

**PORTUGUESE
POLITICAL
PRISONERS.**

**A BRITISH
NATIONAL
PROTEST.**



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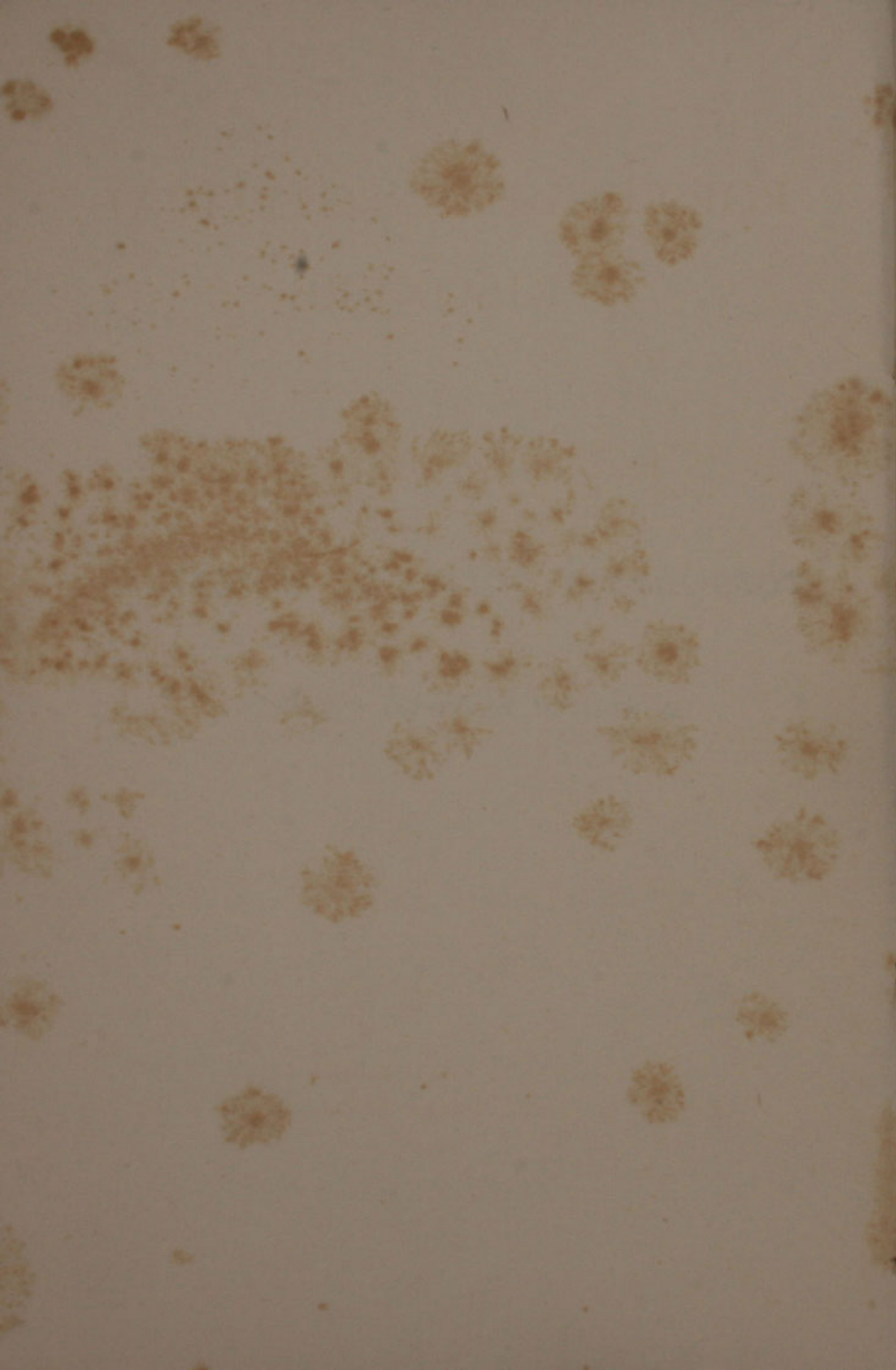
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Ernest Horn



