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EUROPE SINCE NAPOLEON

BY

ELIZABETH LEVETT

WITH

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

BY

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PREFACE

This brief history of the nineteenth century was written before the present European situation arose, and therefore with no special reference to the events of to-day. I hope, however, that it may supply a rapid outline of past events since the great Napoleonic struggle, which will throw some light upon the present. It is intended, primarily, for young people who have had no opportunity of following European politics during a long period of years, through the newspapers.

It makes no claim to be founded on first-hand authorities, save in a few isolated cases, but I have tried to use the best secondary historical works, and to bring it into harmony with the most recent investigations. I have consciously emphasized the biographical and personal side of history, and have traced the growth of nations rather than the intricacies of diplomatic history, which do not admit of severe compression, and are apt to obscure the more potent action of national feeling. It is hoped that many omissions may be pardoned, in consideration of the space at my disposal.

The bibliography (Appendix D) does not aim at being exhaustive; it includes, however, most of the easily-accessible books on the various subjects, as

well as some of the first-hand authorities, and some of the more weighty secondary works.

My very sincere thanks are due to Miss Lodge, Vice-Principal and Tutor of Lady Margaret Hall; to Mr. Ernest Barker, Fellow and Tutor of New College; and to Miss M. O. Davis and Miss Grace Hadow (Lady Margaret Hall), who have kindly read parts of my manuscript, and have given me much valuable and practical advice. To Mr. Barker I am indebted for much of the material of Chapter VII. I am also especially grateful to Miss C. M. Craven (St. Hilda's Hall), who has compiled the index, and has read through the whole book both in manuscript and in proof.

OXFORD, *4 October, 1914.*

A few very slight changes have been made in the text, in notes, and in the Appendices; such changes have generally been indicated by the date, 1919, but in the main I have left the book as it stands, holding good up to 1914, until such time as it may be possible to summarize the results of the Great War.

September, 1919.

CONTENTS

Chap.		Page
	Introductory	1
I.	The Reconstruction of Europe	7
II.	France and Bonapartism, 1815–71	15
III.	France as a Republic	48
IV.	Garibaldi and the Liberation of Italy	63
V.	Bismarck and the Making of the German Empire	88
VI.	Germany since 1871	115
VII.	Austria-Hungary	131
VIII.	Russia	162
IX.	The Balkan Peninsula	199
X.	Spain and Portugal	229
XI.	The Smaller Countries of Europe	248
XII.	The Constitutions of Europe	260
XIII.	Some Tendencies of the Nineteenth Century	290
	Conclusion	305
Appendix	A.—Genealogical Tables	309
,,	B.—European Rulers during the Nineteenth Century	312
,,	C.—Glossary of some Political and other Terms used in this book	315
,,	D.--Bibliography	317
,,	E.—Summary of Forms of Government in Europe	320
Index		323

LIST OF MAPS

		Page
EUROPE IN 1815	*in colour*	1
THE FRANCO-GERMAN WAR		43
ITALY (1815–71)		64
GERMANY		117
AUSTRIA-HUNGARY		132
THE CRIMEAN WAR		175
THE TURKISH EMPIRE IN 1815		203
THE BALKAN PENINSULA IN 1912		219
EUROPE IN 1912	*in colour*	241
SWITZERLAND		282

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

The taunt most frequently cast in the teeth of teachers of history is that their subject is of no practical importance, that it deals with musty and obsolete precedents, and that no practical statesman looks to the past for guidance in dealing with modern problems. Recent events and the light which they have thrown upon the spirit and the aspirations of Germany show how little real foundation there is for this taunt. It has suddenly become obvious that the teaching of history, systematically fostered and directed, may exercise a decisive influence upon public opinion, and through this influence may determine the policy of a great state and the fate of a continent. It is, of course, impossible to attribute the present European struggle to any one man, but if an individual had to be singled out to bear the chief responsibility it would be the former Professor of History at Berlin, Heinrich von Treitschke. That such an influence can possibly be attributed to a teacher is at once an encouragement and a caution to the profession.

That a certain view of past events, sedulously inculcated, could make history as well as elucidate it, is not really a new experience. Rather more than a century ago when France was, as she promises once more to be, the teacher of history to Europe, it was generally accepted that Charlemagne, as the very name implied, was a Frenchman, and that his widely-extended rule was French rule.

Hence was drawn the obvious conclusion that France, in claiming to dominate Europe, was only reasserting rights which had their roots in the past, and that Napoleon was justified in seeking to revive the empire of Charlemagne.

