

and divided. By 1796 however there was a strong reaction and resumption of Lodge meetings.

Some Funchal Freemasons fled, one escape in particular passing into folklore, in various elaborated versions, when a group of about 12 Masons, some with families, sailed to the New World in the brigantine *Dois Amigos*, entering New York flying the banner "Asylum quaerimus — we ask for sanctuary". Another version of this increases the number of Masons — improbably — to 64, calls the ship *Good Hope*, and has it escorted to the Delaware by a Union frigate; there the party are said to have been given citizenship by Brother George Washington in the presence of thousands.

On the mainland, however, Freemasonry was only checked. From 1793 Lodges resumed or opened in Coimbra, in Porto, in Faro, and in Lisbon. But, especially in Lisbon, there was a well-founded concern for the security of the State and French citizens were particularly suspect, many being imprisoned and deported.

The edicts of 1743 providing the death sentence for membership of the Craft were re-promulgated, though it seems that by this time it was too extreme a measure to have been invoked. Alternatively however were the dungeons of the police and of the Inquisition, in which Freemasons were imprisoned and the sick or neglected died. Later in 1801 Pina Manique is recorded as saying that "the members of this infamous association belong to all levels of society. Our rigorous measures have reprimanded some, made others forswear themselves, and several waverers have received sentence."<sup>2</sup>

It is difficult now to balance the intense fervour of the persecution and the resistance to it. The official opposition of course was real enough but against what dangers to State or Church — against what plots and seditious talk, favouring republicanism and atheism (though unlikely at least amongst those supporting the principles of English Freemasonry) — is not clear. After 1795 Portugal and England stood alone against France — in 1801 Spain actually invaded and was bought off with a cession of territory. The times demanded harsh measures against all suspected of subverting the State: and some Freemasons were justifiably under suspicion.

Evidently there were arrests and frequent harassment: meeting places had often to be changed, "one portion of the members had to play

at cards and dance, whilst the others were at work", says one account.<sup>5</sup>

A police spy on oath is reported as saying that he had seen "through a hole in the wall of the Lodge-room, Masons kick a picture of the Saviour, which had thereupon spilt a quantity of blood and emitted sorrowful sighs". The same historian writes that Freemasons had to wear a distinguishing badge.<sup>4</sup>

### **A British Contingent and English Lodges**

On 21 June 1797 there arrived in the Tagus an English squadron of 39 ships, carrying 6,000 soldiers, to strengthen the Portuguese defences. This force was based near Lisbon for three years, and "its impact was great, not least in the effect that it had on the structure of Freemasonry in Portugal".

In the early 'nineties, the French influence on Portuguese Freemasonry was naturally stronger than the English. From 1797 this changed. Dr. Oliveira Marques observes that there may have been a deliberate "strategy in which Masonic expansion by English Freemasonry and political objectives went hand in hand". Yet, he goes on, "if Portuguese Masons established official relations with London for reasons of brotherhood and a preference for English ritual, it is nevertheless true that their conception of Freemasonry . . . is nearer to the French model than to the English. This ambiguity, which is not unknown in other Masonic fraternities, continues to mark the Craft in Portugal to the present day."

With the Regiments in 1797 there were at least three military Lodges, listed in the Grand Lodge of England: No. 179 with the 12th Regiment of Light Dragoons (based in Belem); No. 94 with the 51st Infantry Regiment (in Oeiras); and No. 112 with the 50th Infantry Regiment (in the Fort of S. Julião da Barra). The first-named, No. 179, quickly set about establishing (under provisional letters-patent) what was to be called Lodge No. 1 in Portugal. This took some time and to speed the process, James Gordon, a Lisbon resident, and perhaps a relative of the George Gordon of 1735, went to England. In March 1799 the Lodge received its authority as Lodge No. 315 (or 315A) in the Register of the Grand Lodge.

However there was an immediate and ruthless response from Pina Manique, the Intendant-General. In the following months more than two

dozen Masons were arrested, Portuguese and English indiscriminately, some even with their families, and shut in the prisons of the Castle of St. George (Lisbon Castle) and in the dungeons of the Holy Office. There is extant an extraordinary and pathetic letter, dated 1 July 1799, from the Master and other Brethren, written from the prison of the Castle to the Grand Secretary of the Grand Lodge of England. At once the intervention of the Prince Regent, Dom João, and of members of the government, was sought. By November, all the imprisoned had been set free and the Lodge continued, meeting in the Estrela. Many details are known of it, including the names of 36 members, but perhaps there was further repression because in 1903 it ceased to exist. An attempt to revive it under the number 330 in the Register of the Grand Lodge evidently failed; and so the second Portuguese Lodge to come directly under an English Grand Lodge was short-lived.<sup>3d</sup>

Meanwhile other Freemasons, English and Portuguese, were meeting on the 54-gun Portuguese frigate *Phenix*, moored in the Tagus. This ship gave rise to various legends, but it seems likely that it was a starting point for the creation of seven Lodges in Lisbon during 1797-1802. These were called *Regeneração*, *União*, *Virtude*, *Fortaleza*, *Concordia*, *Amizade*, and *Razão*. The names of 220 members are known and from their professions it is clear that Freemasonry in Lisbon attracted many from the higher levels of the law, teaching, medicine, the army, and property ownership. It seems likely that the rituals followed the style of the Grand Oriente de France and the Lodges may have been recognised by that Grand Lodge. There was at the time also a very active "French emigrée" Lodge in Lisbon which ceased in 1803.

The subsequent history of each of these Lodges followed roughly the same pattern of repeated interruption to their activities; and the story of Portuguese Freemasonry over the following 20 years, including that of other Lodges in Lisbon and throughout the country — in Tomar, Setúbal, Cascais, Coimbra, Porto, Tras-os-Montes, Peniche, Elvas, Lagos, — is punctuated by the same key dates. All Lodges were suspended in March 1808 when the capital was under occupation by the French army under Junot. There was resumption in late 1808 or 1809 but suspension again in 1810. And there was then a long intermission with only clandestine activity until about 1815 when most Lodges resumed. In 1817, however, there was suspension once more for at least the following three years.