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PRISONERS

A BRITISH NATIONAL PROTEST,

WITH FOREWORD

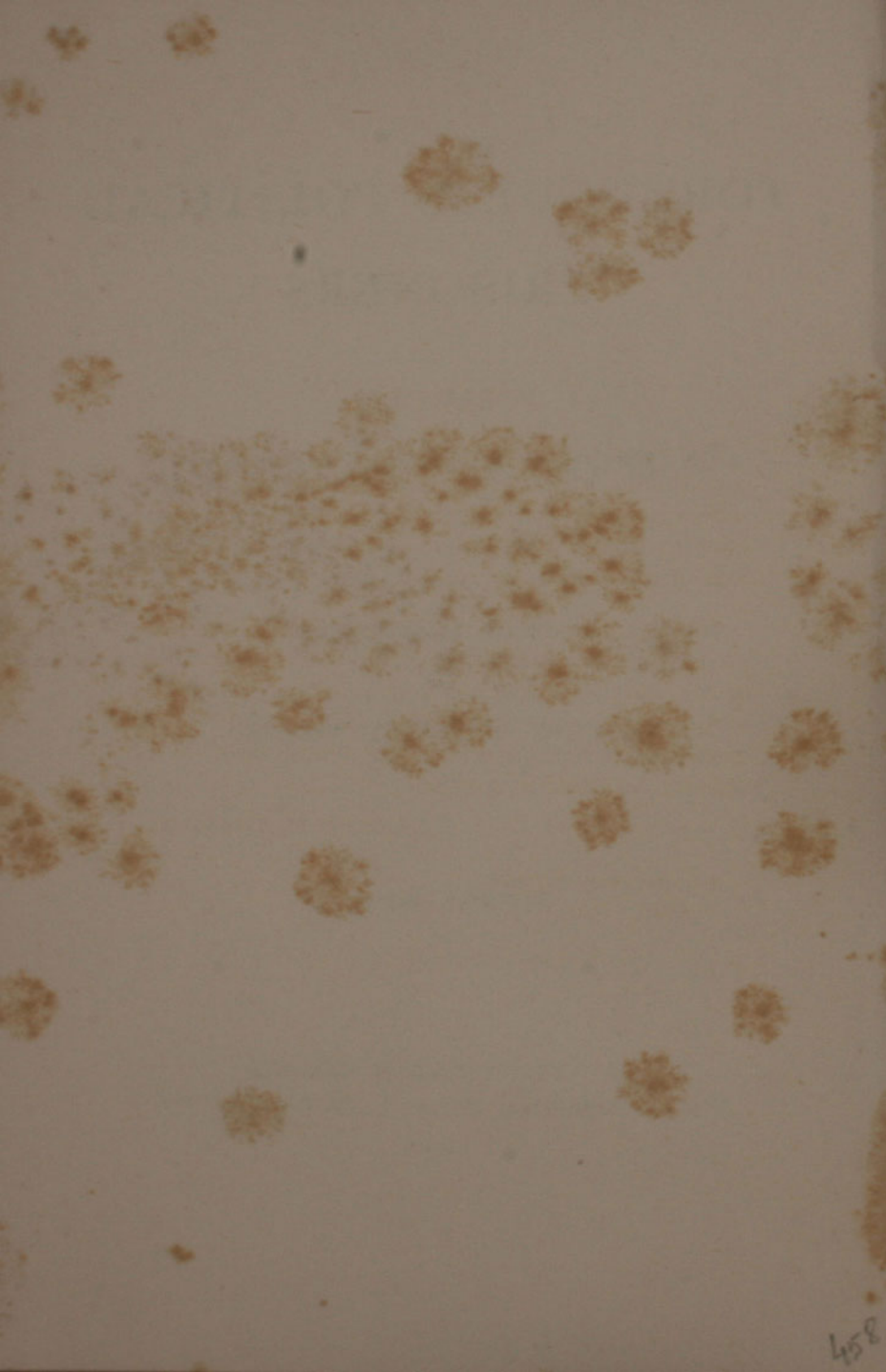
BY

ADELINE DUCHESS OF BEDFORD.

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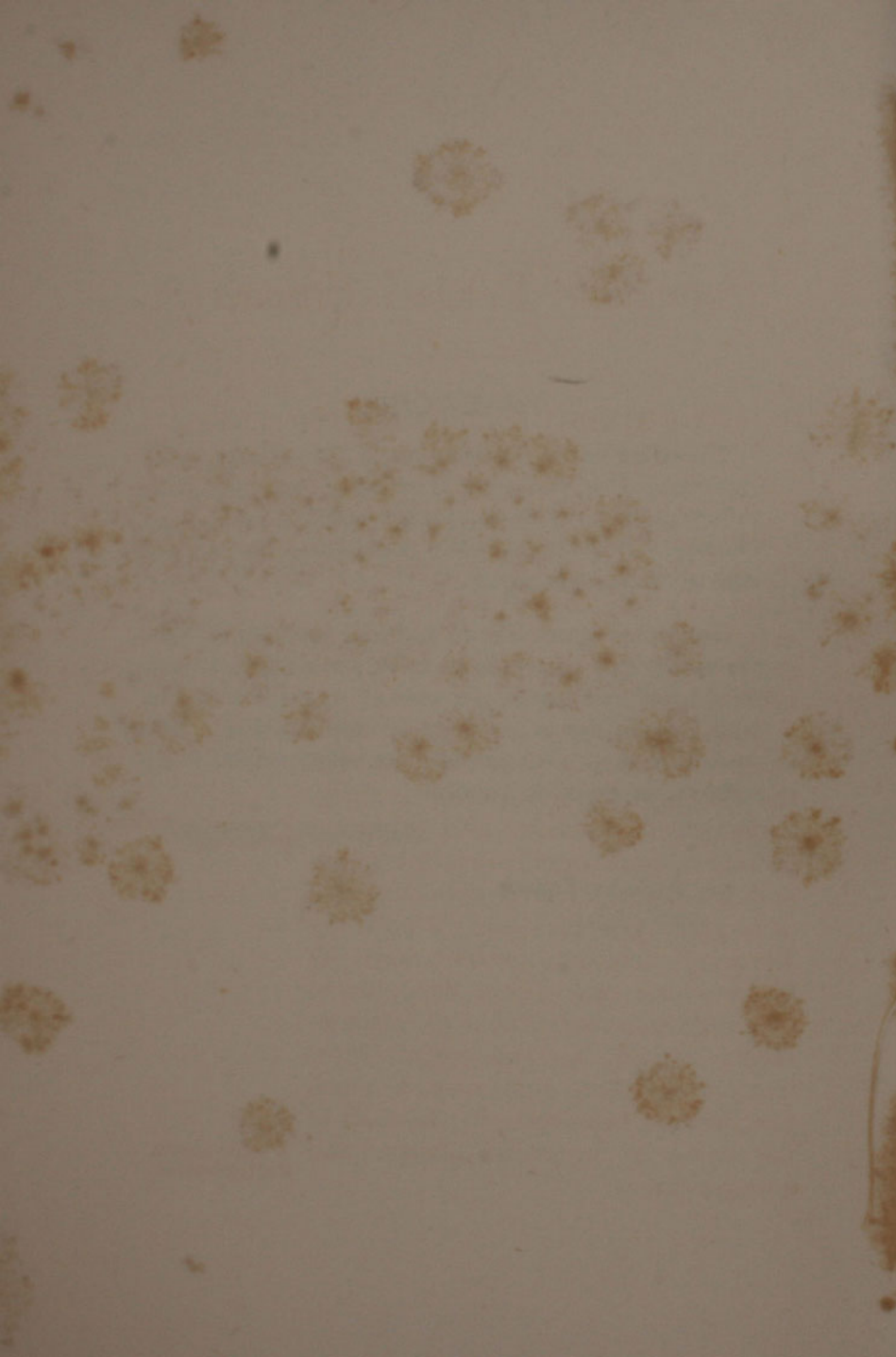
FOREWORD.

The writer of the following pages has had exceptional opportunities of collecting information concerning the sufferings of the political prisoners and the cynical and inhuman lack of justice which characterizes the proceedings of the present régime.

During my recent visit to Lisbon I was able to learn the opinions of many people in very varying conditions of life, and their testimonies were all entirely in harmony with the standpoint set forth in this pamphlet. The cases here cited rest upon evidence which cannot, in my opinion, be called in question.

ADELINE M. BEDFORD.

51, Berkeley Square.
April, 1913.



Portuguese Political Prisoners.

A BRITISH NATIONAL PROTEST.

When, on February the 16th, 1913, a demonstration was held in Lisbon to do honour to the murderers of King Carlos, the official eulogy described these men as destined to renown as "true heroes, worthy sons of Portugal."

Murderers Officially Eulogised as National Heroes.

Such words serve to bring home to us the melancholy difference between the Portugal of the sixteenth century,—the great colonising and exploring power, famous for chivalry, for valour and for daring, feared and honoured throughout Europe,—and the unhappy Portugal of to-day, ground down by tyranny and oppression, depopulated by emigration, bereft alike of freedom, credit, honour, law and order. Most ironical it seems that such a retrogression has been brought about all in the name of progress, liberty, and enlightenment.

Portugal's Bygone Greatness.

A Lamentable Retrogression.

**Chivalrous
Heroes of the Past.**

**Great Men of
Action.**

A Noble Death.

The extravagant speech of the Minister of the Interior in praise of the assassins of King Carlos and the young Crown Prince, has shown how different is the rôle of national hero now to what it was when Portugal was numbered among the powers of the world. The Portugal of old was rich in heroes:—Duarte d'Almeida, who, in a terrific battle, saved his country's standard, holding it in his teeth when both his hands had been cut off; Vasco da Gama, the Admiral whose explorations have immortalised his name; Francisco d'Almeida, first Governor of Portuguese India, soldier, legislator, and gallant nobleman, who cared so little for mere personal gain that when his officers and men were loaded with spoil after a splendid victory he would keep nothing for himself except one arrow in commemoration of the fight; his son, Dom Lourenço d'Almeida, who, while yet a boy in years, was famous as a man of action, and who died as bravely as he lived. Severely wounded in a sea-fight with the Indians, he sat on deck in a chair, inspiring his men, until a second shot struck him in the breast, and he fell dead.

