

The Youngest Republic.



ON October 4th Portugal took her place among the republics of the world. The change in government was the result of a brief and evidently well-planned revolution which, by winning over part of the army and navy, compelled the king to seek safety in flight. The manifesto issued by the new rulers holds out high ideals and bright hopes, but judging by the condition of the country and the character of the new governing body, these noble aims can with difficulty be realized. The little kingdom has had a great past which perhaps justifies the new authorities in hoping for future greatness; but greatness cannot be achieved by vague dreams of liberty rising "luminous in her virginal essence."

Portugal is a small country. Including the Azores its area is only 35,490 square miles (about one and a quarter times that of New Brunswick), and of that 43 per cent. or 15,000 miles, is waste, so the whole population of approximately five and a half millions must rely on about twenty thousand square miles or a little less than the area of Nova Scotia.

But the country is great in history. From the year 1094, when Alphonso VI. of Spain gave the territory to Count Raymond of Burgundy, these few square miles have preserved their independence, helped expel the Moors from the Iberian Peninsula, and under John II. and Emanuel the Fortunate (1481-1521) rose to a surprising height in wealth and power. In 1497 Vasco da Gama reached India and for the next half century Portugal had a monopoly of Eastern commerce. Venice and Genoa had grown great by this same trade, but having to portage their goods from the Persian Gulf to the Black Sea they could not compete with their new rival for the

trade of the Indies. Some idea of the profits reaped by the Portuguese may be gleaned from the fact that the Welsers, a German firm that took part in a trading expedition of 1505, made a profit of 175 per cent. on the voyage. Since the middle of the 16th century other countries have claimed a share in Indian commerce, trade routes have changed, and in consequence Portugal has felt decline. During the 17th century Portuguese ship-owners had for about fifty years a monopoly of the slave trade with Mexico and South America, besides which they were constantly engaged in a contraband trade with the towns on the Spanish Main. The loss of those two sources of gain deprived Portugal of a large and steady revenue, and here as elsewhere poverty has brought unrest and revolution.

Her prospects to-day are not the brightest. She has a population of 152 per square mile, a national debt of about \$680,000,000, which makes about 124 dollars for every man, woman and child in the country. In 1908 her per capita imports were \$13.75, against which stood exports of only \$5.76 : not enough to pay the interest charges now amounting annually to \$6.10 per head. The United Kingdom it is true had in the same year imports valued at \$64.85 for each person, against which stood exports of only \$41.29 ; but England has large returns not appearing in her public accounts. She has the dividends from capital invested abroad, the earnings of her merchant-fleet, the price of vessels built for or sold in foreign countries, besides the money left by her tourists. Portugal then has a greater per capita debt than any country in Europe except France, an excess of imports over exports greater in ratio than those of the United Kingdom ; nor has she, as far as we can see, any returns that make up the difference.

Much, perhaps, can be done by good government. The country is chiefly agricultural and in the north so well cultivated that further improvement is difficult. There the peasant class is active, prosperous and con-

tented. The south, however, is not so well off. The Alem Teho province suffers from drought which can be remedied only by irrigation that will cost a great deal, and, unfortunately for the new rulers, money does not grow to the music of rhetorical proclamations. The outlook for any great development in manufacture is rather discouraging. The country has quite extensive deposits of iron, copper, tin, lead and antimony, but fuel is extremely scarce, a great part of their coal being imported from England. This shortage of fuel, by increasing the cost of carriage and manufacture, renders Portugal unable to compete with Germany and Great Britain whose manufactures are well developed. The finances of the country may by strict economy be put on a sound basis, but except in the matter of the King's yearly allowance of \$365,000 (which does little in balancing interest charges of \$30,000,000 per year) it is difficult to see where the great economy can begin.

