

LATINITÉ AS A BACKWARD-LOOKING NATIONALISM (LATIN AMERICA AND QUÉBEC)

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VRBATA, Aleš. *Latinité jako regresivní nacionalismus (Latinská Amerika a Québec)*. Koncept Latinité tak jak byl koncipován v jižní Evropě konce 19. století našel široké uplatnění jak v Evropě tak v americkém zámoří. Konzervativní elity evropského původu se zase uchýlovaly k obrazné matici především protože ta představovala efektivní způsob jak ospravedlnit nejrůznější typy diktatur. Latinská Amerika, ale také Québec a frankofonní komunity v USA se uchýlovaly k podobným konceptům jako účinné odpovědi na anglo-protestantskou dominanci na severozápadní polokouli. *Latinité* byla pojmána jako univerzální a konzervativní politicko-sociální koncept hierarchického, tradičního a korporativistického státu uctívajícího klasické hodnoty latinských národů. Tato vize v sobě nesla specifický náboženský a spirituální protože se často odvolávala na katolický providencialismus jež byl tradičně spjat nejen s konzervativními diktaturami, ale také se zámořskými koloniálními projekty. Vize *Latinité* dosáhla významných úspěchů v podobě dlouhodobých či krátkodobých diktatur jak v Evropě tak v Latinské Americe nebo v projektu obnovy francouzské Ameriky.

Klíčová slova: Latinité; Francie; Maurras; Latinská Amerika; Québec; katolicismus;

Keywords: Latinité; France; Maurras; Latin America; Québec; Catholicism;

Introduction: Imaginal Regressive Leap into the Past

In some of my previously published papers¹ I focused on the notion and concept of *Latinité* as it was emerging in the late 19th-century southern Europe and as

¹ Aleš Vrbata. „Groulx et l'autre: quelle identité franco-américaine“, talk (August, 17, 2015, International Conference: XI Seminário Brasil-Canadá de Estudos Comparados, XI Seminário de Francofonia, III Colóquio Internacional de Estudos Comparados, O Indivíduo, O Coletivo, a Comunidade. State University of Feira de Santana, UEFS, Bahia, Brazil); Aleš Vrbata, Jackson and Plínio (2012) Prague; Aleš Vrbata, *Latinité as Catholic Brasilidade* (1915) Paris; Aleš Vrbata, *Between Latinité and Aliança Peninsular* (2013) Nitra; an article that is going to be published this year in *Central European Journal of Canadian Studies* under the title „*Latinité as an Image*:

a concept that was not completely clear on the one hand and as a concept that overlapped other concepts (*Hispanismo*, *Romanità* etc.) on the other hand. Already at its very beginning *Latinité* was adopted by those political and cultural currents and movements that were striving for the return to religious and political traditions (conservative and frequently ultramontane Catholicism, absolute monarchy, corporativism). These conservative tendencies and trends cannot be confused with various currents of nazi-fascist cultural revolution even though these were trying, sometimes successfully, to take advantage of *Latinité* imagery. On the contrary they should be understood as a third alternative to fascism and nazism, an alternative whose importance was declining after WW II but was still attractive for some segments of European population (extreme-right movements and conservative Catholicism) or even constituted leading political vision (in Spain and Portugal).

Such decline could not be observed in South Atlantic overseas. History took a different direction there. Especially in Latin America and Québec where conservative-Catholic tradition and linguistic and cultural proximity with roman languages speaking Europe continued playing a very significant role, concept of *Latinité* and its various derivations became very important.

In his Latin dictatorship classification² Miguel Rojas-Mix differentiates various regimes where *Latinité* – mainly of Maurrasian and Iberian provenience – was present. On the other hand in Québec conservative *Latinité* was expressed mainly in the form of doctrine or vision, especially in conservative-Catholic nationalistic current led by Lionel Groulx, but never took a solid form of regime. His name is sometimes but not always associated with s Quebecker separatism and mainly with the strive for some sort of Franco-American (and not exclusively Quebecker) solidarity or at least ideological and spiritual re-creation of already non-existent 18th-century *Nouvelle France*. All of above mentioned politico-ideological projects shared a similar conservative and utopian politico-ideological imagery rooted in some concept of *Latinité*. That is the aspect this paper is going to examine.

Contemporary historiography, at least in some countries, has been experimenting with broad inter-disciplinary approaches where imagination, subjective and imaginary aspect of events, theorizing, interpreting and subjectivity in individuals, groups and communities in general receives increasingly significant role. From such a perspective collective imaginary underlying political doctrines, theories, ideologies, religious and political ideas receives a great attention. It seems that the very beginning of such trend can be found in European romanticists, in some of Freud's and Jung's studies³, in J. A. Toynbee⁴ and in Erik Erikson⁵ which

Backward-looking Imagination in Maurras and Groulx“.

² ROJAS-MIX, Miguel. „La dictadura militar en Chile y en América latina“. In: WASSERMAN, Claudia –GUAZZELLI, Cesar Augusto Barcelos (eds). *Dictaduras militares na América latina*. Porto Alegre: Editora UFRGS, 2004, pp. 11-27.

³ FREUD, Sigmund. *Civilization and Its Discontents*, New York: Morton, 1961; *Leonardo da Vinci and a Memory of His Childhood*, New York: W.W. Norton, 1964.

⁴ MEYER, Ruth. *Clio' Circle. Entering the Imaginal World of Historians*. New Orleans, Louisiana: Spring Journal Books, 2007.

⁵ ERIKSON, Erik. *Young Man Luther: A Study in Psychoanalysis and History*. New York: Norton,

even led to the institutionalization of psychohistory and a recognition of a significant contribution of depth psychology to historiography and its research.⁶

Even though „*depth psychology is generally considered a dangerous area for historians*“⁷, institutionalization process of such connection took place especially in 1960s and 1970s. At that time two professional psychohistorical journals were founded and some university departments of history began accepting candidates for a doctoral degree in psychohistory as a field of specialization.⁸ Even though there was a wave of criticism against it, there are prestigious historians that could be considered as belonging to this current. E.R.Dodds (1893-1979), Jacques Barzun (1907-2012), G. M. Trevelyan (1876-1976), A. L. Rowse (1903-1997) or Simon Shama (1941-) are all historians who took subjectivity and depth psychological insight into very serious consideration when writing their works but there were also those who used depth psychology as an entrance to historiography (Hillman, Gambini aj.), literary history (Clifton Snider, Susan Rowland⁹ etc.) cultural studies and other disciplines.

Similarly to my previous studies I am going to focus on imaginal matrix surrounding ideologies and thoughts linked with *Latinité* as it had been shaping since the end of 19th-century Latin America and Québec. This paper will examine the main figures of such a process: Jackson de Figueiredo, and Plinio Salgado¹⁰ in Brazil and Lionel Groulx in Canada. At the same time it is necessary to remind that *maîtres* of these ideologues were first of all Europeans like Joseph de Maistre, Donoso Cortés or Charles Maurras.

In the first chapter I will focus on the export of Maurrasian *Latinité* as it was conceived by Charles Maurras in the end of 19th century and during the first decades of the 20th century.

In the second chapter I will pay attention to *Hispanismo* ideology which came into being in the 19th-century Spain as a barrier against growing feeling of decadence and was transferred to conservative hispano-american quarters that, under the increasing pressure of the USA, welcomed cultural approximation with *Madre España*. In this respect *Hispanismo* overlapped Maurrasian *Latinité*.

In the third chapter I am going to focus on Portuguese case where *Latinité* took shape in the form of integralism and Salazarism and survived till the mid-1970s. In the fourth chapter I will deal with the general question of counterrevolution whose principles underlied *Latinité* in all its forms both in Europe and Americas.

1958.

⁶ The idea of establishing a relationship between depth psychology and history received official endorsement from the history „establishment“ in 1957 when William Langer, the President of the American Historical Association, urged that the „next assignment“ for historians was to use the insights of depth psychology in their work. MEYER, ref. 4, p. 11.

⁷ MEYER, ref. 4, p. 11.

⁸ MEYER, ref. 4.

⁹ SNIDER, Clifton. *The Stuff that Dreams Are Made On. A Jungian Interpretation of Literature* (1991).

¹⁰ their inheritors were Catholic organization Centro Dom Vital and its periodical *A Ordem*, post-war group TFP and military leaders of a conservative coup d'état (1964).

In the fifth chapter my attention will turn to Latinamerican (mainly Brazilian) counterrevolutionary spirit as it was clearly expressed from the late 19th century till 1970s and 1980s.