These were the heroes of Portugal

in the days of Portugal's renown; but now—if the Minister of the Interior is to be credited—the national heroes are those fanatics who conceived and carried out one of the most brutal murders which the twentieth century yet has seen.

**A Melancholy
Contrast.**

It would, however, be unjust to assume that Portugal, as a nation, upholds the verdict of the Minister of the Interior; equally unjust to suppose that Portuguese public opinion applauds or defends the systematic cruelty to political prisoners which has disgraced the Revolution and Republic. This cruelty and persecution, it may safely be asserted, is popular with no one except the Ministry, the mob, and—most of all—the 32,000 Carbonarios, who, as they draw a handsome wage for denouncing to the State supposed "conspirators," are naturally much enamoured of a system which gives good financial profit in exchange for small exertions. In vain have moderate Republicans protested that the "conspirators" are in the vast majority of cases absolutely innocent; in vain has it been pointed out that numbers of these men have been in prison nearly two years without trial, that those who have been

**Republic Disgraced
by Cruelty.**

**The Carbonaria, a
Secret Society, in
Government Pay.**

**Many Royalists in
Prison nearly Two
Years without
Trial.**

Irregular Trials
by Military
Tribunal.

brought to trial have—with few exceptions—been condemned on the most inconclusive and fragmentary evidence, and condemned, not by the civil courts, but by a specially created military tribunal. In vain has it been declared repeatedly that the way in which the untried Royalist prisoners are herded together in insanitary conditions, forced to pay for their own food, and subjected to every sort of insult and indignity, is an outrage upon civilisation.

Outrages Continue
Daily.

In spite of these and similar protests from Republicans ashamed of the Republic, the outrages continue daily. The prisons are still overflowing; the victims, if tried at all, are tried by courts martial, a fact which only would be comprehensible if the country were at war and under military law. Under the new era "of broad ideas and infinite goodness," it is a lamentable truth that order, freedom and humanity exist now only in memory and name.

At first such conditions seemed incredible to the British mind, and English public opinion was silent because completely sceptical. Gradually, however, it became clear that the rumoured cases of barbarous

cruelty and oppression were only too authentic; and much sympathy was felt for the two thousand helpless victims of political persecution. The martyrs were — and are — of all classes:—aristocrats, landowners, military officers, advocates, priests, private soldiers, small tradesfolk, artisans, and peasants, united in a common brotherhood of misery.

Two Thousand Victims.

Martyrs of all Classes.

Of all the prisons—each one an abode of horror—the worst was (and is) the Limoeiro. In March, 1912, the newspaper *Aveirense* protested against the filthy state of the infirmary, which was crawling with vermin of every kind, and so unsanitary that a healthy man would have become ill in it. The type of medical attendance may be estimated from the fact that the same bandages were used successively for several invalids, and the infectious and other cases were herded indiscriminately together.

**Infirmary
Crawling with
Vermin.**

On April 15th, 1912, the *Dia* published the following letter from the Rev. Avelino de Figueiredo. In reading it we must remember that the kind of miseries described were not exceptional, but of most lamentably frequent happening:—

**Typical Case of
Cruelty.**

“Although Senhor Sanches de Miranda

(Governor of the Limociro) wrote in the *Capital* that prisoners could not be kept more than a fortnight in the secret cells, I declare that I was in one of the worst of these for more than this permitted time. I had no bench to sit upon, no fork to eat with, no mattress on which to sleep, and all day I sat on the cold, damp stone floor. If I was thirsty, having no glass I was obliged to drink from the hollow of my hands, while the water from the tap poured down upon the floor. The cell was so dark that the warders lighted matches in order to see me. I had hardly sufficient space to breathe. For eleven days I was given nothing but water and sour bread, and being ill, I asked to see a doctor. According to the rules of the prison he ought to have come at once, but the authorities did not send him. . . . After a while, a member of the Government visited the prisons and ordered medical attention for me. The doctor then declared to the Governor that he would not be answerable for my life unless I was removed from the secret cell within twelve hours. However, I was left there five days longer. The Minister had ordered that I should be given food immediately, but it was not brought until the following day at two in the afternoon. As it was so dark I could not see to eat. I asked for a candle, and on this being given to me I saw that I was covered with vermin.

**Secret Cell Pitch
Dark all Day.**

"My bed was an old board, full of holes, and those holes infested with insects; dozens of mice ran over me every night. For three days the sink was stopped, and the atmosphere became sickening beyond the power of words to describe. . . . On the fourth day after the Minister's visit a charitable warder

brought me a loaf and a sausage, for which act of humanity he was suspended, and the Director told him that if I died it would be no great loss. . . . Another suggested I should be poisoned.

**Warder Suspended
as Punishment for
Act of Humanity.**

"In one of the other secret cells Antonio Jorge was bruised all over, and had a bone disjointed by the cruel way he had been whipped. His thumbs, as well as those of José Loureiro, were maimed by handcuffs."

The Minister who had visited the Limoeiro at this date did not attempt to palliate the existing conditions; on the contrary, he wrote to the Republican paper *O Seculo*, and indicated—though he did not describe—the sufferings of the victims:—"I should be ashamed," he declared, "to tell anyone what came under my observation at the Limoeiro. Better not to relate what I beheld, nor what I guessed. It suffices to say that I called the prison doctor and told him he had the right of visiting the secret cells."

**Ministerial
Comment.**

The horrors of the secret cell have been repeatedly exposed. On April 18th, 1912, the *Districto de Vianna*, quoting the *Novidades*, cited the case of the political prisoner Metzener, who was kept in a secret cell for over six weeks "after a small altercation with the ex-chief Flores about his moral reputation."

**Over Six Weeks in
a Secret Cell.**

Handcuffed even at
Night.

The prisoner was handcuffed for five days, with his hands behind his back, and only for his wretched meals were these handcuffs removed; even at night he slept in them. A board was given him for a bed, but it was always withdrawn by day, when he was obliged to sit on the filthy cement floor crawling with vermin and soaking in damp. Another victim, Antonio Maria, was kept five days in a punishment cell. He was handcuffed and so brutally whipped that his body was covered with wounds, and his health has never recovered from the shock.

Prisoners Die
after being
Whipped.

Three other men died in the infirmary in consequence of somewhat similar treatment, it having been customary to beat and injure those who had the strength of mind to deny the false charges brought against them.