The most evident fact about Portugal is that she is not overburdened with prosperity. This condition has come upon her neither stealthily nor suddenly, but is the natural result of over a hundred years of civil war and domestic strife. The cry of liberty echoing through Europe in the days of the French Revolution was caught up by a small party of the Portuguese. The government was openly assisting England, and to punish Dom John for this course of action Napoleon resolved on the invasion of Portugal. Thanks to sympathy and help from the liberal party, Junot was warmly welcomed and even assisted in setting up a regency which he hoped might ripen into a monarchy in which he would be king. French rule was too stern to merit general approval and England was invited to help in expelling Junot and his army. From 1810 the regency was under British control, but Sir Charles Stuart's absence in 1820 gave Lisbon and Oporto an opportunity for a revolution which set up a constituent assembly of an ultra-liberal type. Dom John, who since 1807 had been in Brazil, returned, and in 1822

swore obedience to the constitution. Against him the queen and his son Dom Miguel headed an absolutist movement, which in 1823 enabled the king to dispense with the recently granted constitution, without which he ruled till his death in 1826. From 1826 till 1853 there raged civil war between the Miguelists and the supporters of Maria da Gloria, Miguel's niece, the daughter of Dom Pedro of Brazil. These days are the darkest in the country's history and the starting point of much of the present trouble. Since 1853 the kingdom has generally remained at peace, but corruption and ineptitude marked every party that attained to power; the prevalence of small groups, the general indifference of the people at large, and the intrigues of the republican element have made strong government impossible.

During the recent trouble newspaper comment on this side the water seemed inclined to lay a great deal of the blame on the Catholic Church. The only reason appeared to be that she was the state church, but newspaperdom forgot to tell or did not know just how the Church was situated. When Dom Pedro defeated the Miguelists in 1833 one of his first acts was the suppression of all religious orders of men and the confiscation of their property. Relations with the Holy See were broken off at once and all bishops appointed during the reign of Miguel were replaced by appointees of Dom Pedro. On the latter's death in 1834 the people refused to recognize the new bishops, and in this state matters remained till 1842 when negotiations were again opened with Rome. The nuns were not expelled but compelled to dismiss all members not yet professed, and they were further prohibited from accepting postulants so that the orders might die out and their property revert to the state. Since 1833 all ecclesiastical appointments have been made by the Minister of Worship. In regard to parish priests there may be a different "*modus operandi*," i. e., by *concursum* conducted by the bishops, but the results must be forwarded to the same Minister of Worship by whom the appointment is made.

The results of such a system can easily be understood. The suppressions and confiscations of 1833 meant the destruction of the seminaries and a consequent scarcity of priests. In 1845 the re-opening of seminaries was allowed, but under conditions that meant disaster, as the government reserved to itself the appointment of professors, the selection of text-books, the choice of subjects to be studied, besides ordering that all candidates for the priesthood make their preliminary studies at the state lyceums. Since 1883 the seminaries have been more under episcopal control, but as the students are still obliged to do their preparatory work in the state schools the results of the change are not yet very visible.

In 1845 the Church was deprived of all voice in education, both primary and secondary. In primary schools the teachers are obliged to teach catechism; they are, however, able to interpret Catholic doctrine as they please because responsible to the state alone. Private schools were fortunately allowed, and in this work many of Portugal's religious were engaged at the time of the revolution. In 1882 an attempt was made to re-establish the orders of women, but nothing was gained beyond mere toleration and a tacit permission for the acceptance of novices. The year 1909 saw very strong feeling stirred up against the nuns. The daughter of the Brazilian consul, contrary to the will of her father, entered one of the convents as novice. The girl was of age and in this country would be thought capable of choosing her own future. Her father, through the Masonic Lodges, was able to cause trouble, which ended by the government forcing local authorities to suppress contemplative orders and compel congregations engaged in educational and charitable work to submit their statutes for government approval and cease receiving postulants. The step from that trouble to the recent suppression need excite no surprise. For almost eighty years the Church in Portugal has been hampered and controlled by civil power, has been deprived of all independence of action,

and it is unjust and criminal to blame her for not directing her people when her hands were purposely and perfectly tied.

How came the monarchy by its end and what causes worked for the expulsion of the Braganzas? The religious orders, the first victims of the revolution, were no part of the cause. The Jesuits have received a generous share of unmerited blame. Much has been written about the anti-republican paper Portugal. It was formerly edited by a Jesuit, but for some time past has been in the hands of others who carried on Father Fernando's policy. The journal was outspoken and fearlessly attacked Senor Alpoim, the villain of the whole piece. He endeavored to purchase the silence of the paper by promising the Jesuits protection when he and his party should attain power. His offer was of course refused and the Senor has had his revenge.