In the last, sixth chapter I am going to focus on Franco-Canadian and Franco-American *Latinité*, which found its best expression in authors like Jules Paul Tardivel (1851-1905) and Lionel Groulx (1878-1967) and which defended Quebecker isolationism, Catholicism, corporativism and values associated with the French counter-revolution. Myth of the providentialist mission of Franco-Americans/Canadians that versed about their hereditary claim on the north American territories and inheritors of Latin soul is very similar to what was taking place in Latin America. This powerful current climaxed in the figure of Groulx and declined during the 1960s with so-called *Révolution tranquille* and the emergence of new historiographic schools and social sciences.

In all of these cases it was politico-ideological imagery that played a central role. In the case of regressive Iberian utopias, *Hispanismo* or *Latinité* ideological concepts were underlied by the imagery of pure, immutable, idyllic and secure reality defended against a dangerous modern „barbarism“. Moreover, with the birth of international Communism and the Cold war, the imagery gained increasingly gnostic characteristics of the world divided between the forces of the Good and the Evil.¹¹ In such a context there is no surprise that it was just such imagery that underpinned almost paranoid search for „inner enemies“ in the post-WW II Latinamerican dictatorships.

Maurrasian *Latinité* as a Pastoral Paradise

While a doctrine of *Iberismo*¹² was formed in Iberian peninsula already during 19th century and built its theories on the idea of affinity between Iberian nations, *Hispanismo*¹³ found its basic arguments on the thesis of the decadence of the same nations with the pressuposition of their vital connection – if not political, then at least cultural – with Latinamerican relatives, *Latinité* was a concept that came into being among artist of Provencal origin, members of *Félibrige de Paris*.¹⁴ *Latinité* imagery included primarily classical Mediterranean and in the wider sense roman languages speaking nations of all the world, i.e. its authors it considered universal.

Iberismo, *Hispanismo* and *Latinité* envisioned an ideal of a pastoral paradise or golden age. It was an imaginative leap back in time. In this sense it was a regressive fantasy which was supposed to compensate real problems that southern Europe suffered from:

¹¹ ROSSBACH, Stefan. Gnostic Wars. The Cold War in the Context of a History of Western Spirituality, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press 1999.

¹² I described *Iberismo* phenomenon in one of my previous articles. Among integralists *Iberismo* was venerated by António Sardinha. Some even speak about Sardinha's *Hispanismo*. António Sardinha e o iberismo. Acusação contestada. Lisboa: QP 1974.

¹³ PIKE, Frederick B. *Hispanismo* (1898-1936). Notre Dame Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1971.

¹⁴ MÈGE, Philippe. Charles Maurras et le germanisme. Paris: L'Encre, 2003.

*pastoral paradise [...] inhabited by shepherds and shepherdesses, and nymphs and Satyrs, who dwell in the atmosphere of romantic love [...] The idealized rural retreat, the place of escape from the reality and complexity of life in town and court, is fundamental to the idea of Arcadia.*¹⁵

École romane (Maurras and Jean Moréas) turned toward the same direction:

*L'École Romane Française appeals to Greek-Latin principle, a fundamental principle of Lettres françaises that flowered in the 11th, 12th, 13th centuries with our troubadours; in the 16th century with Ronsard and his school; in the 17th century with Racine and La Fontaine. [...] L'école romane française restores Gallic chain broken by romanticism and its progeny of Parnassianism, naturalism and symbolism [...].*¹⁶

Philippe Mège reminds us that this Mediterranean vision is in a way a key to Maurras' thought that was present in his life already before foundation of *Action française*, e. g. in his university study years and his first professional activities during 1990s. This element was originally aesthetic and gradually connected aesthetics with politics. There are even those who are convinced that without Affaire Dreyfus there would be only Maurras-literary critic and no Maurras-politician.¹⁷ But Affaire Dreyfus led him to link tightly arts and policy. In Maurras renaissance of classical arts unites with counter-revolutionary thoughts and Maurras turns against all modern forms of art. Armed with his own argument apparatus Maurras defended classicism against cubism, surrealism, dadaism and other forms of modernity. At the base of this struggle there is an idea of classical Mediterranean. The same idea is at the basis of his struggle against all influences coming from Germany, e.g. struggle he labeled already in 1890s as an „*oeuvre de degermanisation*“¹⁸:

*Approximately in 1895, Germanism was fully influencing our philosophical, literary and artistic youth. Young people who prepared themselves in Saint-Cyr, at marine or polytechnical school had doubts about this pacific penetration of German intelligence and culture, but with the exception of Catholic seminaries, it dominated everywhere.*¹⁹

Already in 1890s Maurras *oeuvre* synthesizes classicism, counter-revolution and anti-Germanism. Such a synthesis is apparent in *Quand les Français ne s'aiment pas* (collection of his articles published in 1898-1903) and *Devant l'Allemagne éternelle* (collection of articles published in 1915-1916). Here a polarity *Latinité – Germanisme* is constellated. Several years later very similar polarity started emerging his

¹⁵ HALL, James. *Dictionary of Subjects and Symbols in Art*. New York: Harper and Row, 1979, p. 30.

¹⁶ Moréas, Jean. *Lettre au Figaro* quoted by Ernest Raynaud in the preface of *Choix de poèmes* published in *Mercure de France*, 1939, 202 pages.

¹⁷ MÈGE, ref. 14, p. 13.

¹⁸ MÈGE, ref. 14, p. 16.

¹⁹ MÈGE, ref. 14, p. 17.

Canadian colleague Lionel Groulx. As far as Iberian authors are concerned, they did not turn against Germany or Germanism²⁰, but against Enlightenment sort of politics, modernity, progress and individualism. In spite of local differences, both Latinamericans, Iberians and other took over various aspects and concepts of Maurrasian provenience.²¹

All these concepts found their frame of reference in history, in venerated ancestry. For Spaniards these were usually times of Philip II (union of kingdom of Spain and Portugal), for Portuguese it was an era of overseas discoveries (*Descobrimientos*, till 1580), for French medieval France of Philip II August or Louis XIV's times.²² In the time when Maurras concept of *Latinité* was taking its form Portugal and Spain found themselves in serious crisis or even in apocalyptic times of their political evolution. It has nothing to do with „apocalyptic consciousness“²³, which is often mentioned in connection with artistic and philosophical currents of *fin-de-siècle*, but with the critical state of national consciousness caused by (inter)national catastrophes.²⁴ Answers to these crises were frequently looked for abroad. In 1914 Portuguese Integralists, inheritors of the counter-revolutionary 19th-century Miguelists, started adopting *Action française* doctrine and in 1920s the same can be observed in its Spanish *Acción Española*. Even though none of these organizations changed local politics according to its ideas and *Acción Española* existed just few years, they both managed to aculture and assimilate ideas of Action française and work as an ideological export mediator between France and Latin America.

Historiography noticed ideas of *Action française* first in the Eugene Weber's work where he emphasized presence of Maurrasian matrix in different European countries. His pioneering work was later followed by others. In late 1960s it was French Victor Nguyen whose aspiration to broader recognition of Maurrasian school was unsuccessful.²⁵ In spite of continuing existence of Maurrasian school in France, attempts to legitimize its discourses were up to now condemned to fail.²⁶ French historiographic production during 1980s, 1990s and even after 2000, however, turns back to Maurras and today's international gamut of Maurrasian studies is impressive. Both French and foreign historians' research dedicated to

²⁰ on the contrary, majority of them sympathized with Germany of Wilhelm II because for them Germany epitomized idea of empire in contrast to the French republic and its modern concept of politics.

²¹ pays réel-pays legal, quatre états confédérés, politique d'abord etc.

²² medieval virtues and medieval concept of policy and society were frequently referred to by those who considered themselves fascists, especially in latin countries (Pierre Drieu La Rochelle).

²³ WAGAR, W. W (ed.). *European Intellectual History Since Darwin and Marx*. New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1966.

²⁴ Portuguese crisis of Ultimatum (1890) and Spanish-American war (1898).

²⁵ in 1968 – in the occasion of centennial anniversary of Maurras' birth it was Victor Nguyen who founded Institut d'études politiques d'Aix-en-Provence where he organized four conferences of Maurrasian studies. It was the first serious attempt to legitimize Maurrasian discourses but without any success.

²⁶ GOYET, Bruno. *Charles Maurras*. Paris: Presses de Sciences Po, 2000, pp. 114-115.

rayonnement maurrassien follows Weber's and N'Guyen's steps²⁷ and elaborates further and deeper studies in what Weber called „*maurrasisme diffus*“.