These individual cases did not penetrate to the British public at the time; but when some idea of the atrocities reached English readers through the *Morning Post*, the public, though greatly scandalised, assumed that in the twentieth century such flagrant defiance of justice could scarcely be of long duration—especially as no less a personage than the then Premier and Minister of the Interior, Senhor João

Chagas, had publicly deplored the atrocities in question. Moreover, the Republican lawyer, Dr. José Aruella, had denounced the existing hardships as "truly shameful," and Senhor Chagas had pointed out in Parliament that at least a third of the so-called Monarchist conspirators were probably quite innocent.

**Protest of
Republican
Lawyer, a third
of the Prisoners
Innocent.**

The fact most surprising to Englishmen was that a large proportion of the prisoners were those whom English law would in any case have treated as *not guilty*, inasmuch as they had not been brought to trial; but it was felt that even had they been tried, and proofs of conspiracy produced against them, the hardships and indignities of their imprisonment would none the less have been in flagrant opposition to the most elementary principles of decency, humanity, and justice.

**A Defiance of
Justice.**

The generality of English newspapers, however, allowing for the difficulties of a newly established Government, refrained from outbursts of disgust, preferring to give our ancient ally, Portugal, a little time in which to bring about the necessary abolition of abuses.

That such redress of grievances should come to pass within a reason-

Protest of some
Courageous Repub-
lican Papers.

able time, was the more to be expected inasmuch as the editors of several leading Republican papers were bold enough to publish details of some of the most flagrant cases. The *Intransigente*, *Diario do Porto*, *O Dia*, *O Aveirense*, *A Nação*, and several others, made spirited protests, thus running the risk of having their offices raided and wrecked by the mob, and thus also defying the Carbonaria—that secret society of desperadoes whose character may be gauged from their initiatory oath to massacre by bomb, poison, or dagger, such enemies of the Republic as their leaders may mark down for death.

Three Alternative
Methods of
Assassination.

Those of the Portuguese newspaper editors patriotic enough to consider humanity before self-interest, hoped that their exposure of existing lawlessness, brutality, and barbarous cruelty in the prisons, would induce the Government to show some sign of justice, even if not of mercy. But the Government—though lauded (as we have shown) by one of its admirers as a régime of high ideas and “infinite goodness”—a government, moreover, professedly popular and representative—remained as obstinately deaf to criticism as any autocracy in the

Government Deaf
to Appeal.

Middle Ages. Arrests and imprisonments continued; even the humblest peasants or artisans—women as well as men—were not secure against the dreaded accusation of conspiring to restore the King. To have offended one individual member of the Carbonaria was quite sufficient ground for savage denunciation as *an enemy of the Republic*; and in such conditions it may be wondered what civilised man could reasonably be the *friend* of a Republic which for over two years has perpetuated oppression and injustice, such as no country would endure for one single week were it inflicted under monarchical rule instead of in the sacred name of freedom.

Tyranny of the
Carbonaria.

The British public did not criticise the Revolution; but the results of the Revolution have been, and will continue to be, most adversely criticised.

One of the most notorious instances of barbaric violence was exposed by the well-known lawyer, Senhor Antonio Horta Osorio, in the *Dia* of April 9th, 1912. The case is so typical of the methods then in vogue—and still practised, though now with greater secrecy—that it may be quoted in full:—

Barbaric Violence.

“Antonio Ribas, after being captured [as a suspected Royalist], was taken to the

**Antonio Ribas, an
Innocent Victim of
Tyranny.**

Governo Civil [the house of the Chief Civil authority of the town], and there was kept isolated and unable to communicate with anyone. This is against the law, but we are now habituated to lawlessness!

"One night, after midnight, two policemen awakened him and took him by motor car to Serra do Monsanto (one of the suburbs of Lisbon), and there hustled him into a cave, held revolvers to his head, and threatened him with instant death if he did not confess himself a conspirator.

"The prisoner, replying he had nothing to confess, waited calmly for death. Whereupon his assailants lowered their revolvers and kicked him back into the car."

He was then taken to the Limoeiro, over the doors of which might fittingly be branded: "Abandon hope all ye who enter here."

**Punishment Cell
a Subterranean
Cave.**

Ribas for a few days was kept in one of the ordinary cells, and then, for no apparent reason, was dragged off to the dreaded "punishment cell," described by Senhor Osorio as "a damp subterranean cave, with water oozing through the walls." In this ghastly dungeon the window is so tiny that it is impossible to read at noon. There is no furniture, not even a bed. At nine p.m. a board is thrown in, on which the prisoner sleeps, and this is taken away again before daybreak.

**Four Days
Without Food.**

During four entire days Ribas was left without food. Then they brought

him some kind of beverage which—being famished—he began to drink thirstily; but on swallowing it he felt at once as if he had been set on fire inside. Promptly he poured the remainder of the drink upon the ground; but he had taken enough to make him violently ill, and for three months he was between life and death. He went into prison a strong and healthy man, and now he is a skeleton. “*What did they give him to drink?*” asked Senhor Osorio, a year ago, and the Government has not yet answered the inconvenient question.

After much suffering Ribas was brought to trial, but this benefited him little, as he was tried by a jury composed largely of his personal enemies.

The accusation was that he had endeavoured to “suborn to the Royalist cause a corporal of infantry.”

Ribas denied the charge, and a witness of the interview supported his denial; but the corporal maintained the accusation; and *on the word of this one man* the prisoner was condemned to six years' solitary confinement, to be followed by ten years' penal deportation to West Africa.

This preposterous case attracted the attention of Dona Constança Telles da

Prisoner Poisoned:
One of the
Carbonaria
Alternatives.

**Government
Ignores Question.**

**Ribas Condemned
to Sixteen Years'
Imprisonment on
the word of one
Lying Accuser**

Gama, the champion of the political prisoners of all classes; and at her request Senhor Osorio instituted an enquiry.

The Governor of the prison, Captain França, admitted the foregoing facts, and eventually after much upheaval the President of the Republic commuted the sentence to a year and eight months' criminal imprisonment.

Nothing short of an acquittal could have satisfied public opinion; and even then this tardy reparation would have come too late to restore the health of the unfortunate man, whose constitution has been irretrievably ruined by the brutal treatment he received at the hands of the professed champions of fraternity and liberty.

**Prisoner's Health
Irrevocably
Ruined by Cruel
Treatment.**

On February 9th, 1912, in Parliament the Prime Minister declared that the political prisoners were living "in the very best conditions"; in comment whereof we can only wonder what the worst would be, when the "best conditions" offered by the Government are of a mediæval barbarity.

**Mediæval
Barbarities of so-
called Progressive
Government.**

In the twentieth century it seems astounding that human beings in a European country should have been so ill-treated,—the untried prisoners being herded in underground dungeons,

some of which were partly flooded, and throughout the severe winter were so intensely cold that the physical sufferings of the prisoners must have been atrocious beyond description. Of their mental sufferings there is no need to speak; but the cruelty and tyranny of which they were the victims produced—as persecution nearly always ultimately does produce—a rising on behalf of the oppressed.

Logical Result of Persecution.

The Royalist invasion of Captain Paiva Couceiro and Dom João d'Almeida, in July, 1912, was much more than an enterprise to restore the old monarchical form of Government. It was a moral protest against conditions which no rational man, be he Republican, Socialist, democrat, or aristocrat, could possibly approve.