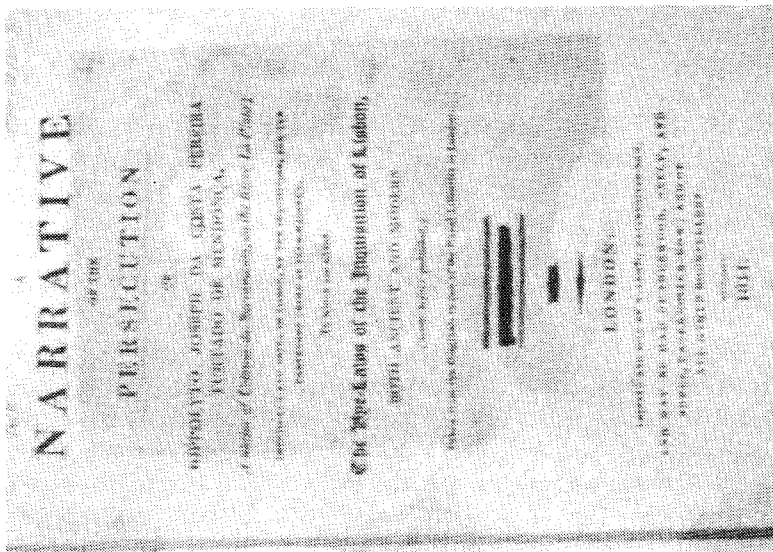
## The First Portuguese Grand Lodge

In 1801, according to a tradition rather than evidence, there was an assembly of more than 200 Freemasons at the mansion of General Gomez Freire de Andrade. The Master of Concordia presided and the decision was taken to form a Grand Lodge. An assurance was needed that such a move would not be resisted by the authorities and a deputation met with the Minister of Finance (also a Freemason) with a favourable outcome. Involved in these events was the Duke of Sussex, youngest son of George III, who lived in Portugal 1801-1805 (part of the time with his brother, the Duke of Kent); he became first Grand-Master of the United Grand Lodge of England 1813-1843.

In 1803, on a basis of four of the Lisbon Lodges, a Grand Lodge was therefore established, the Grande Oriente Lusitano, with Sebastião José de Sampaio Melo e Castro, a Judge of the High Court, as the Grand Master. Hipólito José da Costa Pereira Furtado de Mondonça was appointed to represent the Grande Oriente at the Grand Lodge of England and sent to London in March 1802 "to solicit a regular authority to practice the rites of the Order under the English banner and protection".

The Grand Lodge of England — as recorded in Minutes of 12 May 1802 — received "the most respectable Brother Hyppolite (sic) Joseph da Costa, as the Plenipotentiary", and it was agreed that every encouragement should be given to Freemasons in Portugal. A treaty was signed by Hipólito José da Costa and by the Treasurer of Grand Lodge, and approved by the Grand Master, "whereby it was agreed that as long as the Portuguese Lodges should conform to the ancient Constitutions of the Order they should be empowered to have a representative in the Grand Lodge of England; and that the Grand Lodge of England should have a representative in the Grand Lodge of Portugal, and that the Brethren belonging to such Grand Lodges should be equally entitled to the privileges of the other."<sup>1</sup>

Having negotiated this Treaty in London, Hipólito José da Costa returned via Paris. He may have gone there to open negotiations with the Grand Oriente de France, with which a Treaty was in fact concluded two years later on 25 April 1804. Such an intention is surprising because of the differences between the Grand Lodges, — not to mention the fact that the principal countries were at war. It should not have been possible for the



Hipólito José da Costa, engraved frontispiece portrait and title page of his "Narrative of a Persecution. . . .", 1811.

Grande Oriente Lusitano to be recognised by the Grand Lodge of England when in fraternal communication with the Grande Oriente de France, but international politics were here concerned also. Portuguese Freemasons were reflecting the political and diplomatic ambiguity of their Government, "balancing between alliance with England and friendship with France, . . . choosing a name (Grande Oriente) with its roots in France . . . but seeking British protection . . . trying to maintain union with Freemasons in both countries . . .", as Dr. Oliveira Marques observes. Indeed in June 1803 Portugal declared its neutrality.

On his return to Portugal, Hipólito José da Costa was arrested for reasons which are obscure, and all the documents he had were taken. He remained in prison for nearly three years, before escaping to London. In 1811, — like Coustos before him — he published an account of his experiences under the title "A Narrative of the Persecution of Hipólito José da Costa Pereira Furtado de Mendoca, a native of Colonia do Sacramento, on the River La Plata, Brazil, imprisoned and tried in Lisbon by the Inquisition for the pretended crime of Freemasonry". The dedication is: "To the British Nation at large and more particularly to the most ancient and venerable Society of Free and Accepted Freemasons, who have the honour at this time and have had for more than 20 years, of possessing His Royal Highness the Prince Regent for their Grand Master. . . ." In 1813, after the Union of the English Grand Lodges of that year, Hipólito José da Costa received the honorary title of Provincial Grand Master for the English County of Rutland, and he became in other ways prominent in English Freemasonry, and an intimate of the Grand Master. For many years he edited an influential periodical, the *Correio Brasiliense*.

In the few further years before the French invasion of 1807, Freemasonry in Portugal expanded considerably. The poet José Agostinho de Macedo in *Os Burros* writes of 13 Lodges in Lisbon with the Grande Oriente Lusitano meeting in the monastery of the Conegos Regrantes de Santos Agostinho, the S. Vicente de Fora. The membership widened to include men from every social class and profession. In a list of names obtained by the Inquisition in 1803 of members and sympathisers are dukes, marquises, viscounts, barons, bishops, abbots, priors, lawyers, doctors, academics, army officers, businessmen, poets and writers, diplomats, landowners, public officials. Lodges were established in Coimbra, Tomar, and Porto and restarted in Madeira. There was a Lodge in Horta in the Azores.

Freemasonry took root in Brazil from 1800 when Lodges were begun in Rio de Janeiro and in Baía. And, on 18 July 1806, the first Constitution and Rules to govern Portuguese Freemasonry were approved by representatives of eight Lisbon Lodges, a comprehensive document of 199 Articles.