Renovación española: Backward-Looking Hispanismo

According to contemporary comparative studies there was a worldwide crisis of „French influence“ or „French model“ in the turn of 19th and 20th century.²⁸ „French model“ consisted in spreading of ideals/ideas of the Revolution and Enlightenment philosophy. But such a monopoly on French culture could not hide existing debates around so-called *anti-model*. Exponents of this current were usually Catholics, monarchists, traditionalists and their thought resorted to ideas later typical for European extreme right (sociology of elites – Pareto, Michels, psychology of masses – Le Bon, social Darwinism – Haeckel, Spencer and others). At the same time *Action française* came into being (1898) and its periodicals were provably read in Latin America. Its influence in Latin America took place in two ways – directly (from France to Latin America) and indirectly (by means of Iberian countries). As it was mentioned Portuguese monarchist exiles brought to their homeland ideas and projects as early as in 1914. In Spain the same happened after 1920.

Already in the moment of its birth *Integralismo Lusitano* appropriated old legacy of Miguelismo, e. g. anti-modern and anti-Enlightenment policy. Like that IL became part of what João Medina labeled as „antiliberal right“²⁹ part of which was also international legitimism, ultramontanism, franquism, portuguese *Acção Realista* or *Causa Monárquica*.

In Spain, as a consequence of 1898 national catastrophe, a strong conservative reaction and a strong will to return to the traditional Catholic nationalism. As we will see, in Spain of that time, there was a very strong tradition of Hispanismo. It had a very conservative character and the right-wing currents of the early 20th century continued in it. Primo de Rivera's dictatorship was prefigured by three strong conservative currents: – traditionalism, – social Catholicism, – Maurist conservatism.³⁰ Traditionalism of pre-dictatorship period adopted a medievalist opposition towards all what constituted modernity, e.g. industrialization, secularization, urbanization etc. Military coup d'état (1923) made this doctrine an official ideology. It was the time of ideologies elaborated by conservatives like Gil Robles, Aparis y Guijarro and Vázquez de Mella, e. g. theories later defended by Acción Española members Ramiro de Maeztu and Victor Pradera.³¹

²⁷ POMEYROLS, Catherine – HAUSER, Claude. *L'Action française et l'étranger*. Paris: L'Harmattan. 2001.

²⁸ POMEYROLS – HAUSER, ref. 27. ROLLAND, Denis. „La Crise exemplaire d'un modele européen en Amérique latine: Les Racines anciennes du retrait du modèle politique et culturel français“, *História*, São Paulo, 27 (1): 2008, pp. 283-344.

²⁹ MEDINA, João. *Salazar, Hitler e Franco*. Lisboa: Livraria Horizonte, 2000.

³⁰ Antonio MAURA (1853-1925), five times prime minister under Alfonso XIII.

³¹ shortly after coup d'état Pradera was asked by Primo de Rivera to help him with an institutionalization of his newly established regime. In his four reports Pradera laid foundations of a traditionalist, corporatist and authoritarian political conception.

AE came into being not until Primo de Rivera regime. Already at that time, AE was under the influence of AF, IL and Italian fascism. It is quite paradoxical that the first number of AE journal was released in December 1931, e.g. at time of the 2nd republic constitution promulgation. At that time the prominent protagonist of AE, Vegas Latapie, made intense contacts with Catholic integrist and traditionalist intellectuals as for example Marcial Solana, Rodezno, marquis de Quintanar. AF became one of the ideological buttresses of AE, but AE should not be understood as a simple extension of AF. Not all of its members (for example Ramiro de Maeztu) considered themselves disciples of AF and do not strive for corporative and traditional monarchy.

Nevertheless, nationalist and monarchic streak of AE made it look backward and look for inspiration in other Mediterranean countries with whom frequently shared similar political traditions. This aspect becomes very important when considering *Latinité* of AE. Another important aspect worth of considering is a close link with Latin American countries, especially with Argentina, where Ramiro de Maeztu exerted function of an ambassador of newly established dictatorship. At that time Maeztu proposed creation of a review „de carácter hispanoamericano“.³² Morodo proposed title *La Contrarrevolución*, with the subtitle „revista política de lucha aunque eminentemente doctrinal, de acuerdo con el pensamiento de los grandes maestros del tradicionalismo español“ while evoking classics of the Spanish counter-revolution Donoso Cortés and Jaime Balmes.³³ The aim of AE was to found a new party that would unite all sectors of the traditional right. In 1934 Calvo Sotelo explicitly adhered French counterrevolutionary legacy and to its inheritors:

„Acción Española is doing what majority of French intellectuals in 1870. After the Commune an enormous group of intellectuals, among whom were Renan, Taine, Anatole France and others, openly rebelled against the meaning of that revolutionary movement and adhered to monarchic principles ... Those men, cultivators of the intelligence, did not want to surrender to the masses (...).“³⁴

It was not only Calvo Sotelo who adhered to the legacy of the French counter-revolution. *Action française* became a reference point of the Spanish counterrevolutionary right. But in Spain there were also sympathies for those Maurrasians who sympathized with fascism.³⁵ Influence of AF on AE can be explained in various ways. Many prominent members of AE were already in their youth attracted by AF (Vegas Latapie), others found it inspirational especially because of other influences like Portuguese Integralismo Lusitano (Sebastiñez del Rio, marquis del Quintanar). Another reason is that ideology and arguments presented by AF per-

³² According to Marrero Maeztu got to know French counterrevolutionary tradition not until 1928 or 1929. MARRERO, Vicente. *La guerra española y el trust de los cerebros*, Madrid: Ed. Punta Europa, 1961, p. 8.

³³ ANSÓN, L. M. *Acción Española*. Zaragoza: Ed. Círculo, 1960, pp.43-48. VEGAS LATAPIE. *Memorias políticas. El Suicidio de la monarquía y la segunda república*. Ed. Planeta, Barcelona 1983, p. 88.

³⁴ SOTELO, Calvo. *Discurso*, In: *Acción Española* 54, 1934, p.609.

³⁵ MORODO, Raúl. *Acción Española*. Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1985, p. 94.

fectly corresponded with the idea of political order as it was conceived in AE, with cultural mentality of conservative Spain when that felt threatened by the II Republic.³⁶ Another reason consisted in literary prestige of Action française members and sympathizers in Spain (Barrès, Lemaître, Maurras). Many of these authors were translated into Spanish.³⁷ The most intense cooperation AE initiated with Pierre Gaxotte.³⁸ Such repercussion produced quite significant acknowledgement in France and facilitated its approximation with approximation between two rights.

Gaxotte is exactly the author whose attitudes echoed one of the prominent ideas of *Latinité* and the counterrevolutionary substrate of right-wing thought. In fact, Gaxotte affirmed that the republicanism implied capitalism. Like that he confused socio-economical and the political system and concluded that it was necessary to return to those historical periods preceding capitalism, e.g. to medieval-corporative social organization and to monarchy. For Gaxotte there is anything like „good republic“, in fact republic is just an entrance of the capitalism, bolshevism and denationalization. Gaxotte's theory underpinned Spanish conservative medievalist imagery and served as a point of departure of the critique of moderate Catholics who accepted republican regime.

It is notheworthy that major part of all these publications was published even before 1932 when general Sanjurjo intended to initiate a coup d'état.

Another important influence constituted Italian fascism. Contrary to French „laboratório intelectual“ an institutional installation of fascism in Italy became a referential act. It was on intellectual abstraction but something very tangible, something that could be imitated. For right-wing intellectuals Italian fascist state became a serious inspiration because it enabled an integration of typically Spanish cultural peculiarities. One should not forget that the group of theorist around Primo de Rivera – Pemán, Pemartín, Aunós – was made up by AE members who, already in 1920s, intended to transform Primo de Rivera's regime into a new political system close to Mussolinian fascist state. Since the fruitless Sanjurjo's coup d'état AE was in intese contact with Italian fascists. Italian model was supposed to work as an important buttress of Spanish Catholic fascism, a prototype of the Spanish *Estado Nuevo*. The problem AE members faced did not concern only a question of imitation and explanation of Italian fascism but especially overcoming of those contradictions provoked by the reception of fascism in Spain.

Garibaldian atheism of Mussolini and other leaders was apparently a great obstacle of an ideological incorporation of Italian fascism into Spanish context .In this respect intellectual reservations receded to political efficiency. As a consequence of an agreement between Catholic church and Mussolinian fascism

³⁶ Spain went through these two crises both in 1898 and in 1931. These two events were felt as tragedies. Whereas the first one was a tragedy for both the right and the left, the second was a tragedy especially for the right. The cure was seen in Action française's doctrine.

³⁷ Charles Benoist, Louis Bertrand, Paul Bourget, Georges Deherme, Pierre Gaxotte, Georges Larpent, Jules Lemaître, Louis Madeleine, René Richard, André Tardieu, Thierry Maulnier, Robert Vallery-Radot, Joseph Desclausais. There were also many translations of Jacques Bainville and Maurras.