Royalist Rising of Couceiro and Almeida, July, 1912.

essential point

Owing to the presence in Couceiro's army of Carbonaria spies, the Republic was forewarned and easily able to circumvent the Royalists.

The most distinguished of the prisoners on this occasion was Dom João d'Almeida, the chivalrous descendant of a family whose exploits for many hundred years—from the Crusades down to the Peninsular War—figure brilliantly in the history of Portugal. An uncompromising Roy-

Dom João d'Almeida, his Brilliant Ancestry, a Race of Heroes.

alist, and champion of the old white flag of the "Legitimists," Dom João d'Almeida could only expect condemnation in the event of failure. He accepted his defeat with outward stoicism, and refused to express the least regret for having taken action in what he felt to be a just cause. That he should have been sentenced to imprisonment was in the circumstances inevitable. He was captured sword in hand, and was a declared and open enemy of the Republic. But a humane Government would have condemned so spirited an adversary to an honourable imprisonment, and would have treated him with personal courtesy; instead of which he was subjected to every kind of insult and indignity, and herded with seventy other prisoners for three weeks in the rat-infested hold of the steamer *Cabo Verde*, this, too, in the hottest season of the year. His sentence was six years' solitary confinement in the Penitenciaria, to be followed by ten years' penal deportation to West Africa, and he was treated after the same fashion as criminals of the lowest type.

Prisoners kept
Three Weeks in
Rat-infested Hold
of Small Steamer.

A Heavy Sentence,
Political Prisoner
Treated as a
Common Criminal.

His clothes were replaced by the convict uniform, including the mask-like hood with three small holes for

eyes and mouth; his head and face were shaved, and he was shut into a tiny cell six paces by three and a half, with no light except what came in through a small opening in the ceiling.

The July rising was followed by an orgy of arrests, and it is significant of the total lack of equity or justice characterising the Government that the same sentence was passed *not only upon Dom João d'Almeida, who had taken active part in an incursion, but upon men against whom there were no proofs of being even accessory to the attempt.*

An Orgy of Arrests.

In comment on this fact we quote the Socialist, Manoel José da Silva, who with admirable impartiality has come forward in emphatic protest against the injustice suffered by his political adversaries:—

Socialist Protests Against Injustice and Cruelty to Royalists.

"I can guarantee," he writes, on March 13th, 1913, "that in the North—and I dare assert, in the South also—at the time of the unsuccessful Royalist rising, a great number of people were *imprisoned on no evidence except the denunciation of personal enemies.*

"For months they have been in prison, severed from their families and their daily work. Moreover, as a punishment for their opinions, they were subjected to the most outrageous insults on the way to gaol; attacked and beaten, and tormented when they had no means of defending themselves."

The New "Liberty
and Fraternity."

Another informant relates that on one of the occasions when the prison van was stormed by the Lisbon mob, and the Royalist occupants dragged out and brutally attacked with knives and whips, a prisoner exclaimed, "Do not beat *me*, I am not a Royalist, but a *thief!*" Whereon the mob welcomed him as a brother.

So much for law and order under "the new era of liberty and work" and "infinite goodness!"

This era of virtue and liberty is, in fact, a reign of terror; and if complaints in Portugal have been less frequent latterly, it is not because cruelty and oppression have diminished, but because—with few exceptions—the Republican protestors have joined their Royalist countrymen in prison.

Suppression of
Free Speech under
the Rule of
"Liberty."

There being now an almost complete suppression of free writing and free speech the following description of affairs is cited—not from moderate Republican journals as hitherto—but from a private source of information:—

October, 1912—
"State of
Prisoners worse
than ever."

"The state of the prisoners is worse than ever," relates our correspondent, in a letter dated Lisbon, October 24th, 1912, "for, instead of being spread about in various prisons, as they were last winter, they are all—the remains of the old lot and all the new

—bundled into the Limoeiro, in small garrets under the roof, where they have grilled all summer. As long as the severe weather lasted—and it was very bad last winter—the prisoners were kept in underground fortresses or in Trafraria, the latter a new and fairly well-built prison, but cold and damp in winter. But as soon as the weather began to get warm, all the prisoners were crammed into the Limoeiro to be half roasted under the roof.”

Not only are many of them detained without indictment or trial, but those so circumstanced are bound to pay for their ghastly lodging, and, as the Government provides no food except to such as have been actually condemned, those awaiting trial are obliged to buy every mouthful that they swallow to keep themselves alive. Many are of the poorest class; some have been there as long as a year and seven months awaiting trial,

“men who are quite innocent, but have had no chance of proving their innocence. You can imagine the sad state of their families. I have had a woman here to-day whose husband—a policeman—has been in the Limoeiro for nineteen months, never even getting out into a courtyard for exercise. His wife has two children, one born since the husband has been imprisoned. Another man I know has been the same time (in prison), and has become consumptive. While in a damp cell at Trafraria last January, he almost died, and was given the last Sacraments. However, after much care and trouble, he got a

Many Victims are of the Poorest Class; a Year and Seven Months in Prison Without Trial.

little better, and we got him into the Rego Hospital, where he was tended.

"Last May he was brought back to the Limoeiro, ostensibly to be tried. *He is still there, and is still awaiting trial.* As he is not isolated, but herded with others, and fed on any scraps which are given him, you can understand not only what his health is like, but how he is spreading the disease.

"Perhaps you will remember Father Henriques, a priest from Madeira, a good, holy man, who was imprisoned for six months on a false charge. I knew him at Trafraria, where he was very kind to the poor consumptive man."

The British Minister took an interest in the case of Father Henriques, and by visiting him in prison, and speaking personally of him to certain members of the Government, secured his trial and acquittal. But the release came too late, for the priest, after being set at liberty died of tuberculosis which he had contracted during his imprisonment; and his old father died the same day from grief and shock.

"I do not believe that any Portuguese lady visits the prisons now . . . the Government has made it impossible. The two most energetic—who were angels to the prisoners—Dona Constança Telles da Gama and Madama de Brito—have both been imprisoned for some months in the women's criminal prison. They have not been tried, for no charge of conspiracy can be proved against them, but they are kept in prison, so that they cannot visit the other prisons, or

**The British
Minister Inter-
venes.**

**Lady
Philanthropists
Imprisoned.**

know or declare the horrors perpetrated therein.

"Believe me, if things were bad last year they are ten times worse now, for the Government has become more savage and ruthless. The few prisoners who have been tried lately—men of good position—have been sentenced to eight years' cellular confinement, and ten or twenty of deportation to West Africa, although nothing was proved against them, as even the Republican papers stated, in reporting the trials. They will not be treated as political prisoners either, but as criminals of the second class. One of these is Count Ficalho, the son of Countess Ficalho who used to be untiring in visiting the prisoners, and in feeding and clothing them. She had to escape from the country, as she was warned that she was to be imprisoned.