For time to time, the Police and the Inquisition made clear that there were limits to tolerance of the Institution but there appears to have been no serious persecution. Amongst Freemasons there were divisions, as some tended towards political activism, influenced by France. There was much diplomatic manoeuvring — successive French ambassadors, Lannes and Junot, were Freemasons; but Portugal depended on the sea to maintain her worldwide empire and much of her trade was in English ships. Portugal's official neutrality was a flimsy shield from the great events taking place throughout the rest of Europe.

#### **War with France**

For Freemasons hardly a year passed after the approval of the Constitution before the hopes of continued peaceful expansion were disrupted, — for decades, as it turned out. For in the wings was Napoleon, (commonly believed, without firm evidence, to have been a Freemason), about to add Portugal to his conquests so that all of mainland Europe would be united against England. By the secret treaty of Fontainebleau on 27 October 1807, Portugal was to be dismembered between France and Spain and the House of Braganza deposed. A month later, the vanguard of Junot's army was in Lisbon, and for much of the next three and one half years the centre and north of the country — and much of Spain also — was ravaged and fought over by hungry armies. The dates of the three French occupations were: November 1807 — September 1808; March-May 1809; August 1810-May 1811.

The Royal family and the Prince Regent (Dom João, representing his deranged mother, Queen Maria) evacuated to Brazil, leaving behind confusion. Many in the country, of course unaware of the Fontainebleau Treaty, were sympathetic to the French. Freemasons were divided like many groups, not least because of the Regent's well-intentioned parting instructions not to impede the French but to do everything possible to preserve peace in the country. These attitudes changed as it became clear that the French came not as revolutionary brothers but as violent conquerors. Nevertheless there remained throughout the occupations a substantial

fifth column who looked to the French to rid the country of the monarchy and introduce a new constitutional order.

Many French officers, including Junot himself, were Freemasons and when a delegation of Portuguese Masons met him in January 1808 it seemed that good relations would be possible. This friendliness was of short duration. A month later Junot deposed the House of Braganza and proclaimed himself head of the government. Nevertheless, at a Masonic banquet shortly after attended by French Freemasons, there were provocative toasts "to the Prince Regent and to the National Guard of Portugal". A suggestion that the picture of the Prince Regent in each Lodge should be replaced by one of Napoleon was dismissed. In March Junot proposed that he should be made Grand-Master of the Grande Orient Lusitano, which was rejected on the grounds that there already was a Grand-Master, that it was not the time for an election, that he was not Portuguese, and that he "was wanting in those eminent qualities and fundamental virtues which were indispensable to one occupying such a position". Prudently however it was then decided to suspend all Lodges, sine die.

Problems for Portuguese Freemasons were compounded as members went in different directions. One group of Masons and non-Masons in February 1808 formed a Conselho Conservador (Council of Preservation) to restore the independence of Portugal and the Monarchy. On the other hand, in April there was formed a Portuguese Legion, as a unit of La Grandé Armée, which saw action elsewhere in Europe and was commanded by a leading Portuguese Freemason, General Gomes Freire de Andrade. The Legion had a lodge, Les Chevaliers de la Croix, of which the General was Master. More seriously, an important group of people, including the Grand-Master amongst other Masons, in May made a direct approach to Napoleon for a new Portuguese Constitution along lines imposed elsewhere in Europe, with a constitutional monarchy. This was signed by some hundreds of non-Masons but later the charge of collaboration with the enemy was particularly laid against Freemasons.

Events elsewhere were forcing the pace. In May 1808 Spaniards in different Provinces began the bloody expulsion of the French; and in June Portuguese in Porto, Braga, Bragança, Viana, and in Algarve, drove out the French from their territories. In August Wellesley (Wellington) landed at Figueira da Foz with 16,000 English, and at Vimeiro on 21 August 1808 Junot was defeated.

Then began a vicious persecution of Portuguese Freemasons as traitors and jacobins, though many of course were neither, which was repeated during and after the subsequent French invasions. It seems that scapegoats were needed. "Some were imprisoned by the Inquisition, others in the Castle of St. George. Some were exiled, some lost their jobs, some died in the prisons, and others who were able to escape the tyranny are still today detested", wrote one historian in 1812. In March 1809 during the short second French campaign under Soult against Porto, Freemasons were again imprisoned or put under house arrest; and all the archives of the Grand Oriente were seized. In September 1810, as Massena began the most serious attempt to overwhelm Portugal, there were further mass arrests, and 48 Freemasons, the so-called *Setembrizados*, including the most senior, were shipped off to Terceira in the Azores after incarceration in the Torre de Belem. There is no evidence to show whether Lodges met in this period, though there was at least one change of Grand-Master.

Outside Portugal, other exiles in London led by Hipólito José da Costa, formed a Lodge in 1810, the so-called Lusitanian Lodge, which continued until 1815.

### **English Freemasonry in Lisbon**

In John Lane's compilation of English Lodges there is a record of only two Lodges amongst the English forces in Portugal (and those mentioned earlier are not recorded): an NCO's Lodge of the 3rd Bn. of 9th Regiment of Foot, No. 183, was in Lisbon in February 1803; and in 1811 there was also in Lisbon a Lodge, No. 332, called True Parallel, of the 2nd Bn. of 58th Regiment of Foot, originating from an earlier London Lodge, No. 36. It seems unlikely that this is the complete picture because throughout the British forces Travelling Lodges were commonplace: "well over 400" are known, wandering the world with their regiments. (The first was actually sanctioned as early as 1732 by the Grand Lodge of Ireland in the 1st Bn. of the First Regiment of Foot, later to be known as the Royal Scots. And another Travelling Lodge continued in the 2nd Bn. of the Royal Scots until 1949, when it at last became stationary in London as No. 316).<sup>7</sup>

Particular evidence of the presence of Freemasons in Wellington's army came on the Feast of the Evangelist, 27 December 1809. "Some English brethren", records *Arquitectura Mystica*, "thoughtlessly held a

masonic procession in Lisbon, as was the custom in their own country".<sup>8</sup> Carrying banners and emblems and with music, this procession started from the Castelo de São Jorge and finished in the Rua de Alecrim at the Casa da Assembleia da Nação Britânica. Along the route Portuguese soldiers assumed that it was, in the words of Gould, "one of the pageants of the Romish church, and therefore turned out to render the usual military honours".<sup>9</sup> When the mistake was discovered, the Church was outraged and a counter demonstration led to rioting and deaths.