³⁸ GAXOTTE, Pierre. *La Révolution française*. Paris: Fayard, 1927.

AE accepted a Italian political practice. Seemingly contradictory tension between fascism and Catholicism Mussolini resolved by maintaining monarchy. Such a traditional institution seemed – in Spain – to be a great intermediary institution between fascism and the church. Eugenio Montes explained such an intermediary role in the following way:

„Mussolini asked for the support of the most prominent ally: Monarchy. The mere act of the recognition of the King, that is something that adds a fervour to its nature ...recognition of the King, as a symbol of the national unity, Mussolini avoided imminent conflicts that (...) the fascism was supposed to have with the church.“³⁹

In Spain, assimilation of fascism took place by means of integration of Catholic peculiarities and cultureal specificity. In Pemartín it is quite visible. He identified fascism with Catholicism which means that conceived Spanish version of fascism as a Catholic fascism:

„So there is a solution of Spanish problem. Fascism, absolutism can take place only in Spain because Spain is the only European nation where it has an absolute meaning, because our fascism (...) is based on transcendental truth. We have already said that we in Spain have the right to be more papist than the pope in the same way as we can be more fascist than the fascism. „Fascism is a religious conception“, wrote Mussolini. Thus the Spanish fascism will be religion of the religion.“⁴⁰

In another place Pemartín identified absolutism with fascism and viewed fascism as a modernization of the absolutist traditionalism:

„Spanish formula consists in the fusion of the nation with the State, with what is national –sustencionalidad religiosa-monárquica del tradicionalismo –with what is political, judicial totalitarianism of the fascism. As we wrote in our review already in 1933: Catholic fascism = modern traditionalism“⁴¹

A second problem was linked to the „revolutionary act“ of the fascism was a clear contradiction between ideological concept defined as „revolutionary“ and a „counterrevolutionary“ thesis defended by AE. For example Eliseda viewed Italian fascism not as fascist but as counterrevolutionary and repeatedly affirmed that political practice of fascism was leading to traditional monarchy.⁴²

As one can see, *renovación española* as strived for by AE, e. g. predecessors of Franquist Spain, put in fascism *sentido absoluto* (absolute meaning) and *verdad transcendental* (transcendental truth), imagery whose origins could be found

³⁹ MONTES, E. „Discurso a la catolicidad española“, In: Acción española 50, 1932, pp. 133-135.

⁴⁰ PERMARTÍN, José Sanjuán. „España como pensamiento“, In: Antología de AE, Burgos, 1937, pp.401-402

⁴¹ MORODO, ref. 35, p. 402.

⁴² ELISEDA, Marqués de la. „Comentario al libro de Georges Roux – La Italia fascista“, Acción española 30, 1933, pp.663-664.

in old European idea of universal monarchy, ideal of a heavenly state of eternal harmony. This is the sufficient reason why to consider Spanish Franquism and his different components as a counterrevolutionary and backward-looking. In spite of not accepting Maurras' agnosticism and positivism they considered themselves his disciples. But at the same time they were inheritors of Mussolini as well as those of great Spanish counterrevolutionary doctrinaires. Of course, Spanish example is syncretic because it really never overlapped completely either with Mussolini's fascism (which defined as modern) either with Maurrasian monarchism (that was, in spite of its counterrevolutionary ideology full of modern components and, moreover, suffered from papal condemnation). Nevertheless, similarly to France and Portugal the issue was not founding of a new social order, but on the contrary renewal of traditional virtues of old time-honoured institutions like absolute monarchy and corporativism, social doctrine of the church, overcoming of the French revolution legacy, rejection of modernity, e.g. adopting the old traditionalist principle of *Omnis potestas a Deo*.

Salazarism: Another Version of Latinité

In this respect, Portuguese example is very similar. The only significant difference is that Portuguese monarchists drew from Maurrasian fountain already before the First world war, imported AF ideology to their fatherland already in 1914 and their ideology served as an inspiration of Salazarism till its last days in 1974. Integralists believed in the restoration of monarchy by means of Sidonio Pais' regime (1917-1918) but after his unexpected violent death they joined a large alliance of portuguese right-wing groups. When the 1926 coup d'état raised Salazar in the position of the leader, they believed he would lead their country to the monarchy restoration and became his supporters. Already in his youth Salazar was considered a monarchist but events of the year 1928 proved him to be rather eclectic ideologue. Even though he was inspired by both integralists and AF, he maintained a critical distance and instead he strived for promotion of what could be called a Salazarist myth. It is not without importance that this myth corresponded with ideology of AF and Portuguese integralists. That is why Salazarist myth did not challenged ideological theses of both groups. Already at the very beginning of his governmental career he joined a counterrevolutionary tradition similarly to AE in Spain when evoking „truths of the past“:

„Embrace with all determination disposable traditions of the past, present realities, (...) just aspirations of people longing for authority and discipline, the agitating generations of our times, and to build a new order of things that (...) correspond better to our temperament and to our necessities.“⁴³

In his speech of July 1930 Salazar rejected experimentation with new concepts, strategies and institutions. Similarly to Portuguese integralists, *Acción Española* or Maurrasian *Action française*, Salazar preferred looking backwards. For him mo-

⁴³ SALAZAR, Oliveira. Discursos I, p.76-77.

narchy was an obsolete institution without any footing in reality and thus the idea of restoration so dear to integralists was only empty idea:

„(...) ideas do not always have either the power to make things happen or practical utility. (...) Except for rare exceptions steady European monarchies are situated in the North (...) These monarchies are (...) almost only hereditary republics. From the south to the center and the east (...) there is a conviction that certain social requirements were more easily feasible under republic than under monarchy (...).“⁴⁴

According to Salazar, Portuguese monarchists were supposed to join *Estado Novo* because the fundamental idea of tradition was guaranteed by his regime even though he had no intention to restore the monarchy:

„What I beg monarchists for or what I recommend to them is to be ready to enter the life of Estado Novo without the false idea that to collaborate with the present-day situation is to take a step towards their honourable ideal.“⁴⁵

On several occasions Salazar manifested reserves to monarchists, Maurras or to fascism, but his imagery was imagery of of pre-modern and pre-industrial rural harmony. His foreign visitors (Christine Garnier and Henri Massis especially) were particularly impressed by Plontin's poem they found in Salazar's humble residence. Plontin's⁴⁶ verses reveal the same pre-modern fantasy or the peaceful rural world, pastoral paradise. This poem is the resumé of Portuguese (Salazarist) mentality present also in Salazarist triad *Deus, Pátria, Família* (God, Fatherland, Family).

Le Bonheur de ce monde

Avoir une maison commode, propre et belle,
Un jardin tapissé d'espaliers odorans,
Des fruits, d'excellent vin, peu de train, peu d'enfants,
Posséder seul sans bruit une femme fidèle.

N'avoir dettes, amour, ni procès, ni querelle,
Ni de partage à faire avecque ses parents,
Se contenter de peu, n'espérer rien des Grands,
Régler tous ses desseins sur un juste modèle.

⁴⁴ SALAZAR, ref. 43, p. 167-171.

⁴⁵ FERRO, António. Salazar, homem e a sua obra. Lisboa: Empresa Nacional de Publicidade, 1939, p. 22.

⁴⁶ Antwerpian poet Christophe Plontin (1520-1589) in whose essay Salazar found his ideal of „*casinha portuguesa*“ (small Portuguese house). In contrast to the Zeitgeist he found there antimodernist and Utopian ideal, a sort of perennial philosophy or medieval „*pax ruris*“.

Vivre avecque franchise et sans ambition,
S'adonner sans scrupule à la dévotion,
Dompter ses passions, les rendre obéissantes.

Conserver l'esprit libre, et le jugement fort,
Dire son chapelet en cultivant ses entes,
C'est attendre chez soi bien doucement la mort.

This World's Good Fortune

To have a house convenient, clean and fair;
A walled garden lined with fragrant trees;
Fruit and fine wine, few servants and few children;
The only lover of a faithful wife;

No debts, no love-affairs, lawsuits nor feuds,
No wills no haggle out with relatives,
Simply content, dependent on no magnate,
And by a righteous rule to rule one's life;

To live in frankness, from ambition far;
With conscience clear devoted to devotion,
To tame one's passions until they obey,

To keep the spirit free and judgement strong,
Saying one's prayers while to one's pear-trees:
A kindly way at home to wait for Death.

