municipal Guards could not be corrupted, 'so that we decided that the *carbonarios* should assail them on their way through the streets with dynamite bombs and hand-grenades thrown from the side streets near which they passed.' . . . The conspirators set great store on getting the private soldiers to read the *Seculo*, a fiercely Republican and anti-clerical paper. It helped them greatly in gaining over barracks after barracks. The First Regiment of Artillery took fifty copies of this paper daily. Signals, signs and passwords were arranged for the use of the initiated.

Finally, Captain Palla tells how the revolt was begun by the marines landing at Terreiro do Paço and seizing the telegraph station, and how the civilians used bombs and hand-grenades to harry the Municipal Guards.

Senhor João Chagas, another Republican leader, tells distinctly how the *Associação Carbonaria Portuguesa* took a large part in the movement.

The disquieting feature of all this activity is that atheistical and anarchical associations were called in to assist the revolutionists. Even Republicans lament that such allies should have been employed. 'It is the apotheosis of the bomb,' writes a strong Republican and anti-clerical, Senhor Francisco Manuel Homem Christo. '*A bomba foi proclamada, exaltada, santificada por todas as formas.*'

The creator of the bomb [continues the same writer] is the Anarchist. The Anarchist is, then, the founder of the Portuguese Republic. The regiments were not led against the King by their officers. They were debauched by revolutionists. It was a work of anarchy. And will the Anarchists who carried out this work stop here for the sake of the Republic? Will they not continue to corrupt the troops?

In a previous passage the same writer declares that this is in verity *finis patriæ*.

Those who have corrupted the Monarchy will corrupt the Republic. Those who have debauched our troops will continue to debauch them until they reduce us to a state of complete disorganisation. Now, disorganisation is fatal to all love of work. And unfortunately it is only a love for hard work that will save us. . . . Everything good will disappear from the minds of the people. With the fear of the King they will lose the fear of God. Love of country, love of their superiors will vanish. Aristocracy, religion, family life, will disappear. And can we afford to lose all this just now, we with all our moral, intellectual, and racial defects?

The disorganisation of Portuguese society was very great. Is that disorganisation now going to end?

We are told that the Republic will bring us order. But can we affirm that the present disorder is the result of the corruption that set in under the Monarchy? Is it not rather the work of the Positivists, the Comtists, of Theophile Braga and his friends?

Indiscipline, the peculiar possession of this semi-African race which we call Portuguese, has many and deep roots. It existed under Absolutism; it existed under Constitutionalism; and it will exist under the Republic. . . . Constitutionalism, with its formulæ, incomprehensible to the great majority of the people, did not diminish that indiscipline; it augmented it. And the Republic, continuing the work of Constitutionalism, will make that indiscipline degenerate into anarchy.

And this, be it noted, is written not by a disappointed *émigré*, but by a strong Republican—a Republican of the sound American or Swiss school, however—in a paper published in the Portuguese town of Aveiro on the 16th of October, when all Portugal should, if the new *régime* was a blessing, have been radiant with joy, confidence and hope. And the fact that, even in Lisbon, the circulation of that truthful Aveiro newspaper has doubled and trebled and quadrupled since the revolution, shows that many Portuguese think as it does.

FRANCIS McCULLAGH.