There was an extraordinary protest against this procession from the Intendant-General of Police, reinforced by the Portuguese Regency Council, with the Sousa family at its head. Wellington issued a General Order which required his officers to refrain from "an amusement which, however innocent in itself and allowed by the law of Great Britain, is a violation of the law of this country, and very disagreeable to the people". No doubt this would have been enough to lead to much less — or less public — Masonic activity amongst the English military thereafter. Wellington himself was a Freemason, initiated into Trim Lodge presumably under the Irish Constitution, though he subsequently appears to have avoided any connection with the Craft.

### **Before and after Waterloo**

With the final expulsion of the French, retreating from the Lines of Torres Vedras in the Spring of 1811, some normality returned to Portugal and her cities. But the gradual collapse of Napoleon's Empire was in many respects only the beginning of problems for Portugal. The Royal family in Brazil declined, in effect, to return, and the country was governed by the English General Beresford, as Marshall, Administrator, and Commander-in-Chief. Richard Robinson writes that "from 1808 until 1821 Portugal was in effect a British protectorate and a colony of Brazil". The rural populations remained strongly conservative despite conditions of near serfdom under the great landowners; but in the towns, social unrest was endemic.

Freemasonry increasingly became the cover for political discussion and liberal reform, despite all attempts at suppression. During 1813-15 most of the Lodges which had existed ten years previously revived throughout the country. In Lisbon it is reported that a noblewoman, the Vicomtesse de Jerumenha, was evidently initiated "amidst a concourse of

well-known people”, for reasons which are not clear. In Tras-os-Montes the German Baron of Eben founded a Lodge subordinate to an English Grand Lodge which may have been recognised by one or other of the English Grand Lodges then in process of combining.

Gradually exiles returned and in May 1815 these included the old Grand-Master, Sebastião de Sampaio, and General Gomes Freire de Andrade. The latter was elected Grand-Master at the end of the year and a busy programme ensued of organisation and expansion. In August 1816 Hipólito José da Costa wrote that there were 3-4,000 Freemasons in Portugal (a figure perhaps exaggerated); and this was despite occasional harassment and police raids.

In Brazil, which grew prosperous as the mother-country became poorer, three Lodges were well established in the capital, and others in Baía, Pernambuco, and in Niterói. There may have been about 600 Freemasons altogether and in 1813 a Grand Oriente Brasileiro was established, later to have the Emperor as Grand Master. However, in March 1817, a Republican revolt began in Pernambuco, involving Freemasons, which spread to Rio though it was suppressed after some months.

At the same time in Portugal, unrest was also growing. Queen Maria had died in 1816 and Dom João VI continued to show reluctance to return to Europe. Dr. Oliveira Marques writes that the attitude of the Court was “raising Brazil to the status of the Mother-Country”. The English overlordship by Marshall Beresford was oppressive and much resented, whilst the Regency Council was reactionary and opposed to any change. In this situation, during 1817, a conspiracy grew, taking the name Conselho Regenerador, which included many Freemasons, headed by the Grand-Master, Gomes Freire. It was betrayed and some members deported. Amongst 12 executed were General Gomes Freire de Andrade and at least five other Freemasons. It is said that the commander of the castle of S. Julião da Barra, an English Freemason, offered the General the opportunity to escape but was refused. Gomes Freire was later accorded the status of a patriot, but it was a very low point in the history of Freemasonry in Portugal.

A despatch to Dom João declared that “whatever may be the part taken by Freemasons in the recent events, it is indisputable that the existence of secret societies has always been impolitic and dangerous . . . and it is sufficient, seeing that their aims are veiled in secrecy, to create a

reasonable suspicion as to their being lawless and dishonest persons”. By a Proclamation of 30 May 1818, from Rio de Janeiro, the penalties for membership of such societies were once more extreme: death and confiscation of all goods, the latter applying to descendants also, together with exile in a fortress for all in any way involved, whether by use of premises or provision of supplies.

Freemasonry nevertheless continued, coordinated by a Grand-Administrador and a Lodge Segurança Regeneradora. There was in Coimbra a Lodge Sapiência (Knowledge or Learning) and in Elvas another Liberalidade. Other para-masonic organisations existed in Porto, Aveiro, Viseu, and elsewhere. Despite the risks, opposition to the Regency Council continued, encouraged perhaps by popular revolts in Spanish Galicia and Cadiz. From Italy at this time came the name and philosophy of the Carbonária, with some of the appearance of regular Freemasonry but politically active and extreme (members originally were required to possess a firearm).

In January 1818 a small group of Freemasons in Porto, eventually 13 in number, whose leader was the judge Manuel Fernandes Tomás, began plans for a military revolution. They formed a Lodge called Sinédrio and were fortunate to preserve secrecy, extending their preparations through the country. On 24 August 1820, whilst Beresford was in Brazil, revolt broke out in Porto and a month later it spread to Lisbon where the authorities were overwhelmed. Whilst many non-Masonic groups were of course involved, the prime movers had been Freemasons. It is from this point that much Portuguese Freemasonry though certainly not all, took on a military and activist character, strongly influenced by Carbonarism, to achieve social and political objectives.

### **The Return of the King and Civil War**

Dom João VI returned at last in June 1821 (and within a few months Brazil proclaimed its independence from the mother country under his older son, Pedro). A year later Dom João assented to a new Constitution, reformist and liberal, which transferred most absolute powers of the monarchy to a Chamber of Deputies (with almost universal suffrage), and abolished many seigneurial rights and clerical privileges. For Freemasons, João da Cunha Sotto Maior, a member of the Sinédrio, was elected Grand Master, the first since the death of Gomes Freire; and there was a revised Constitution.