Nor were the Jesuits an order that could be accused of having bled Portugal. Their houses and colleges were not self-supporting but in some degree dependent on foreign aid. Their college at Campolido was the finest educational institution in the country and perhaps the best equipped Catholic college in the world. The professors were scholars of European reputation, who edited the well-known scientific magazine "Broteria," and several of them had written excellent works on the natural sciences. One of their number, Father Martins, had recently prepared plans for the irrigation of the Alem Tejo valley. He was no dreaming visionary but a practical engineer whose plans show the knowledge of a specialist in matters relating to irrigation. Some day his plans may be adopted and the future historian of Portugal may tell that the work of a little known and much ill-treated Jesuit did more for southern Portugal than the leaders of the recent revolution. The work of these men should have demanded some consideration from the many republicans who sent their sons to Campolido for the scientific education they could not get in the state uni-

versities; still a mob of liberty-loving Portuguese republicans gutted the college, deliberately destroying the microscopes and the physical and chemical apparatus of the institution—a really singular manner of showing their interest in education and their wishes for the intellectual future of their fatherland.

Just as difficult is it to see why the other orders deserved the same fate as the king. They were in great part devoted to teaching and charitable work. The making of money was no part of their programme, else they could not have given such generous charity. They received no aid from the government and yet they were able to give in Lisbon 2,000 free meals a day and throughout the whole kingdom were giving about 30,000. The new government must now look after these poor people, and unless it adopts the policy of the reign of Edward VI, the work will cost more than it did under the old regime. Schools must be opened to take the place of those recently closed, and it is certain such institutions cannot be supported on such unstable means as the vapid oratory of would-be republican patriots.

Nor were the religious so numerous as some of our contemporaries would have us believe. A recent writer in one of the English magazines puts the number at 300 priests belonging to the different orders and 500 nuns, and we should remember that when these congregations had no civil status, no civil protection beyond an unwilling toleration, they must have been in favor with the people and not, as recent despatches claimed, an incubus on and an anomaly in the realm of the Braganzas. The new government hopes to realize a snug sum by the sale of confiscated property, but in this they will be disappointed because many of the monasteries and convents were rented buildings which cannot be sized, and the titles of others are vested in foreign corporations whose interests will be looked after by the diplomats of the different countries.

The real causes were the culpable inactivity or per-

haps the more culpable republican sympathy of Premier de Souza and the republican intrigues that corrupted part of both army and navy. De Souza was chosen premier at a critical time, and to gain power had to invoke the good offices of his republican friends. This alliance caused among the monarchists a division which made de Souza more and more dependent on the enemies of the king. The revolution did not spring ready-armed from the brain of de Costa or Alpoim, but demanded careful preparation, the procuring of arms and ammunition and other work that could not have escaped the notice of an active premier, and yet de Souza remained apparently in complete ignorance. Arms were smuggled into Lisbon in motor-cars and by rail, and not detected by public officials who can be very successful in locating such small things as cigars when stowed away in a tourist's valise. In all probability de Souza will receive some good appointment as reward for his official blindness.

Republican propaganda was certainly the active principle of the whole trouble. For long years past a socialistic, atheistic agitation has been going on in clubs and cafes, but the work which counted most in the day of action was the corruption of the army and navy. This part of the disgraceful work was performed by undermining discipline and Christianity by means of clubs, many of which were Freemason Lodges. The present Minister of War was a member of Lodge Portugal, founded in 1894 for the corruption of army officers. Among the soldiers such clubs were so common that we may say Portugal had an army within an army. The same system was at work in the navy, which corresponds more nearly to a reformatory than to our idea of His Majesty's Fleet. Like many other revolutions, the Portuguese trouble was called into being, nurtured and supported by appeals to the worst class of the people, by destroying that obedience, discipline and respect on which every government must depend. The poets and historians among the republicans can surely recall the workings of

the Praetorian Guard when debased by demagogues in the days of Rome's decline. The next agitator who could hold out greater inducements gained their ignoble aid in attacking their former leader. Already the artillerymen and sailors want higher pay and less work, and some upstart theorist will soon come forward to bid for and gain their support.

Theophile Braga's rhetorical proclamation does not and cannot end the trouble. We shall in all probability see revolution follow revolution, intrigue succeed intrigue till some foreign power steps in and, "ad bonum publicum," take charge of the little country and its unnumbered self-elected leaders or else the struggle will develop a Napoleon or a Bismark, who now by war, now by diplomacy, will restore the country to the standing of a hundred and twenty years ago. His coming may be near or distant, but Portugal's pacification and prosperity must come from without or from some man with power to crush as well as cure.

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