In the reaction which followed the overthrow of Napoleon, Germany gave birth to the most zealous, the most learned, and the most influential historical scholars of Europe. A Teutonic school of history supplanted that of France, and England produced some of the most docile and thorough-going disciples of that school. It was laid down with all the enthusiasm of discoverers of a new doctrine that the foundations of European institutions and civilization were to be found, not in Latin or Romance, but in German origins, that Charlemagne was not a Frenchman but a German, that he must be called Karl der Grosse or Charles the Great, and that his capital should be written as Aachen and not Aix-la-Chapelle. Every compiler of a textbook in this country hastened to employ German spellings for the names of persons and of places that had for generations been familiar in their French forms. This change in nomenclature was really a re-reading of the history of Europe.

This altered outlook on the past had a direct bearing on practical politics. In Germany it served a patriotic purpose, and aided in fostering that demand for German unity which had been generated in the War of Liberation. But it did not stop with that achievement. The legend of Charlemagne, transformed by this new interpretation, justified a German headship in Europe as it had formerly been employed to justify a French Empire. The history of the Holy Roman Empire, that standing illustration of German incompetence and German disunion, was recast by Von Sybel and others, to create the impression that Germany was the rightful inheritor of the imperial power of Rome, and that it had only ceased to rule Europe because its energies had been diverted for a time to the distracting

task of guiding the world in the direction of religious reform. The task of Luther having been performed, German rulers were entitled to resume the rôle once played by the Karolings, by the Ottos, and by the Hohenstaufen.

The enforced recognition of the fact that historical teaching and reading can have such far-reaching results is bound to give a new stimulus to the study of the past. The conclusion to be drawn is not that some antidote must be found for views which seem fraught with such danger to other states, or that history must necessarily be propagandist. It is rather that history, and especially recent history, should be so carefully studied that the German point of view may be understood, and that its strength and its weakness may be alike appreciated. The isolation of Britain, at once its strength and its weakness, should enable the people of this country to engage in such a study without that bias and prepossession which compel a one-sided and partial view. It has been a weakness of our educational system that we have neglected the history of all countries but our own, and that our instructed historical survey has generally ended with the battle of Waterloo. It is high time that this defect should be rectified.

The two greatest political events in European history since 1815 have undoubtedly been the union of Italy and the history of Germany. Both were great achievements, and both were accomplished in face of enormous difficulties. There are some instructive similarities and still more instructive contrasts between the two movements, and the methods adopted by the leaders in both countries may be open to well-founded criticism on moral grounds. But there is one very obvious contrast between the two. In Italy there was a strong popular desire for unity, and the various stages in the process of consolidation, in spite of sundry imperfections, were justified by the approval of the popular will. Piedmont, even with assistance from

foreign powers, could never have forced upon Italy submission to the House of Savoy. In Germany there was an equal passion for union and much historical justification for Prussian headship. But Prussia deliberately refused in 1848 to accept the offer of headship from the German people. Bismarck, the founder of modern Germany, preferred to found the German Empire upon the foundation of force, or of "blood and iron" as he termed it. Three successive wars, against Denmark, against Austria, and against France, were deliberately waged to erect the imposing edifice of modern Germany. The worship of brute force, inspired by the conditions under which German union was achieved, has alienated countries which by origin, by past alliances, and by varied obligations, were inclined to welcome and to support a united Germany.

There is at the present time an obvious and a well-justified demand for books which will enable English readers to understand the growth of the modern states-system, and especially the growth of the state with which we have been forced into an internecine struggle. Miss Elizabeth Levett, whom I first met as a brilliant student in the School ot Modern History at Oxford, has written a clear and terse narrative of the events of the last hundred years, which may be commended as a useful introduction to further study, and as a volume that even the well-informed reader may peruse with interest and profit.

RICHARD LODGE.

October. 1914.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

1815. Congress of Vienna.
Battle of Waterloo.
Second Treaty of Paris.
Banishment of Napoleon.

1819. Carlsbad Decrees.
Beginning of German Zollverein.

1820. Revolutions in Spain, Portugal, and Naples.
Death of George III.
Assassination of Duc de Berri.

1821. Congress of Laibach.
Revolution in Piedmont.
Murder of Patriarch of Constantinople.
Death of Napoleon.

1822. Congress of Verona.
Independence of Greece proclaimed.
Canning succeeds Castlereagh as Foreign Secretary.

1825. Death of Alexander I of Russia.
Death of Ferdinand IV of Naples.
Hungarian Diet meets again.

1827. Death of Canning.
Battle of Navarino.

1830. Risings in Germany.
Revolution in France.
Revolution in Belgium.
Risings in Poland and in Italy.

1831. Accession of Charles Albert.

1832. Reform Bill passed in Great Britain.
Death of the Duke of Reichstadt (Napoleon's only son).

1833. Treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi.

1835. Death of Francis I of Austria.
Carlist War continues in Spain.

1839. War between Turkey and Mehemet Ali.

1840. Death of Frederick William III of Prussia.
Marriage of Queen Victoria.
Treaty between Great Britain, Russia, and Austria against Mehemet Ali.
Louis Napoleon's landing in France; beginning of his imprisonment.
Body of Napoleon I brought back to Paris.