The same ideal can be found in Martins Barata's serie of pictures with the title of *Lições de Salazar* (Salazar's lessons) from 1938 and the same ideal is the one of the French counterrevolutionaries and Quebecois nationalists. In Maurras it has a special streak of the classical *Méditerranée*. One should emphasize a universal character of such *Méditerranée*:

„My Mediterranean does not end in Gibraltar, it contains Guadalquivir and Tagus, it touches Cadiz and Lisbon and extends, blue and cold, till Rio de Janeiro. It reaches Cape Horn, greets Montevideo, Buenos-Aires and, lets not forget, Valparaiso and Callao, continues till Amazon River and Orinoco River, Indies and then Cuba and Haiti (...); it continues till Saint Lawrence river and (...) it leads to Hudson Bay where one can hear French (...).“⁴⁷

⁴⁷ MAURRAS, Charles. Soliloque du Prisonnier, Paris: La France Latine, 1963.

Principles of Counterrevolution

Spanish idea of *Hispanismo* found great repercussion in all Hispanic America. But the same repercussion enjoyed Maurras' political theories that accommodated to local elites, that, in some places, survived till 1980s. What underlied both ideological currents were the counterrevolutionary principles. These principles were pregnantly enumerated by contemporary French social scientist Pierre-André Taguieff⁴⁸ who differentiates between the first and the second traditionalism where the second one results from the first one:

Thesis no. 1.: the world itself finds itself in the process of decadence

That is one of effectively broadcasted Maistrarian theses identifiable hundred years later in Maurras, Evola or Salazar, in Europe but also in Latin America and in Québec. Revolution (or Reformation) constitutes the crucial and/or starting point of such a decadence. Maurras in his interpretation of the West follows some of those who are today considered fathers of conspirational theories (abbé Barruel): „all the serious modern crises were of Orient nature (...) German reformation, English reformation, French reformation, then, in 18th and 19th centuries, three French revolutions between Reign of Terror and Commune and finally in 20th century in Moscow (...) all that was of the same nature (...) it expresses (...) an intellectual Hebraism (...). These instigators or ideologues (...) attest the same violent pressure of Semitic Orient on the Occident which they make denationalized and demoralized.“

Thesis no. 2.: the essence of decadence consists in the loss of the superior and most valuable (absolute) values which means that no authority and no hierarchy can either refer to them or be based on them.

In *Considérations sur la France* Maistre repeatedly reminds impossibility of substituting divine institutions by manmade ones (especially government and constitution): „It would be curious to examine our European institutions one by one and to show how they are all Christianized, how religion mingles in everything, animates and sustains everything. Human passions may pollute and even pervert primitive creations, but if the principle is divine, this is enough to give them a prodigious permanence“.⁴⁹

Thesis no. 3.: Decadence gets accelerated via general progress, thanks to *discutabilité* of the principles and radical relativism of the modern world. Eternal truths are rejected and replaced by liberal metaphysics which concedes essential quality to discussion.

⁴⁸ TAGUIEFF, Pierre-André, „Le paradigme traditionaliste: horreur de la modernité et antilibéralisme. Nietzsche dans la rhétorique réactionnaire“. Pourquoi nous ne sommes pas nietzschéens. Ed. Pierre-André Taguieff. Paris: Grasset, 1991, p. 228.

⁴⁹ MAISTRE, Joseph. Considerations on France. Trans. and Ed. Richard A. Lebrun. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994, p 42.

„Why so many laws ? Because there is no legislator. What have these so-called legislators done in six years ? Nothing, because to destroy is not to make. It is hard to imagine the unbelievable spectacle of a nation giving itself three constitutions in five years.“⁵⁰ – infectivity of liberal ideas (taken as *destructrices* of all the order, authority and security) consists exactly in this. In Maurras attack on *discutabilité* equals attack on party system: „France is disrupted because those who govern it are not statesmen but party-men; if sincere they think just of well-being of their own party; if insincere they think just of how to fill their pockets“⁵¹; „What is the government of the republic ? Government of parties or nothing. What is a party ? Division, parting“⁵² and further „Ideas of parties, divisive ideas have their passionate adherents in the republic; but an idea of unity, idea of fatherland does not possess either adherents or armed protectors.“⁵³ In Portugal *discutabilité* is associated with modernity, and revolutionary abstract and general principles. As Salazar confessed to Massis in 1939: „we lived in lies, in hyperboles“⁵⁴ and rejected parliamentary form of government: „Second part of the 19th century and first decades of the this one seem to reveal that parliamentary regime cannot offer satisfactory solution to the problem.“⁵⁵ Even after the World War II, Salazar states, that „(...) today parliamentary system of the government have ran out its devices and finds itself in decadence.“⁵⁶ Disputability of principles leads to lie and thus falls through to decadence: „France is not made to live in democracy. Neither France nor any other country. Democracy is ‚mensonge universelle‘, expression which does not come from me but from Pius IX. Democracy is a political malady“.⁵⁷ Salazar defended the counter-revolutionary (and papal) principle of *indiscutabilité* in the occasion of 10th anniversary of „national revolution“: „(...) we strive to restore comfort of souls unbalanced by doubts and negativism of the century. We do not discuss the God and the virtue; we do not discuss our homeland and its history; we do not discuss the authority and its prestige; we do not discuss the family and its moral; we do not discuss a glory of the work and its duty.“⁵⁸

Thesis no. 4.: Process of decadence is conceived as *irréversible* and fatal and is „embellished“ by what is viewed as abnormal, atypical or pathological.

Counter-revolutionary tradition interprets turning point of modernity in different ways: end of one world can be understood both as the end of the world as such and the creation of the new world. Interpretations extend from radical pessimism to the most serene optimism and faith in the new world coming. As Isaiah Berlin

⁵⁰ MAISTRE, Joseph. Considerations on France. Trans. and Ed. Richard A. Lebrun. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994, p. 55.

⁵¹ MAURRAS, Charles. Mes idées politiques. Paris: Fayard, 1941, p. 189.

⁵² MAURRAS, ref. 51, p. 188.

⁵³ MAURRAS, ref. 51, p. 190.

⁵⁴ MASSIS, H. Chefs. Paris: Plon, 1939, p. 99.

⁵⁵ OLIVEIRA SALAZAR, António de. Discursos IV (1943-1950). Coimbra: Coimbra Editora, 1961, p. 257.

⁵⁶ OLIVEIRA SALAZAR, António de. Entrevistas (1960-1966). Coimbra: Coimbra Editora, 1967, p. 6.

⁵⁷ MAURRAS, ref. 51, p. 266.

⁵⁸ OLIVEIRA SALAZAR, António de. Discursos II (1935-1937). Coimbra: Coimbra Editora, 1961, p. 130.

observed, Maistre's „task, (...) was to destroy everything which the eighteenth century had built up.“⁵⁹ Even though Maistre believed in satanic essence of the Revolution, he was firmly convinced that the history itself will find its way back to the right order of things: „All the monsters born of the Revolution have, apparently, laboured only for the monarchy. Thanks to them, the lustre of victories has won the admiration of the world and surrounded the French name with a glory that the crimes of the Revolution can never entirely eclipse; thanks to them, the king will reascend his throne with all his pomp and power, perhaps even with an increase of power.“⁶⁰ For Salazar (as for Maurras) the decadence is the consequence of imported „exotic“ decadent doctrines he did not share and considered politically and morally pernicious because their destructive effect for both traditions and Catholicism. Such diagnosis led Salazar to conceive „re-Portuguesing of our social and political institutions and the cult of good, healthy, productive national traditions“ and „not to give way to lazy imitations of foreign origin.“⁶¹ These measures were supposed to hedge Portugal against liberal parliamentary decadence. Salazar belongs – both theoretically and practically – to different school: „these discourses do not approximate to whatever model of our present: they belong to other school“⁶², i.e. to that of Maistre and Maurras.

Spirit of the Counterrevolution in Latin America

Maurrasian influence touched all the Latin America but its strength was apparent only after the crisis of the French revolutionary model. Identification with France or Europe by means of ideas, political practice or clothing led a big part of Latin American elites to imitate early 20th-century Europe. As Lucien Léfebvre wrote in 1954: „Remember to what aspired very intelligent, cultivated man in America? Not to be Brazilian, but to be a representative of the highest and the finest intellectual culture in Brazil.“⁶³

According to Denis Rolland⁶⁴ Latinamerican nationalism and republicanism is closely linked with (French) Enlightenment. Hispanoamerican *afrancesamiento* or Brazilian *francesismo* are only extensions of Enlightenment ideas and revolutionary principles. Revolution put an end to all *Ancien Regime* and created an abstract and ideal model of the republic based on Enlightenment values. That is how modernity was imported to Latin America. There, theoretic modernity was even purer than in France because in France gravitational force of the past led to

⁵⁹ BERLIN, Isaiah. „Introduction“. Joseph de Maistre: Considerations sur la France. Ed. Lebrun, R. A. Cambridge Texts in the History of Political Thought, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1974, p. xiii.