However the political situation was far from settled and the new liberal democracy extremely insecure. Grainha writes that “the romantic, idealistic ideas of some of the new deputies, the egoism of some of the dissensions of others, so enfeebled the Government” that it could not resist the assault of those wanting the return of an autocratic monarchy. This determined group, of nobility, clerics, and conservatives, was led by the estranged Queen, Carlota-Joaquina, (“a turbulent creature, sister of the Spanish King, consumed with the desire to rule”) and her younger son, Miguel; and for the following decade and more Portugal was in a state of civil unrest or open civil war. On 5 June 1823, within less than a year, the King was persuaded to sign an edict, suspending the new Constitution, and reinstating “all his autocratic privileges”. Freemasonry was again proscribed (though with the penalty for membership reduced to a minimum of five years banishment in Africa). A year later, as the grip of autocratic power tightened, a requirement was placed on all in authority “to give a written promise, and exact the same from their subordinates, that they would never have any part in the meetings of any secret society”.

Dom João was personally a liberal, whose own initiation as a Freemason is said to have taken place in a Lodge near Rio Janeiro, but he was under extraordinary pressure to reject any concession to liberalism. A proclamation in 1824, allegedly by Miguel, declared: “You see the licence of the Masonic Clubs where they even discuss the destiny of the Monarchy and the Royal family. . . . Long live the King . . . the Roman Catholic Religion . . . his Very Faithful Queen . . . the Royal Family . . . the courageous Portuguese Army . . . the Nation! Death to the perverse and dangerous Freemasons!” One preacher suggested that the blood of Freemasons should flow, as that of the Jews once had. A proclamation of Cardinal Sousa, Archbishop of Lisbon, “so inflamed the minds of the rabble that many people were murdered on the mere suspicion of being Freemasons”. One writer puts the actual number murdered as 17. On the pretext that Freemasons were trying to kill the King, Miguel actually besieged his father’s Palace at Bemposta on 30 August 1824.

Miguel was exiled, but in March 1826 João VI died. His oldest son Pedro, constitutional Emperor of Brazil, accepted appointment as Pedro IV of Portugal also; and a Royal Charter was promulgated creating a two-chamber Parliament with limited suffrage which was to be the law of the land until the end of the monarchy. Pedro then abdicated conditionally in favour of his seven-year-old daughter, Maria da Glória, betrothing her to his brother Miguel who was to be appointed Regent for her minority. This

unusual arrangement had precedents, but on returning from exile, Miguel at first accepted then rejected the proposals, summoned the old Cortes, and proclaimed himself King in May 1828. Of the international community only the United States and Mexico recognised him but he was King de facto for six years.

There then began the War of the Two Brothers, or Miguelite War, the hugely destructive internecine war between the supporters of absolutism largely powered by the Queen-mother until her death in 1830; and those of liberalism.

Whilst Miguel had the ascendancy, thousands of Portuguese left the country, including “practically the whole of Portuguese Freemasonry”. Those who stayed were persecuted, sometimes to death. A Portuguese who became Master of the Lodge *Emigração Regeneratrice* in Paris wrote that “all Masonic meetings were severely repressed. . . . Dom Miguel strengthened his persecution by bringing into the country (beginning in August 1829) a large number of Jesuits from France”, the first in Portugal since Pombal expelled them. An apparition of the Virgin appearing at Carnaxide was taken to endorse their presence. Referring to the Freemasons who died, a recent French writer says that “il y eut plus de six cents victimes, notamment a Lisbonne au cours d’une veritable nuit de la Saint-Barthelemy”.<sup>10</sup> As a whole, the country suffered terribly, economically ruined once more when just beginning to recover from the Napoleonic Wars.

In these sad years, Portuguese Freemasonry continued in England, France, Belgium, and notably on the Azores island of Terceira — which remained loyal to the 1822 Constitution — where there were two Grand Lodges. It was from the Azores in July 1833 that Pedro’s forces invaded Algarve and marched on Lisbon. With the notable victory of his fleet under Charles Napier off Cape St. Vincent and the relief of the long siege of Porto, the Miguelites hold on the country was broken, though not finished until a last battle and the Treaty of Evora-Monte the following May.

### **The Return to Constitutional Monarchy**

Once more Miguel was banished, the Jesuits were expelled and in full measure all religious orders were also suppressed. There was a new Con-

stitutional Charter: a reform of the judiciary and of the bureaucracy. The cities and government were again in the hands of liberals though rural Portugal remained highly conservative. Freemasonry returned to the mainland and the two Grand Lodges transferred from the Azores, under their Grand Masters, José da Silva Carvalho, and the Marquês de Saldanha. In Porto a third Grand Lodge was created with Manoel da Silva Passos (one of a politically powerful family) as Grand Master. These Lodges were superficially similar, all apparently following the French Ritual in their ceremonies, yet with very strong personal and political differences. Indeed “the Lodges became more like political clubs than Masonic Lodges”, Grainha observes, “and, far from diminishing, the divisions grew during the long years of political revolts and civil disorders . . . between 1836 and 1852”.

The preliminary obstacle to unity was the early demise of Pedro, three months after the overthrow of his brother, and the succession of his daughter, Maria, only 15 years old. She lived for 19 more years, her reign constantly disturbed, and was survived by eight of her 11 children. In the first Ministry of her reign, led by the Duke of Palmela, Silva Carvalho was the Minister of Finance, and leading the parliamentary opposition were Saldanha and da Silva Passos. Later the positions were reversed. In the frequent changes of Administration that punctuated the reign, in the struggle to establish differing views of the political and social order, the liberals were themselves divided into progressives and conservatives, many of each group being Freemasons. Personal ambition were often stronger than ideals.

There were revolutions and coups: in 1836, led by da Silva Passos (Septembrists); in 1838, led by Saldanha (Revolt of the Marshals); and in 1842, led by another Grand Master, Costa Cabral (Chartists); and in 1846 there was the rural revolt called Maria da Fonte, from which Saldanha emerged triumphant. For 15 weary years, the country was mis-governed: there were no political parties; when a Minister could no longer command support, the Queen appointed another who formed an Administration from amongst his friends. Until finally in 1852, Saldanha introduced valuable constitutional reforms. At times there were Freemasons who found it prudent to leave the country but as a whole there was no repression: too many in power or opposition, in the professions, in the army, and in commerce, were now Freemasons in one style or another.

## A Call for Unity

Maria was succeeded by her son Pedro V, at the age of 16, to reign for only eight years until 1863, when he died of typhoid; and then by his brother Luis, for a further 18 years to 1881. Despite all the turmoil, somehow political institutions were improved and strengthened, and the economy — so far behind that of most of the rest of Europe — grew.