1846. Polish Rising in Galicia.
Pius IX becomes Pope.
Escape of Louis Napoleon from prison.
The "Spanish Marriages".

1847. Hungarian Diet draws up Schemes of Reform.
Charles Albert adopts Liberal Reforms in Piedmont.
Reform Banquets in Paris.

1848. Revolutions in the Two Sicilies, France, Germany, Austria, Bohemia, Hungary, Croatia, Northern and Central Italy.
Battle of Custozza.
War between Austria and Piedmont.
Chartist Demonstration in London.
General Grant of Liberal Constitutions, both before and after Revolutions.
Louis Napoleon elected President of French Republic.

1849. Garibaldi's Defence of the Roman Republic.
Battle of Novara.
Abdication of Charles Albert.
Hungarian Rising put down.
Capitulation of Vilagos.

1850. Period of Reaction begins.
Convention of Olmütz.

1851. Louis Napoleon's Coup d'État.

1852. Louis Napoleon becomes Emperor of the French.

1854–6. The Crimean War.

1855. Death of Tsar Nicholas.

1856. Congress ot Paris.

1858. Cavour's Meeting with Napoleon III at Plombières.

1859. War of Italian Liberation begins.
Napoleon III joins Victor Emmanuel in War against Austria.
Battles of Magenta and Solferino.
Truce of Villafranca.
Lombardy ceded to Piedmont.
Death of Ferdinand II of the Two Sicilies.

1860. Tuscany, Parma, Modena, and the Romagna annexed to Piedmont.
Savoy and Nice ceded to France.

1861. William I becomes King of Prussia.
Polish Rising put down.
Formation of Rumania.
Emancipation of Serfs in Russia completed.
New Kingdom of Italy proclaimed under Victor Emmanuel (only Venetia and Rome remain outside).

1862. Bismarck becomes Chief Prussian Minister.

1863. Polish Insurrection again.
Prince George of Denmark elected to Throne of Greece.

1864. Prussia and Austria invade Schleswig-Holstein.

1866. The Seven Weeks' War between Austria and Prussia.
Battle of Sadowa.
Peace of Prague.

1867. Formation of a North-German Confederation.
Compromise (Ausgleich) between Austria and Hungary.

1870–1. Franco-Prussian War.
Battles of Worth, Gravelotte, and Sedan.

1871. Capitulation of Paris (Siege 20 September, 1870, to 30 January, 1871).
King of Prussia declared German Emperor.
Outbreak of the "Commune" (March to May).

1872. Triple Alliance between Emperors of Austria, Germany, and Russia.

1873. Beginning of the Kulturkampf in Germany.
Death of Napoleon III.

1875. Constitutional Laws drawn up for French Republic.

1876. The "Andrassy Note" presented to Turkey.
Bulgarian Massacres.
Abdul Hamid becomes Sultan.
Servia and Montenegro rise against Turkey.
Conference of Powers at Constantinople.

1877. Russia declares War on Turkey.
Siege of Plevna.

1878. Congress of Berlin.
Treaty of Berlin.
Growth of Nihilism in Russia.

1880. Germany adopts a Protective Tariff.

1881. Murder of the Tsar Alexander II

1882. Arabi Pasha's Rising in Egypt.
Battle of Tel-el-Kebir.
British Protectorate set up in Egypt.

1883. Triple Alliance between Austria, Germany, and Italy.

1885. Conference at Constantinople.
Italian Expedition to Marsowah.
British Expedition to Khartoum.

1886. Union of Bulgaria and Eastern Rumelia.

1886–7. Boulanger's Great Influence in France.

1887. Italian Failure in Abyssinia.

1890. Fall of Bismarck.

1891. Understanding between France and Russia.

1894. Armenian Massacres.
British Remonstrances.

1897. War between Greece and Turkey.

1897-8. "Dreyfus Case" in France.

1898. Death of Bismarck.

1899. Peace Conference at the Hague.

1899–1901. War in the Transvaal.

1901. Death of Queen Victoria.

1902. Commission considers Reforms in Macedonia.

1903. *Entente* between Great Britain and France.

1904–5. Russo-Japanese War.

1905. Treaty between Great Britain and Japan.
Norway becomes an Independent Kingdom.

1906. Algeciras Conference to discuss affairs in Morocco.

1907. Third Duma meets at St. Petersburg.

1908. Austria-Hungary annexes Bosnia and Herzegovina.
Prince Ferdinand of Bulgaria takes title of Tsar.

1908–9. Revolution in Turkey.

"The Kingdom of God is made visible to him to whom all Kingdoms are so many Mansions of Joy, and all Ages but the streets of his own City."