⁶⁰ MAISTRE, ref. 50, p. 16.

⁶¹ OLIVEIRA SALAZAR, ref. 43, p. lv.

⁶² OLIVEIRA SALAZAR, ref. 43, p. lvi.

⁶³ LEFEBVRE, Lucien. „Premier entretien public“, In: Le Nouveau Monde et l'Europe en Amérique latine, Paris, L'Harmattan 1998, p. 62.

⁶⁴ ROLLAND, Denis. „La Crise exemplaire d'un modèle européen en Amérique latine: les racines anciennes du retrait du modèle européen en Amérique latine: les racines anciennes du retrait du modèle politique t culturel français“ In: História, São Paulo, 27 (1), 2008, pp. 283-344.

constitutional monarchy and Empire. Thus formation of Latinamerican nations during the first half of the 19th century was closely linked to France and its revolutionary tradition. Such an influence continued during the second part of the 19th century with the spreading of universal voting right in all Latin America (Argentina 1853, Mexico 1856-1857, Chile 1849-1887).

The last phase of dispersion of French revolutionary influence corresponds with positivism. In Latin America this term has a quite different meaning from that of Auguste Comte, but it came only after two waves of utilitarianism and liberalism. In Brazil such an influence is reflected in slogan *Ordem e Progresso* (Order and Progress).

After the First world war influence of France in Latin America significantly fell and started eroding. Reasons of such a trend are four: seemingly unifying character of the French model; influence of the lack of knowledge about Latin America in France and the gradual questioning of the superiority of European culture; an increase of difference between culture and policy; and finally spreading of idea about the decadence of the Occident or France.⁶⁵ Beside it, there was an influence of Catholic church that contributed to the persistence of the idea of *deux France* but to the import of Maurrasian ideas as well. In Catholic quarters the III republic was intensely diabolized and at the same time the critique of progressist rationalism started to prevail which spoke of European decadence. Reports about the decadence of the Occident from Albert Demangeon and Oswald Spengler were heard in Latin America with considerable attention. Already before 1914 the authors like Euclides da Cunha turn the attention to hitherto neglected interior of the country: „*Reconciliation of the intellectuals with their country was symbolized by the publishing (in 1902) Os sertões [Backlands] by Euclides da Cunha (1866-1909). At that time intellectuals become aware of their alienation regarding problematic situations of their compatriots in the inland.*“⁶⁶ At the same time there was a very strong demand on renewal of the church's power (disestablished from the state in 1991) already in 1890s and on recatholicization of Brazil. A strong influence of French intellectuals-converts and questioning of revolutionary model strengthened Catholic thought (Farias Brito) and requirement of re-Catholicization of all the country. After Taine's and Renan's thought Brazil started absorbing Charles Maurras's ideas. Similar ideas entered Hispanic countries of Latin America as well but mainly through the Spanish interpretation (Ramiro de Maeztu and *Acción Española*). These anti-republican ideas of the founder of the journal *Action française* firstly contributed to the strengthening of „*un certain préjugé anti-français*“, especially among the most conservative quarters and in Catholic elites. Pastoral letter from 1900 reveals attitudes close to those of French counterrevolutionaries:

„We Brazilians are almost exclusively Catholics; we do not want our religion to be put on the same level as the inventions of Luther and Calvin, the muddlings of Mohammed, the

⁶⁵ ROLLAND, ref. 64, p. 302.

⁶⁶ TRINDADE, Hégio. *La Tentation fasciste au Brésil dans les années*. Paris: Éditions de la maison des sciences de l'homme, 1988, p. 25.

*deliriums of Auguste Comte ...let us carry therefore respectful, albeit firm and decided, petitions to the holders of the supreme power that we may not be a Nation without religion and without God. We don't want to be governed by an atheist government. Let this be the first step of our social conversion, the first act of Brazil's public penitence after its apostasy, with eleven years experience shows us to be the cause of our misfortunes and which will become our complete ruination if we don't turn our country to God ...*⁶⁷

Twenty-five years after state – church disestablishment, consolidation of Brazilian church within international Catholicism took place. With the help of Papacy, the Brazilian hierarchy recruited foreign priests who strengthened its position and prestige. Shortly afterwards Brazilian Catholics started adopting 19th-century ultramontanist – Maistre's, Bonald's and Lamennais' Catholicism carried on to 20th century.

The main representative of such *renouveau catholique* was Jackson de Figueiredo. He epitomized the Brazilian crusade for a Catholic Brazil, attacked the official ideology of the young republic, e.g. positivism, adopted political philosophy of Joseph de Maistre and demanded close relations between Brazilian state and the papacy. Counterrevolutionary character of his thought is clearly visible in his demand of theocratic government:

*„This word – theocracy – which fills them with horror (what ignorance!) is the resumé of all civilizations. Take it away from and history will be in chaos because it was neither the sovereignty of emperors, nor the sovereignty of the people that saved the world from the immense shipwreck of barbarism, but the sovereignty of the Popes.*⁶⁸

The most important act in Figueiredo's public career was a foundation of *Centro Dom Vital* and the periodical *A Ordem* in early 1920s. Both organization and periodical promoted French and Iberian counter-revolutionary tradition including authors like Louis Veuillot, Louis de Bonald, Henri Massis, Auguste Viatte, Charles Maurras, António Sardinha. But, like Canadian priest and historian Lionel Groulx, his greatest inspiration was Joseph de Maistre. Figueiredo was not such a fervent promoter of Latinité as Maurras. But it is quite obvious that he conceived Brazil as a profoundly spiritual, Catholic, Latin and traditionalist country whose nature required Papal and traditional policy:

*„I am not sure to what point Catholic circles in Brazil realize the most intimate connections that exist between the nationalist, monarchist, integralist, in short reactionary, endeavours in all these countries, including ours, and the intense, Catholic intellectual production of the last twenty years, especially in the Latin culture countries.*⁶⁹

⁶⁷ Pastoral coletivo do episcopado brasileiro ao clero e aos fieis das Provincias Eclesiasticas do Brasil, São Paulo, 1900.

⁶⁸ TODARO, Margaret Patrice. Pastors, Prophets and Politicians: A study of the Brazilian catholic church (1916-1945), Michigan-USA: University Microfilms International, 1983, p. 90.

⁶⁹ FIGUEIREDO, Jackson de. Literatura reacionaria. Rio de Janeiro: Centro Dom Vital. 1924, p. 21.

Imagery behind Figueiredo's reactionary ideology becomes much more clear when taking in consideration his monarchic preferences:

„I am one of the last believers and devotees of the Russian autocracy and I cannot see a photograph of the Imperial family without being profoundly moved – what do these imperial families signify in God's plan – born, raised and always destroyed in the midst of power.“⁷⁰

After Figueiredo's death in 1928, it was Alceu Amoroso Lima who assumed leadership of *Centro Dom Vital*. Even though much more moderate, Amoroso Lima identified his thought as an extension of Portuguese traditionalism:

„He [Jackson de Figueiredo] was the first who, in spite of participating in the nationalist movement which was accused of Lusophobia, entered into the most cordial of relations with the Lusitanian Integralism of Sardinha which prepared the modern Portuguese renaissance and the New State of Salazar.“⁷¹

Figueiredo's influence persisted at least until 1960s and was epitomized by integralism (AIB, *Ação Integralista Brasileira*) in 1930s and later, in the period of 1950s-1960s, by TFP (*Tradição, Família e Propriedade*). Later on there was a significant influence of his ideas during the military dictatorship (1964-1985) that appealed – together with other similar regimes in Latin America – to the old counterrevolutionary principle *Omnis potestas a Deo*, principle spread all around this continent already in 1930s.⁷² Even in the 1980s issue of *occidentalisme maurrasien* was topical in all Latin America. In fact, it was just a simple continuation of what Júlio Meinville called „concepción católica de la política“⁷³ and that was present also in Europe.⁷⁴ Meinville justified Urriburu's dictatorship in Argentina whose later inheritors were Ramírez (1943), Lonardi (1955), Onganía (1966-1970) and Videla (1976-1981). All these regimes followed the same principles and were based on the DSN war doctrine (doctrine of the national security) and constituted

⁷⁰ Jackson de Figueiredo in his letter to Alceu Amoroso Lima (August, 12-13, 1928, p. 1). This letter is full of concern for and devotion to monarchy. Even though Brazilian neo-monarchist movement *Patria Nova* was founded and leader Arlindo Veiga dos Santos, considering Jackson his natural partner, invited Jackson to be a future leader of his movement.