In 1837 an attempt was made by Knights of the Rose Croix, an Order of Freemasonry relatively outside the political feuding, to harness the resources and influence of Freemasons in the cause of national unity. The Knights made this address to the three Grand Lodges:

“The Knights Rose Croix, regularly meeting together, address themselves with this respectful representation to each one of the three Grand Orients which are recognised . . . more or less by all Lusitanian Freemasonry, and request them, for the honour of the most august of Orders which we profess, and for the salvation of Liberty and of the Nation, to undertake between themselves discussions of such reasonable nature as to promptly bring about the unification and concord of all Lusitanian Masonry, acknowledging it as one single family, one single constitution, and one single Orient.

“They further ask that the essential bases for this unification and concord shall be Truth, Generosity, Justice, and Equality, as being, above all, the virtues of Masonry. And equally . . . that Masonry will assist, by all upright means, the Administrations of the Government which . . . adhere to the Constitution and the Laws of the State: that Masonry will progressively promote the Well-being and Glory of the Nation; and bring Merit and Virtue into the national service. Equally to see that no Citizen shall be discharged from Employment without the cause being properly specified. And to assert that Masonry will deny its support to all Administrations which do not wholly support the government policy outlined above as being the only one compatible with enlightened opinion and with those Masonic virtues which are the essential points of all politics — Security and Benevolence”.<sup>8</sup>

This remarkable attempt to muster the weighty force of Freemasonry in the cause of peace and economic development — with special pleading for particular items of social policy — appears to have had no direct result. The divisions were too wide.

## Expansion and Divisions

By 1845, when Dr. Miguel António Dias reviewed the situation in *Arquitectura Mystica*, the philosophical differences amongst Portuguese Freemasons had further multiplied and he recorded nine so-called Grand Lodges, seven in Lisbon and two in Porto, in the following order:

1. **Orient Carvalhista:** Led by José da Silva Carvalho, who possibly founded it in 1822, this Grand Lodge moved to the Azores in 1828. Returned in 1834, it was suspended in 1836, when Carvalho left Portugal. Three years later though, it was reformed with a new Grand Master elected by the *Rose Croix*, namely Manuel Gonçalves de Miranda.

When José da Silva Carvalho eventually returned, to find another in his place, he separated from the *Orient Carvalhista* and proceeded to install the *Brazilian Scottish Rite* which, Dr. Dias states, had "14 or 15 lodges in the Kingdom and Possessions". (See below).

2. **Orient Foscoa.** This is the Grand Orient of the South, first led by the Marques de Saldanha, who like José da Silva Carvalho, returned to the mainland in 1834. In 1839, the Baron de Vila Nova de Foscoa was elected Grand Master in his place. Eleven Lodges are listed for 1845 under this Orient:

In Lisboa: *Vigilancia*, *Rectidão Amor de Patria*, *Amizade* (Friendship),

*Desterro* (Exile)

In Coimbra: *Audaçia*

In Faro: *Decisão*

In Portalegre: *3 de Julho*

In Elvas: *21 de Junho*

In Goa (India): *Lealdade* (Loyalty, Fidelity)

In Luanda (Angola): *Luz Africana*

3. **Orient Cabral.** Dias says that this Lodge was formed on 16 August 1839, and its second Grand Master was António Bernardo da Costa Cabral, who took office on 6 April 1841. However it appears to have been the original Grand Lodge, the *Grand Oriente Lusitano* (G.O.L.) dating from 1803. By 1845 this Orient had 34 Lodges:

15 in Lisbon: *União*, *24 de Julho*, *Concordia*, *28 de Julho*, *Perse-*

*verança*, *Prudencia*, *Philantrópia*, *Marte* (Mars, God of War) 1st, *Liberdade Legal*, *Marte 2nd*, *Razão* (Reason) *Triunfante*, *Marte 3rd*, *27 de Janeiro*, *Amizade*, *Marte 4th*

4 in Porto: *Constância*, *Restauração*, *Legalidade*, *União Portu-*  
*calence* (Portuguese Union)

7 elsewhere in Portugal

5 in the Azores

3 in Africa

Under Costa Cabral, the Lodge was deeply involved in politics, especially in the events of 1842 and 1849.

4. **Irish or Prussian Orient.** This Lodge was established in Lisbon about 1838 by a Spanish merchant, D. Juan Conejo, who then moved to Gibraltar; and it had three of four Lodges originally warranted by the Grand Lodge of Ireland. Dr. Dias comments, in a tone of faint praise, that "it is said that its Grand Master lives in Dublin and that its receptions are brilliant. Philanthropy seems to be its principal virtue".

5. **Orient Rodrigo.** This Lodge aimed to re-establish the *Templars* in Portugal. Its founder was Rodrigo da Fonseca Megalhaes, who was defeated for the Chair of the *Grande Orient Lusitano* by Costa Cabral. (It is an indication of the nature of Lodges at that time and more recently that elections were contested at all; and that defeated candidates often felt unable to work with the selection of the majority). "As for the progress of his new Temple", wrote Dias, "we have nothing to report".

6. **Orient Feota.** About this Lodge Dr. Dias has strong feelings: "This Order, which is the child of Jesuitism, although using Masonic forms, has objects which are incompatible with good Masonry. The Grand Master of this Order is the Pope and his Lieutenant in Portugal is said to be M. Cappacini. The development of this Order is not only rapid at present but can prove dangerous in the future if the Government and Masonry take no steps to prevent it. Many of our brothers, deluded by appearances, have joined it, without remembering *Latet anguis in herba!*"

7. **Orient Passos.** This was the "Masonry of the north, or of Porto". Manoel da Silva Passos was the Grand Master. There were 16 Lodges:

In Porto: *24 d'Agosto*, *10 de Setembro*, *Esperança* (Hope), *Amizade*, *Amor da Patria*

In Santo Tyrso: Civilisação  
In Boucas: 8 de Julho  
In Gaia: 18 d'Agosto  
In Penafiel: Amizade  
In Braza: Amor da Patria  
In Viana: 18 de Setembro  
In Villa Real: Constança Transmontana  
In Bragança: 11 D'Agosto  
In Lisbon: 5 de Setembro, Firmeza (Strength, Stability)  
In Villa do Conde: Constança

Also there were dormant Lodges in Ponte de Lima, Guarda, Faro, etc., etc.