**Men Sentenced to
Twenty Years'
Imprisonment
Without any
Proofs of Guilt.**

"Now the heat is over and the cold weather has started, the authorities suddenly find the Limoeiro overcrowded, and have sent 114 political prisoners to the fortress of Monte Santo, where they will be underground in the damp and cold all winter. . . . Help, indeed, is very urgent."

To the average English man or woman such a description reads more like an extract from the Historical Manuscripts Commission, dealing with the events of many hundred years ago, than like a modern letter treating of conditions now existent. The letter in question, circulated privately, roused first amazement and then vigorous indignation. That the name of the

Ex-Minister for Foreign Affairs Six Weeks in Prison for Criticising the Government in a Private Letter.

writer is not here cited will seem the less surprising when it is remembered that to censure the Republic is to invite persecution. In 1912, Senhor José d'Azevedo Castello-Branco (last Minister for Foreign Affairs under the Monarchy) was arrested and imprisoned merely because he sent registered letters to friends in Brazil criticising the Portuguese Government. His letters were opened—in defiance of the law which guarantees the privacy of personal correspondence—and the writer spent over six weeks in prison before he was ultimately released as innocent of "conspiracy."

British Public Opinion Demands General Amnesty for all the Royalist Prisoners.

In the *Spectator* of February 8th there appeared a letter voicing British indignation, and stating that public opinion in England demanded a general amnesty for all the Royalist prisoners. Some six days later the prisons in Lisbon were inspected by the Minister of War and the Minister of Justice (so-called), and these officials unblushingly declared the conditions "*comfortable and healthy*," an ironical *façon de parler*, which is equivalent to the "*best conditions*" already cited.

Ministerial Idea of Comfort.

The Portuguese Legation had already issued a Note to the English

Press, stating that prison reform was being effected, and the abolition of the hood was cited as a special proof of clemency.

The English papers, subsequently announcing this abolition, stated that as the prisoners had been visited by the Premier and two other members of the Ministry, and as these officials had declared the Royalists should be treated "with consideration," a further reform of the prison system was to be anticipated.

Visit of Ministers
to the
Penitenciaria,
February, 1913.

It is true that the prisons were visited by three Ministers of State (one of them Dr. Rodrigo Rodrigues, ex-Governor of the prison where Dom João d'Almeida is incarcerated), but the form in which these officials showed "consideration" for their victims was not stated to the British Press.

When Dr. Affonso Costa, Senhor Alvaro de Castro, and Dr. Rodrigo Rodrigues, and their Secretaries, presented themselves at the Penitenciaria, the prisoners were assembled for inspection in the disused chapel—political offenders such as Dom João d'Almeida and Dom Francisco de Mello side by side with the lowest criminals. They were all ordered to remove their hoods at the sound of

Removal of the
Hood, alike from
Royalists and
Criminals.

Doctor Rodrigues' whistle; and the Doctor then made an oration, commending the amiability of the Republic, and advising the prisoners to repent their crimes and cultivate a fitting gratitude to their magnanimous rulers.

This outburst of eloquence was greeted with applause from murderers and thieves; but it was scarcely the species of "consideration" which could atone to the unhappy Royalists for their sentences of six years' solitary confinement, to be followed by ten years of penal deportation. To demand "gratitude" in such conditions is grotesque.

Mr. Aubrey Bell's Protest; the so-called Reforms a Mockery.

In the *Spectator* for March 8th there appeared a spirited letter from Mr. Aubrey F. G. Bell (correspondent for the *Morning Post*), dated from Lisbon on the 23rd of February:—

"Except for the fact that the convicts in the Penitenciaría—criminals and Royalists alike—now no longer wear the hood, which, by all the laws of civilisation, should never have been inflicted upon political prisoners, the miserable situation of the Royalist prisoners remains unchanged. Moreover, those benefiting by the reforms do not include the hundreds of Royalists who are not confined in cells, but crowded with every kind of criminal in the Limoeiro and other prisons. These prisons have not been

shown to certain British journalists now in Portugal. They have, indeed, seen the *Penitenciaria*—a carefully prepared visit, after which it was stated in the official press that 'their impressions could not have been more favourable.' Yet, even were this statement true, it would not alter the fact that political prisoners ought not to have been condemned to a prison system hitherto reserved for criminals. The remainder of the arrested Royalists are kept for six months, a year, two years, without a trial. . . . When, last August, a British subject was arrested upon vague accusations (to which the majority of arrests are due), the case collapsed in four days, owing to the intervention of the British Minister, Sir Arthur Hardinge. The two accusers were shown to be men of utterly worthless character—one of them actually in prison at the time for theft—and they completely failed to substantiate their charges. The case threw a vivid light on the methods and (mock) justice of the arrests.

Long Imprisonments Without Trial.

British Minister Intervenes to Secure Release of British Subject Arrested on a False Charge.

"Another lady, Dona Constança Telles da Gama, daughter of the Count of Cascaes, and a descendant of Vasco da Gama, was arrested at about the same time. But she is a Portuguese subject, and she is still in the Aljube fortress awaiting her trial."

Dona Constança Telles da Gama.

A subsequent letter to the *Spectator* from another correspondent on March 22nd, dealt in detail with the case of Dona Constança and of the other philanthropist already mentioned, Dona Julia Maria de Brito e Cunha, a lady of fifty-five years of age, and in poor health.

Dona Julia Maria de Brito e Cunha.

"*The Dia*—a Portuguese paper, representing civilised Republican opinion, as opposed to Carbonaria and mob rule—gave, on February the 20th, the following particulars:—

"Dona Julia de Brito e Cunha, after six months' imprisonment, was taken yesterday in the prison van to the martial tribunal [to be interrogated]. She is of an old family, and well known, personally, for her charity and philanthropy. She was charged with having collected the material for the establishment of an ambulance, in case of riots which had been anticipated and foretold by the newspapers. Amongst the letters used in evidence against her, there was one addressed to the Red Cross Society, of which she is a member. She asserted that her ambulance would not have confined its services to any one political party.

"On being requested to state who were the persons who had helped her, she declined to give their names, saying that, as she, for a mere act of humanity, had been cast into prison for six months, she did not wish anyone else to suffer the same penalty, and so she preferred to take the whole responsibility. She was then taken back to prison. Her only crime, apparently, is that she has had the misfortune to be born an aristocrat.

"Now, while laying stress upon the fact that British indignation against this and similar cases of oppression is an indignation purely humanitarian, and while reminding your readers that the English public is interested in the Royalist prisoners, less as Royalists than as persecuted human beings, it is only fair to add that the Monarchy, despite many faults, was inefficient rather than tyrannical, and that there is no precedent for the present system of cruelty, oppression, and grotesque injustice.

Philanthropy a Crime; Members of the Red Cross Society Six Months in Prison Without Interrogation, and in Prison still.

A Courageous Lady.

British Indignation Humanitarian not Political.