⁷¹ AMOROSO LIMA, Alceu. „Catholicismo e integralismo – I“, In: *A Ordem* (December, 1934), p. 405.

⁷² In 1931 translation of Léon Poncin's book *Les forces secrètes de la révolution* was published in Brazil and at the same time Drumond's book *La France juive*. Both works inspired antisemitism of integralist writer and activist Gustavo Barroso. In the period 1920-1930 prominent French counterrevolutionary authors Joseph de Maistre and Louis de Bonald became famous both directly and indirectly by means of Charles Maurras. At that time Maurrasian thought became a new ideological matrix of another new French model in Latin America.

⁷³ MEINVILLE, R.P. *Concepción católica de la política* (1932). In this work Meinville attacked democracy with the affirmation that the power comes directly from God (medievalist concept known as *Omnis potestas a Deo*).

⁷⁴ especially critics of the Vatican II and traditionalists like abbé Georges de Nantes and his group *Contre-Réforme Catholique*. ALGAZY, Joseph. *L'Extrême droite en France de 1965 á 1984*. Paris: Éditions L'Harmattan, Paris 1989.

fusion of hispanismo, maurrasism and integrist Catholicism. The same principles were defended by OAS (*Organisation d'Armée secrète*) or *Contre-Réforme Catholique* in France, extreme right that desired so much to be differentiated from the *droite giscardienne*.

Groulx and his Franco-American Mythology

It was also Quebec or former French America that absorbed Maurras' Mediterranean imagery and his vision of *Latinité*. Partly it was because of persistent tension traditionalist and Catholic French-speaking communities and Anglo-protestant progressive and modernity-orientated English speaking North American English-speaking majority. Moreover, Québec could take a significant part of already mentioned project of *Union latine* because it was not burdened with all that stuff that Maurras' made responsible for the decadence of Europe – protestantism, individualism, the Revolution, modernity including secularization, urbanization and industrialization and in his lifetime enjoyed some sort of „splendid isolation“. Here it was his disciple or ten years younger colleague Lionel Groulx with whom he shared almost everything excepting positivism, concept of history and conservative Catholicism (Maurras was „secularized Catholic“). None of that impeded Maurras to write following lines:

„What a lucky country ! You have a faith, a language, a family spirit, une foi, une langue, un esprit de famille, an agriculture, morals (...) Compare stability, fertility of your hearths to instability and sterility of American hearths. Compare your morals with those of others. Compare your loyalty, your religious unity to their dismemberment (...)! Compare your power and courageous ethnic and linguistic continuity to the mosaic of immigrants from all possible places from all the country ! Compare your fields, even your forests to industry of what your neighbours are prisoners (...). The only element that seems to fight against you is their number. But the army of the king of kings counted hundreds of thousands men and Miltiades', Themistocles' and Leonidas' battalions were very small (...).“⁷⁵

This is another quotation that proves a rich imagery of French *maître* and his disciples who never made peace with the European process of modernization. Even though Maurras was not a believer, even though he considered himself a disciple of Auguste Comte (e.g. it is correct consider him a secularized Catholic), he identified himself with pre-modern imagery that was transferring not only to idealized image of classical Mediterranean but also to Latin American continent and Québec. In such quotations it is clearly visible importance of imagery as it was shared by the French and the Franco-American traditionalists.

But such imagery was strongly present in some of US regions, especially in New England. In this respect political border between French- and English-speaking regions was not so important:

⁷⁵ MAURRAS, Charles. „Dictionnaire politique et critique“, In *L'Action française*, August 30, 1934.

*„Maurras' spirit was very present in Franco-American New England in the 1920s and 1930s. (...) That there could be a Franco-American elite in New England attracted to the French radical right was the result of the post-American Civil War tidal wave of immigration from Québec. By the 1920s, over one million descendants of French Canadians lived in the north-east. They constituted the regions major non-English-speaking immigrant group.“*⁷⁶

The yankee establishment was aware of the large of Franco-Americans, especially due to the increase of its population during 1920s. It was said that the United States might be faced with *„plebiscites of the sort which have been held in Upper Silesia and Transylvania“* which could result *„in the transfer of a considerable portion of the territory of the United States to Canada“*.⁷⁷

Moreover, spiritual and political leaders and the elite among Franco-Americans were educated in Francophone Québec and had studied in France. They considered themselves part of a single North American Francophone territory centered in Québec with its diasporas in other regions. In the 1940s the Franco-American elite was made up of well educated bilingual lawyers, priests, physicians or journalists enjoying good relations with Québec. This elite read – just as Figueiredo and his followers in Brazil – French counterrevolutionary authors and were inspired by them. Among them there were such favoured pillars of the French *„renouveau catholique“* and a Catholic right as Louis Veillot, Jean-Baptiste Lacordaire and Louis de Bonald. The most representative among Franco-American counterrevolutionary activists was a cleric, poet and essayist Henri d'Arles (1870-1930), *„the most recognized Franco-American man of letters of his time, and a major spokesperson for the Franco-American elite.“*⁷⁸ Henri d'Arles' career reveals that the Franco-American elite was attracted to Maurras, to his concept of Latinité and its specific right-wing colouring. D'Arles was a great reader of Charles Maurras but equally esteemed Maurice Barrès who, in his view, was together *„with Bourget and Maurras, the master who has exercised the deepest influence on today's generation“*. Likewise he became friend with Paul Claudel, French ambassador in the USA and right-wing thinker. They both shared sympathies to Action française and – perhaps thanks to reading Barrès' novels – believed that Franco-Americans and Franco-Canadians found themselves in the same situation as Lorrainers after 1870. The following quotation reveals to what an extent such opinion was widespread among Franco-American elite:

„One must read René Bazin's Oberlé, Maurice Barrès' Colette Baudoche, and similar works on Alsace-Lorraine ...The Franco-American can be described the way Barrès characterized the Alsace-Lorrainer: „His death created in his a kind of spiritual automatism [automatisme moral]. Even if he left his grave behind, he will not necessarily be déraci-

⁷⁶ STEWART DOTY, C. „'Monsieur Maurras est ici': French fascism in Franco-American New England“, *Journal of Contemporary History*, London 1997, pp. 527-538.

⁷⁷ CARPETER, Nile. *Immigrants and their Children*. Washington: United States Census Monographs VII, 1927, pp. 128-129.

⁷⁸ STEWART DOTY, ref. 75.

né [uprooted]. Even if he were plunged into the most devouring of environments, he would retain continuity with his ancestors and, for a long time, remain part of their national consciousness."⁷⁹

Barrès' popularity among Franco-Americans and his description of Alsace-Lorrainers under the German government resonated both with Quebeckers and French New-Englanders beset by Yankee bureaucracy and Irish-American clerics. It is no wonder that Franco-American novels similar to Barrès' *Colette Baudouche* enjoyed success.⁸⁰ Barrès himself was aware of his influence and praised Franco-American/Canadian resistance in his article *Le Miracle Canadien*.⁸¹

In Québec Maurrasian quest for Latin, e.g. Catholic and French, identity took different forms. Even today there is number of issues discussed by local historians regarding import, transfer or inspiration and questions concerning ideology.⁸² Unlike Brazil, where Jackson de Figueiredo and his followers are almost forgotten today⁸³, in Québec there is an ever-present discussion on Lionel Groulx, his *Action française de Montréal* and his link to *Action française de Paris*. Such differences indicate two fundamentally different paths toward the question of identity. Whereas in Brazil, the *Latinité* idea as the basis of a Catholic, Roman and Papal concept of national identity, disappeared from public space and even its protagonists (Jackson de Figueiredo, Alceu Amoroso Lima, Gustavo Corção or Plinio Salgado) are no longer studied in departments of history or philosophy, in Québec this has not at all been the case.⁸⁴

Today there are still long-lasting disputes over the „*ancrage maurrassien du groulxisme*“ that are present mainly in Québécois intellectual quarters. In contrast to Latin American intellectuals, those of Québec enjoyed personal ties with Parisian *Action française*.⁸⁵ In addition, a common language enabled vigorous intellectual exchange as well as dissonance and disputes. The question of „*influence*“ or „*transfert culturel*“ between French Maurrasism and its followers in Québec is raised quite frequently. There are inspiring reflexions of Michel Espagne for whom „*cultural transfer is not determined mainly by the interest to export*“, but it

⁷⁹ BENOIT, Josaphat. *L'Âme Franco-Américaine*. Montréal: 1935, pp. 69-70.

⁸⁰ GASTONGUAY-SASSEVILLE, Alberte. *La Jeune Franco-Américaine* (1933), LESSARD, Camille. Cannuck (1936).