8. **Orient of Marinho — Carbonárism.** The origins of this Order were, humbly enough, with the charcoal burners of Germany, spreading from around 1800 into France, and especially into Italy where it became strongly politicised. In Portugal the Grand Lodge of the Carbonária was called Alta Venda and for a time there were Lodges (or Barracks) in Porto, Coimbra, and Lisbon — Veriato, Aljubarrota, and Pacheco. To an extent it appears to have fraternised with regular Freemasonry and although it was a little importance in 1845, it became very prominent from the 1890s and during the first years of the Republic.

9. **Orient of Jefferson.** This was a Grand Lodge of the Illuminati Order, also originating in Germany, which by 1845 had simplified its rituals to the three basic Degrees of Symbolic Freemasonry. The Orient was based in Porto and evidently had five daughter Lodges: 24 d'Agosto, Progresso, Estrella do Norte, Independência, Arnosa de Pampelido.

(The word "orient" has a special significance in Masonry as the place of honour. It has been adopted by many ruling Lodges in their titles, but especially by those in Southern Europe and South America which have followed the main French tradition. However this is not invariable and there are Grand Orients, — for example those of Italy and Brazil, — which are in communion with the United Grand Lodge of England. Frequently Grand Orients, unlike Grand Lodges, exercise jurisdiction over the higher degrees in Freemasonry and not only over the Symbolic Degrees of Entered Apprentice, Fellowcraftsman, and Master Mason; in Portuguese; aprendiz, companheiro, e mestre).

Concluding his *Fragmento Historico da Maçonaria em Portugal*, Dr. Dias makes a plea to all patriots for the unification of Portuguese Freemasonry (naturally excluding Feota). "It should be remembered that the diversity of Rites, and the multiplicity of Masonic authorities in countries more civilised than our own, have proved the greatest obstacle to Masonry achieving its noble ideals — which the world so badly needs and principally Europe". He gave as the examples to follow that of Germany "where the Grand Lodges of Frankfurt and Wetzlar were united in 1783"; and that of England where, similarly, the two Grand Lodges came together in the United Grand Lodge of England in 1813.<sup>8</sup>

Gould describes one important development in 1843 when a Provincial Supreme Council of the 33rd Degree, the Highest Degree in Freemasonry was formed under the Grand Orient of Brazil, practising the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite. This Supreme Council, as it should properly be called, was listed in a Bulletin of 1908 from the International Office for Masonic Intercourse: that it descended "from the Supreme Council of Brazil in 1829, the Supreme Council of Belgium in 1817, the Supreme Council of France in 1804, and the Supreme Council of the Southern Jurisdiction of the United States in 1801. It was later represented at the Congress of Lausanne in 1875 and at the Conference of Brussels in 1907."

#### **Unification of Portuguese Freemasonry**

There is a shorter and different listing of Grand Lodges for 1848, by Gould, but either he had incorrect information or — not surprisingly — he was confused by the frequent changes that took place as leading Freemasons used Lodges as bases of personal power. Grainha (in 1913) prefaces his account of the principal manoeuvres as follows: "It is very difficult and perhaps even impossible to give an exact, complete history of all these Orients. This is not only because of a lack of documents, and contemporary histories are too concise and sometimes contradictory; but also because of the frequent break-ups within Orients and the movement of Freemasons from one Lodge to another". This of course reflects closely the shifts of Portuguese politics. It was ultimately not until 1869 before divisions were brought to an end and Portuguese Freemasonry was again united. In the meantime, those who hoped "to bring back Portuguese Freemasonry into its proper field of activity, to raise the social conscience and spirit with tolerance of political parties and religious beliefs" were in a powerful minority.

The Grande Oriente Lusitano (G.O.L.) continued to be ruled by Costa Cabral until 1849, when he was discredited in the Maria da Fonte uprising and left the country. After a rowdy meeting on 16 July, the G.O.L. divided. One group formed the Grande Oriente de Portugal (G.O.P.) under the Viscount de Oliveira; the other formed the Grande Loge de Portugal (G.L.P.) under Francisco Castelo Branco. In 1849 also, the Grand Lodges of the South and North, of Saldanha and of Passos, united in the Confederação Maçonica (C.M.).

This was not the end however. Ten years later in 1859 a group of the G.O.P. in disagreement with Oliveira's successor reformed the G.O.L. under the Count de Paraty. In 1867 the G.O.P. and G.L.P. united with the C.M. and all submerged their separate identities under José da Silva Mendes Leal as Grand Master of an enlarged G.O.P. At the end of the decade on 30 October 1869 all the major groups at last came together to form the Grande Oriente Lusitano Unido (G.O.L.U.) under the Count de Paraty. This ruling Lodge has continued to the present day, clandestinely during the Dictatorships of the twentieth century.

There were other schisms to come but Findell, writing in 1871, commented that "the present position in Portugal is very satisfactory, both on account of the rapid increase in the number of initiations, and of the stamp of men who thus gain admission to the Craft. The Lodges have hitherto been restricted to the principal cities, with a view to the consolidation of the Fraternity".<sup>6</sup>

At the time of the union the G.O.L. had 15 Lodges, 6 each in Lisbon and Porto, 2 in Spain at Seville and Cadiz, and 1 at Angra do Heroísmo, Fayal. Quoting from the Freemasons' Magazine of 1869 (No. 513), Findell recorded that "the Grand Orient recognises the three Symbolic Degrees and four higher degrees, Elect, Scotch Master, Knight of the East, and Rose-Croix".

In 1872 four Irish Lodges combined into one Lodge, Regeneração Irlandeza, were also admitted to the G.O.L.U. For ten or 11 years after that, there seems to have been harmony and unity. In June 1880 at the tercentenary of the poet Camões, it is reported that the flag of the G.O.L.U. appeared for the first time in public.