"A Government which officially eulogises the murderers of King Carlos as 'true heroes, worthy sons of Portugal,' and numbers amongst its members the Chief of the Carbonaria, might seem too barbaric and retrograde to be amenable to modern notions of humanity, but it would be unjust to take the present administration as representing national opinion, and I am assured that all *civilised* Republicans are anxious for the amelioration of existing conditions. The Royalists have been martyrs to such gross injustice as to win sympathy and compassion even of many among their political adversaries.

Moderate Republicans Disown Responsibility for Outrages; Present Administration does not Represent National Opinion.

"Especial indignation has been aroused by the case of Dona Constança Telles da Gama, who is suffering for her moral courage, humanity, and disinterested compassion. She gave to the political prisoners her time, her money, her advice, and her influence. She paid lawyers to plead for those falsely accused; she paid for some of the prisoners to be let out on bail, and those among the prisoners who were extremely poor could count upon her to save their families from starvation.

The Good Angel of the Prisons, Dona Constança Telles da Gama.

"Under the pretext of searching for evidence regarding a prisoner in whom Dona Constança had been interested, the Government, towards the end of July, 1912, raided her house and carried off a number of letters and papers. The following day Dona Constança was arrested and taken to the Aljube, a prison hitherto reserved for female criminals of the lowest type. Her imprisonment aroused an immediate outcry, and one of the strongest protests appeared in the *Intransigente*, a paper edited by the well-known Republican, Machado Santos. The remon-

Noble Lady Philanthropist Herded with Female Criminals of Lowest Type.

Lady Interrogated
by Military
Tribunal.

stances of this gentleman were of no avail, and equally ineffectual were the protests of the *Novidades*, the *Dia*, and *Lucta*, in February, 1913. On February the 10th (after six months' imprisonment), Dona Constança Telles da Gama was taken in a common prison van to the military tribunal. While awaiting interrogation, she was put into a foetid cell, and street boys were allowed to hoot at her.

"It is superfluous to point out the absurdity of bringing a lady philanthropist before a military court, but it is of interest to observe that in the interrogation the lady in question appears to much better advantage than her accusers. A few instances will suffice:—

Question: In a letter from the prisoner Fernandes occurs the statement, 'I do not forget the word you gave me.' What is that word?

Dona Constança: A promise not to forget him.

Question: Prisoner Nogueira writes, he has 'engraved on his soul' some of your words. Explain this.

Dona Constança: He alludes to my promise to pay expenses of his lawsuit.

Question: The same prisoner writes of the 'constant working of his thoughts.' What is this?

Dona Constança: The natural lament of a poor man separated from his family and condemned to long imprisonment.

Question: A letter from a priest thanks you for money sent to prisoners in Guimaraes. What was this for?

Dona Constança: Charity to the poor among the political prisoners.

Question : A letter ends 'waiting for orders.' What is this?

Dona Constança : A polite way of ending a letter to a lady.

And so on, the interrogator not scoring a single point throughout.

"On March 3rd, after seven months' imprisonment, Dona Constança at last became the subject of a formal accusation.

A Ridiculous Charge.

"This accusation partakes of the nature of a farce. It sets forth that the young lady in question conspired with a servant and a private soldier to overthrow the Republic! The only basis for this statement is that she had sent 'tobacco, food and money, and other articles' to these men while in prison, and that while giving freely to political prisoners, she did not extend her benefits to murderers and thieves—an exclusiveness savouring of aristocratic prejudice! But even the formal accusation asserts (with unconscious humour) that the *conspiracy was not followed by any act designed to give effect to the conspiracy.*

"Dona Constança's trial, which had been expected to take place shortly, is now (again) postponed, presumably to give time for the manufacture of other charges. Whether she be condemned or acquitted, her seven months of imprisonment give added lustre to her great historic name, and the fashion in which she has been treated must reflect eternal shame upon her persecutors."

Persecution Reflects Disgrace upon the Persecutors.

Having made clear that British national feeling in regard to the prison outrages is in no way political—and that aristocrats, democrats, Tories, Liberals, and Socialists in England have common meeting-ground in hatred of barbaric tyranny—it is of

some historic interest, having observed the treatment meted out by the Republic to ladies such as the foregoing and to men entirely innocent of any crime except monarchical opinions, to turn back to the attempted Revolutions of 1891 and 1908, and recall the relatively lenient way in which the much criticised Monarchy dealt with its most aggressive and determined enemies.

An Interesting Contrast.

A Retrospect;
Political Sentences in the Last Two Reigns.

The unsuccessful Republican outbreak of January the 31st, 1891, at Oporto, was much more sanguinary than the actual revolution of 1910. Its leaders were Captain Malheiros, Lieutenant Coelho (now Lieutenant-Colonel in the Republican army), the late Santos Cardoso, and João Chagas, now Portuguese Minister in Paris. Only the first of these was condemned to six years' cellular confinement and ten years' deportation, or to the alternative of twenty years' deportation, and in point of fact he was permitted to effect a speedy escape from Angola. Lieutenant Coelho was condemned to five years' deportation, Santos Cardoso to four years' cellular imprisonment and eight of deportation, and João Chagas to four years' solitary confinement and six years' deportation. But none of these were put in the Penitenciaria or

Escape of Republican Conspirators from Angola.

treated as criminals; they were tried speedily, sent to Angola at once, and all permitted to escape. It must be remembered also that they were no mere theoretical Republicans, but the leading spirits of a violent onslaught on the then-existing powers.

The second attempt to overthrow the Monarchy was at Lisbon on January 28th, 1908, and it was at this time that the present Premier Costa was captured in disguise. He and the other armed conspirators then arrested were sent to the Barracks of the Municipal Guards, and were treated courteously as political prisoners. Shortly after the murder of the King and the Crown Prince, these conspirators were given a free pardon, their imprisonment having lasted precisely nine days.

**Premier Captured
in Disguise.**

If the Premier would recall his own experience of a mere nine days quite comfortable detention—and this when he was arrested as an armed adherent of a conspiracy which was no Carbonario's fable, but a proved and dangerous fact—he might meditate upon the contrast between the surprising indulgence of the Monarchy to its declared opponents, and the savage vindictiveness of the Republic to all those who even in the most abstract

**Late Monarchy
Lenient even to
Open and Declared
Enemies; Republic
Brutal and Oppres-
sive to mere
Passive or
Suspected
Royalists.**

and inactive fashion dare to hold opinions contrary to those advanced by him and his associates.

Illegal Tribunals.

Under the old régime an armed enemy of the Government could be pardoned after nine days detention in barracks; under the reign of "freedom" the mere suspected Royalist is condemned to long and cruel imprisonment; condemned, too, not by the law of the land, but by an arbitrary tribunal of soldiers, selected from amongst the most implacable and violent of Government parasites. To the credit of Portugal it may be mentioned that relatively few military officers are ready or anxious to be members of these irregular Courts, which have been created in direct opposition to the commonest principles of justice.

Mockery of Justice.

The Republic, it should be remembered, began by proclaiming that all offenders would be tried by jury; but very soon, by a decree of February 15th, 1911, they handed over the Royalist prisoners to the Minister of the Interior, to be tried in the Courts of Lisbon and Oporto, the two chief Revolutionary strongholds of Portugal.