⁸¹ published in French review *Le Galois* and later reprinted in *La Revue Franco-Américaine*, II, 4 (February, 1, 1909).

⁸² In European historiography there are still fervent disputes over demarcation line between what what is called „*fascism*“, „*nazism*“ and traditional right. BLINKHORN, Martin. *Fascists and Conservatives, the radical right and the establishment in the twentieth century Europe*. London: Unwin Hyman, 1990.

⁸³ In Brazil Jackson is mentioned in different books about history of philosophy but chapters dedicated to him are very superficial and short and do not mention the whole movement of Brazilian Catholic revival. There are no references to his inspirator Farias Brito or his follower Plinio Salgado. See: PAIM, Antonio. *A Filosofia brasileira*. Lisboa: ICALP 1991; TIMM DE SOUZA, Ricardo. *O Brasil filosófico*. São Paulo: Perspectiva, 2003.

⁸⁴ Perhaps a good example of this is to be found in La Fondation Lionel-Groulx dedicated to the work of Lionel Groulx and his followers: www.fondationlionelgroulx.org.

⁸⁵ DARD, Olivier. „*De la rue de Rome au Canada français: influences ou transferts*“, In: *Mens*, vol. 8, no. 1, 2007, pp. 7-66.

is a conjuncture of the acceptance context that defines what can be imported or what is being already present in latent national memory that should be reactivated to serve in today's debates."⁸⁶ In Maurras – in spite of seemingly international aspect of his thought – there was almost no visible exportation activity. On the Canadian side, interest in Maurrasian ideology was frequently purely pragmatic, and it was expected to work as a „*défense de l'idée canadienne-française*“. It seems that Maurras knew about Franco-Canadian policy and supported it, even if only theoretically.

For Maurras French Canada was an extension of „his France“: „*this magnificent branch of our race and of our language that does not cease producing its leaves and fruits overseas*“ and views it as „*one of the highest places of the French nationalism [...] three times loyal to its language, blood and faith.*“⁸⁷ Even after WW II Lionel Groulx maintained the same terminology as Maurras or Portuguese integralist Sardinha. References to „*race*“, „*sang*“ or „*sain nationalisme canadien-français*“, „*substance profonde de notre être*“, „*race de dieu*“, „*fil de dieu*“ and „*culture rangée parmi les cultures classiques du monde universel*“ leave no doubt that behind Groulx's mythological and saintly vocabulary there is a holy war and crusade: „*Two words express the deep essence of our being: Catholic and French [...] Thus our rights extend really deep to inspire the respect [that] we have within us thanks to our spiritual birth, richer blood, more noble than the most noble bloods on the earth: we are of the divine race, the sons of God (...).*“⁸⁸

Lionel Groulx, frequently considered as Maurrasian ambassador in Canada, capitalized on Maurras' doctrine because it could underpin his militant Latin Catholicism.⁸⁹ However, Groulx had to take into consideration Maurras' inherent contradictions. For Maurras Catholicism was rather tradition, and essential link to France's secular history, than religion, metaphysics or faith. Philosophically, he was pagan, Comtean positivist and agnostic. His foreign followers often resolved such contradiction in different ways. Some of them adopted Joseph de Maistre's thought, others adopted Barrèsian cult la terre et les morts and others became closer to Jacques Maritain (who followed Maurras – as Groulx did). Already before the Great War was Groulx aware of the ambiguity of Maurras' Catholicism and wrote about it. It can be argued that he found himself much closer to Maistre than to Maurras and ready to espouse Barrès. There are many scholars who are convinced that Groulx was much more a Maistrian than Maurrasian thinker or even a Quebecois heir of Maurice Barrès:

*„Maurice Barrès exerted a formidable influence, not only on the thought of abbé Groulx but also on his vocabulary, on his phrases. And that is really good. From Maurras he has received the reservoir of the French logique, of the French strictness.“*⁹⁰

⁸⁶ ESPAGNE, Michel. *Les Transferts culturels franco-allemands*. Paris: PUF, 1999, p.23.

⁸⁷ MAURRAS, Charles. „Dictionnaire politique et critique“. In: *L'Action française*, August 30, 1934, p. 217.

⁸⁸ GROULX, Lionel. *Le Nationalisme canadien-français*. Ottawa, 1949.

⁸⁹ According to recent studies about Groulx, this Franco-Canadian intellectual owned eight books by Maurras.

⁹⁰ HAMEL, Marcel. „Maurras et Barrès“. In: *La Nation*, September, 2, 1937, p. 3.

Numerous foreign followers of Maurras were rather attracted to the providentialism of Joseph de Maistre. That is quite paradoxical because – for example in Québec – they also embraced romantic visions (close to Maurrasian *Latinité* or Jacksonian *Brasilidade*) of their nation and its historical mission. In some respects Maurras' thought was really too far from Maistre's theology of history (as it was described in *Les Soirées de Saint-Pétersbourg*) and providentialist philosophy – thoughts that resounded both in Jackson de Figueiredo and Lionel Groulx. According to François Huguenin „Maurras wrote about Maistre only a little and the first school of *Action française* seems to prefer *Le Play* (...)“⁹¹ but soon adds that there was a Maistrian Catholic section (led by Louis Dimier) within *Action française*: „The youth from the Joseph de Maistre circle is attracted by what could be called ‚vitalism‘, by the thought where the faith in grace of heritage and expectation of the victory of the Good are linked with the Christian faith and hope.“⁹²

The strength and dynamism of *Action française* was weakened by two crucial: 1) the Mussolini's fascism (1922), which led number of young AF members to leave Maurrasian ideological line, 2) papal condemnation of AF and Maurras personally (1926) which had the same effect among both French and foreign Catholics. In 1926 it was also Lionel Groulx (and his review *L'Action française*) who severed his relationship with Maurras. However, some have taken the view that there was never anything like a link between them so intense as had been previously thought:

„Before 1916, it was impossible to find any of his books in the bookcase of French-Canadian priest, [...] speak about ‚période maurrassienne‘ would be abusive (...) both are endogenous doctrines with their origin in distinctive spiritual, metaphysical, national and political traditions.“⁹³

But one can find more than that:

„Chez Maurras, ne retrouve nullement chez Groulx: la thèse monarchiste, l'antiroman-tisme, la détestation de Pascal et de l'idéalisme allemand, la mystique gréco-latine, la poétique et la métaphysique lucrésiennes, l'influence comtienne et l'agnosticisme [...]. Surtout aux plans spirituel et eschatologique, où Maurras se situe aux antipodes de Groulx.“⁹⁴

However, as mentioned above, there some predecessors of Charles Maurras (Joseph de Maistre) and some of his colleagues (Louis Dimier, Jacques Bainville) who were closer to Groulx's vision.⁹⁵

⁹¹ HUGUENIN, François. À L'École de l'Action française. Une siècle de vie intellectuelle. Paris: J.C.Lattès, 1998, p. 94.

⁹² HUGUENIN, ref. 91, p. 95.

⁹³ DIONNE, Patrick. „Éclaircissement sur les prétendues mauvaises fréquentations littéraires de Lionel Groulx: le cas de Charles Maurras et de l'Action française de Paris“. SHEC, Études d'histoire religieuse, 74 (2008), p. 16.

⁹⁴ DIONNE, ref. 93, p. 15.

⁹⁵ After 1926, Groulx followed precepts of papacy and *Action française* de Montréal disavowed

Reading Maurras' letter to Salazar from 1952⁹⁶, it can be inferred that it was Salazarist Portugal that came closest to Maurras' idea of Latinité. But, it was an editor of Maurras' *Le Soliloque du prisonnier* revealed a mythic imagery behind his political thought: it was „'latinité' or perhaps a certain idea of 'latinité' whereas at the same time there was Europe being constructed on the basis of commerce. What enlightened Apollo's sun was spiritual rather than geographic 'meridionalité' with vast contours but without imperial ambitions. That is something that has nothing to do with 'abominable utopie' of confederated Europe under the lead of Germany“.⁹⁷

from Parisian Action française. Nevertheless, it seems that Maurrasian attitudes managed to seduce even younger generations. In 1930s and even later Maurrasian ideas were adopted by younger Canadian fascist sympathizers from the review *La Nation*.

⁹⁶ MAURRAS, Charles. "Lettre à son excellence, M. Salazar, président du gouvernement portugais à Lisbonne, 31 mai 1952". In: *Letter de prison, 8 septembre 1944- 16 novembre 1952*, Paris: Flammarion, 1958, pp. 261-263.

⁹⁷ MAURRAS, Charles. *Le Soliloque du prisonnier*, Paris: L'Herne, 2010 (the back cover).