However in 1882, or '83, 13 Lodges apparently left the G.O.L.U. to

form an entirely separate Grand Lodge of Ancient Free and Accepted Masons — a coalition which evidently did not last. There were other minor divisions: in 1892 a new Grande Loja de Portugal was formed by the breakaway of two Lodges, Regeneração Irlandeza and Obreiros do Trabalho; and in 1897, confusingly, some Masons are said to have re-established the Grande Oriente de Portugal. These disagreements however did not shake the ascendancy of the G.O.L.U. as "l'organisme authentique et representatif de la Maçonnerie portugaise . . . jusqu'a son interdiction par le Gouvernement en (May 1935)".<sup>10</sup>

From 1883 there is a printed copy of the Royal Arch ritual in Portuguese and English, so that ritual may have been in use then.

### **International recognition**

Fraternal recognition by treaty was accorded the Grande Oriente Lusitano, and then the G.O.L.U., by the Masonic powers of many countries and States, from 1863 onwards. The roll-call (which may not be accurate in its entirety) is interesting in its own right as showing the extraordinary penetration by this time of Freemasonry throughout much of the world. The dates are listed in Bulletin 16 of the International Office for Masonic Intercourse 1908.<sup>11</sup>

First, recognition came from the Grand Orient of France in 1863. Then is the following order from the Grand Lodges or Orients of: Ireland, Italy, Argentine, Uruguay, and Saxony in 1864; Luxembourg, Hamburg, Brazil, the Low Countries, and Darmstadt in 1865; Belgium in 1866; Chile, Charleston, New York, Venezuela, Canada, Massachusetts, Mexico, San Domingo, and Louisiana in 1867; Egypt and two Prussian Grand Lodges in 1868.

With the formation in 1869 of the Grande Oriente Lusitano Unido, recognition continued: Tennessee in 1869; England (Supreme Council for England and Wales and the United Grand Lodge), Frankfurt, Norway and Sweden, and Alabama in 1871; Brazil, Spain, Germany, Switzerland in 1872. The listing concludes with "etc., etc.", and there was later treaties of especial importance with France, Spain, Italy, and Brazil.

### **Spanish and Portuguese Freemasonry**

Freemasonry in Spain in its beginnings, progress, and vicissitudes,

parallels that of Portugal but remained largely separate.<sup>15</sup> In 1868, or shortly after, as a consequence of the Spanish Revolution, however, a number of Spanish Lodges lacking a suitable ruling Lodge sought acceptance by the Grand Oriente Lusitano Unido; and it is reported that in 1870 there were 24 Spanish Lodges under its aegis.

There was a Treaty of mutual recognition between the G.O.L.U. and the Grande Oriente de España on 30 October 1871, following which some 16 of the Spanish transferred back their allegiance. Nevertheless by 1878, of 111 Masonic bodies under the aegis of G.O.L.U., the remarkable number of 66 were said to be Spanish. Problems arose, mainly because of changes to the Constitution of G.O.L.U. which were unacceptable to the Spanish to the Spanish Lodges, and by 1887 only eight Spanish Lodges remained, and by 1897 only one.

However there were other movements across the frontier: in 1879 G.O.L.U. founded in Madrid a Provincial Chapter to which some of the Spanish Lodges adhered. And at the same time, Lodges under one or other of the Spanish Constitutions — Grande Oriente de España and Gran Oriente Nacional de España — were started in Portugal: by 1883 there were at least 17.

### **The End of the Monarchy**

The last decades of the nineteenth century brought serious humiliation to Portugal as Germany, Belgium, and France proceeded rough-shod with imperial expansion in Africa, ignoring Portuguese historical claims. England's policy was ambivalent, ultimately failing to support Portugal, and regarded as a betrayal of its oldest ally, with consequences reaching to the end of the twentieth century. As Livermore writes, "the assumption that the Anglo-Portuguese Alliance was a guarantee of security was shaken, and the younger intellectuals sought solace in new theories of society proceeding from France and Germany. . . ." For Freemasons and all liberals there were other provocations as it became known that the Catholic Religious Orders had long been re-establishing positions in private schools and hospitals.

The economic situation worsened, Governments of Progressists or Regenerators rose and fell, and with the new century the Republican Party grew stronger. On 1 February 1908, Carlos I, King for nineteen troubled years, was assassinated in Lisbon, together with his elder son. It was

known that members of a Carbonária Lodge were responsible. Two and a half years later, the younger son, Manuel II, was forcibly deposed and left Portugal for good (to settle in Twickenham, England, where he died in 1932).

The majority of Freemasons in the country, perhaps numbering around 2,000, were not involved in these events. However, the Carbonária was very active within the Republican party from about 1895. The leading figures in this were Luz de Almeida and Machado Santos, and it formed revolutionary cells in the navy (which supported the decisive revolt in 1910) and amongst journalists and students.

In the words of Dr. António Augusto Martins: "The Carbonária is an institution of a revolutionary character and Masonry is not. The Carbonária was instituted to create the Republic . . . and consequently all its members were decisively and avowedly Republicans. Otherwise Freemasonry (prior to 1896) was composed in great part . . . of Monarchists, though this is not to say that there were not republican Masons and even Lodges completely republican . . . but Masonry professes principles of tolerance, and tends to follow political and religious paths of the centre, provided that these harmonise with the general principles that it defends and publicly commends".<sup>12</sup>

But the prevailing wind was changing for good, and the short reign of Manuel II was long enough to persuade even the most ardent monarchist that Portugal would be setting her sails to a new course. The G.O.L.U. was not directly involved in the Revolution of 5 October 1910, but there were many Freemasons who were generally in favour. Indeed in July 1910, perhaps because of concern about the position of Freemasonry, the Lodge Montanha convened a general assembly which "carried a proposition for the establishment of a commission with sovereign powers to watch over the integrity of the Order."

### **The Beginnings of the Republic**

During the next 16 years of Republican Government until 1926 the political instability was astonishing: "continual anarchy, government corruption, rioting and pillage, assassinations, arbitrary imprisonment, and religious persecution".<sup>13</sup> A contemporary writer calculated that during these years there were "9 presidents, 44 ministeries, 25 uprisings, 3 dictatorships, and in 1920-25 alone more than 325 bomb incidents".<sup>14</sup> Of