As even these Courts acquitted some of the prisoners—those against whom

not a shred of evidence could be discovered—the Government was dissatisfied, and saw fit to create at Lisbon a new court with a special jury. This special jury was not, however, invariably merciless, and so—after the second abortive rising of Captain Couceiro the ruling autocrats devised the expedient of trial by court martial. It must be emphasised that these were not the ordinary courts martial from which a measure of justice and fair play might be anticipated, but were courts brought into being *expressly to condemn*, and to condemn without evidence, or in spite of evidence. Moreover, during the trials, the Courts have been, and still are, crowded with Carbonarios, who insult the prisoners, interrupt and threaten the counsel for the defence, and—in the rare event of an acquittal—resort to violence of the most savage kind.

**Appointed
Expressly to
Condemn.**

**Intimidation and
Violence in Court.**

Recently a court martial, less servile than the others, declared one prisoner “not guilty”; but the Minister for War reversed the decision of his own court, and had the victim tried again. The second time the Royalist was condemned, the verdict being given with that cynical defiance of equity and justice which is now the rule, not the exception.

**Cynical Defiance
of Justice.**

The Monarchy was lenient, and the Monarchy fell. The Republic reigns by terror, and in Portugal, at least, has almost succeeded in silencing its critics. But criticism, though muzzled in Portugal, is active in England, and unless placated by reform—authentic proved reform, and not mere promises or vain pretences—that criticism will grow to such proportions that there will be no restraining it. The time has long gone by when national opinion was controlled or led by diplomats, and the English Foreign Office, however anxious to look leniently upon the difficulties of a friendly power, is utterly unable to dominate popular feeling in a country where free writing and free speech are the hereditary birthright even of the humblest.

Private Letter
March 13th, 1913,
Describing
Scandalous
Treatment of
Prisoners.

An English correspondent describing on March 13th, 1913, the condition of affairs in Lisbon, tells us that:—

“The treatment of the political prisoners here is still scandalous. I know several men of the poorer class who *have been awaiting trial for over two years, and who are now condemned to fifteen years’ imprisonment, though there are no proofs against them.* All the time they were in prison awaiting trial they had to pay for their part of a garret in the Limoeiro, and their families had to supply all their food, the prison authori-

ties giving nothing. . . . We have just heard that Dom João d'Almeida, with all the political prisoners at the Penitenciaria, may now only write four letters a month, and receive the same number. Daily, some rule like this is invented to make life more intolerable to men who have been condemned to fifteen and twenty years' imprisonment. In many cases nothing has been proved against them, even in the account of their trials I read the words '*there are no proofs.*'

"I have just read in *O Dia* a letter, signed by a well-known lawyer, Osorio, in which he writes of the severity of the regimen at the Penitenciaria. One of the political prisoners, a gentleman, in a moment of impatience, said something not very amiable to a warder, and for this he is deprived of all visitors for a month and condemned to spend a week in a dark cell."

Senhor Antonio Osorio—in the *Dia* of March 12th—points out that except for the abolition of the hood the lot of the political prisoners is practically unchanged.

Some time ago when British public opinion first showed signs of disgust at the oppressive cruelty to which the prisoners were victims, the Portuguese Government excused the various outrages on the specious pretext that the prisons were the same as they had been under the Monarchy. This—even if true—would have been of scant avail for purposes of vindication, for the Republic ostensibly came into exist-

Republican
Lawyer Deplores
Injustice to
Royalists.

Illogical Excuses
of Oppressors.

tence to abolish—not to imitate or aggravate—the errors of the old régime. But in reality, as we have shown, the treatment of the political prisoners under the Monarchy was remarkably mild, and the Republic cannot shelter behind the pretext of retaliation.

The case of Senhor Costa and his nine days imprisonment has been already cited, and the contrast between this and the present fate of mere “suspects” inevitably causes pungent and sarcastic comment.

**Illegal Trials by
Court Martial.**

Such Royalists as have been brought to trial—not, it must be remembered, by the ordinary Criminal Courts, but always by court martial—have been condemned in the majority of instances to six years solitary confinement in the Penitenciaría on a system which, under the Monarchy, used to be reserved for murderers and criminals.

**Political
Prisoners
Treated as
Criminals.**

A Living Tomb.

Shut into wretched cells and dressed in convicts' clothes, cut off from human intercourse, deprived of all the civilised necessities, they are as if incarcerated in a living tomb. If they survive six years of this most cruel solitary confinement, they have still to face ten years of penal deportation, unless death or madness intervene.

Which have the harder lot, those whom courts martial have condemned to solitary cells, or those who, not yet granted even the mock formality of trial, are crowded together into filthy dungeons, vermin infested, and unspeakably insanitary, is a point we need not here discuss; for both alternatives are an insult to civilisation.

**An Insult to
Civilisation.**

In the absence of *official* protest from Great Britain it may have been assumed by Senhor Costa and his fellow-autocrats that the English nation condones, or else ignores, the prison outrages. Such an assumption, however plausible, would be remote from truth, and public opinion—which a year ago would have been satisfied with modification of the hardships and abuses—will not now be appeased by any measure less decisive than an amnesty for all the Royalist prisoners without exception. As the condemnations have been indiscriminate, so should the amnesty.

**British Sympathy
with Sufferers.**

This amnesty has long been talked about; it will be granted, possibly, says the Premier, to "those who are deserving of it"; it will be duly considered; it will come to pass all in good time; and so forth.

**Official Equivoca-
tions.**

Specious Pretexts
for Delay.

But the British public wearies of these vague assertions; and every fresh evasion, subterfuge, and specious pretext for delay serves only to increase the ever-growing indignation.

England
Uncompromising.

The Englishman is slow to become interested in foreign questions, slow to be roused to indignation; but, once aroused, is resolute, persistent, and uncompromising.

Rising Tide of
British Public
Wrath.

Very soon the storm will burst, and unless the Government of Portugal is warned in time and bows to modern notions of humanity, unless the Carbonaria assassins are disbanded and courts martial are no longer held in time of peace in mockery of justice, unless all gross abuses are abolished speedily, it will no longer be within the bounds of possibility to stem the rising tide of British public wrath.

Therefore, in the interests of the Republic, in the interests of the Portuguese nation, in the interests of the boasted brotherhood of man, it may be hoped that Portugal, at the eleventh hour, will yet redeem her moral credit. Otherwise that once great nation, that nation which since the early Middle Ages has been linked with England in unbroken sympathy and friendship,

will forfeit the heritage of seven hundred years of amity, and will be branded by her ancient ally as the shame, the scandal, and the plague spot which united Europe cannot but condemn.

Portugal must
Redeem her Moral
Credit, or Forfeit
British Public
Sympathy.

From such irreparable ignominy the British public hopes that Portugal may yet be saved; hence this warning to all the civilised Republicans to throw off the shameful tyranny of a self-seeking, violent, and retrograde minority—and to unite in vigorous determination to redeem their country from an irretrievable 'disgrace and moral ruination.

A Final Warning.



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