THOMAS TRÄHERNE,
Christian Ethicks, p. 554.

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S E A

EUROPE SINCE NAPOLEON

INTRODUCTORY

"He was as great as a man can be without virtue."
—*De Tocqueville.*

THE history of the nineteenth century might very well be called "What Came After Napoleon". Nearly one hundred years have passed since the battle of Waterloo, and yet the influence of Napoleon has not passed away; in fact, we may still see it at work all over Europe.

To understand this we must look a long way back. In the days of the Roman Empire all Western Europe was under one government; the Emperor in Rome was obeyed in Britain and in Spain, in Germany and in Gaul, in Constantinople and in Italy itself, to say nothing of his dominions outside Europe. But even then Britain and Gaul and Spain realized that they were separate countries, and when the Roman Empire fell each people took up its own life, and new nations arose—in great confusion and with much battle and bloodshed, but still with some elements of strength and individuality.

Throughout the centuries the nations had grown stronger and stronger; their races had become more

clearly marked, their languages and literatures had become distinct, their patriotism grew keener; and although the Holy Roman Empire of the Middle Ages lasted down to the year 1806, its power had faded away to a mere shadow.

Besides the growth of the great nations of Europe, there had been another development. Germany and Italy had broken up into a number of small States, so that in what is now called Germany there were several kings and innumerable princes and dukes and bishops, each acting like a king in his own domains; while Italy, divided into many provinces, was for the most part ruled by foreigners (see p. 64). A glance at the map will show the condition of Europe at the end of the eighteenth century better than any description.

Meanwhile, all through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries men had been debating a very difficult question. Were the peoples of Europe to govern themselves, to work out their own history, to procure their own prosperity, side by side with their own liberty; or were they to trust their kings and emperors to give them all that was good for them, to make their laws, arrange their taxes, and look after them like children? Were they to admit, in the words of the Laibach Congress, "that changes in the administration of States ought only to emanate from the intelligent and well-weighed conviction of those whom God has rendered responsible for power"?

This was what is called "benevolent despotism"; this was what Charles I believed in, what Louis XIV and Joseph II acted upon. But in Britain it had been settled by the Great Rebellion and the Revolution of 1688 that British subjects must learn to govern themselves, even if at first they were too ignorant to do so with any great success. This, too, was the

essential meaning of the French Revolution; this was what the wisest men in France had been aiming at: As Canning said, they must insist upon "the right of nations to set up over themselves whatever form of government they thought best, and to be left free to manage their own affairs so long as they left other nations to manage theirs". Unfortunately, France had not kept to the latter part of this bargain.

The Convention in 1792, Napoleon and the Directory in 1796, had led armies against their neighbours in order to spread French ideas of liberty and good government. This was intolerable. The French Revolution had been bad enough to watch, but it could not be endured that Napoleon should march his armies into Holland and Germany, into Italy and Austria, into Spain and into Russia, forcing the smaller or weaker nations to support him, or conquering them, and setting up new governments of his own making, with one of his brothers as king. True, he often did much good, especially in Germany and Italy, where he swept away useless and corrupt institutions, and where his conquests had the unexpected result of rousing national spirit. Europe, however, could not suffer such interference, for, although Napoleon's victories resulted in a great outburst of patriotic feeling, yet he himself ignored the question of nationality altogether. He could not see why Germans and French, Italians and Spaniards, could not live happily under the same rule. He aimed at making a great Empire for himself, which should cut right across the dividing lines of nationality; as he said himself, "Je n'ai pas succédé à Louis XIV, mais à Charlemagne".

This is not the place to tell the story of how Britain fought Napoleon, year after year, battle after

battle, sometimes wisely, often foolishly, winning always by sea, losing generally by land, until at last, in Wellington, she found the one man who could overcome the great Emperor by "pounding harder". The great struggle went on, until, as Pitt had prophesied, "England saved herself by her exertions, and Europe by her example". The Battle of Waterloo left Napoleon helpless. His army was defeated, he had lost his hold on France, his influence in Paris had been undermined. "Had I had an English army I should have conquered the universe," he said long afterwards, and he complained bitterly that he had been deserted by the country for which he had done so much. He was beaten, however, and Britain and the other Powers sent him to St. Helena, where he and his suite were allowed to live with some degree of freedom.

After the banishment of Napoleon, Europe had a harder problem than she had ever before tried to solve. The map had been as it were rubbed out; well-known lines and boundaries had (politically speaking) disappeared, and a reconstruction had to be attempted. The details will be found in the next chapter on the Congress of Vienna; here we must try to see wherein the difficulty lay.

When the long period of war and terror was over, a reaction was bound to set in. Napoleon had stood for usurped military despotism of one nation over another; of one man over a consenting nation. Would the reaction be in favour of the people, of the rights and liberties upon which Napoleon had trampled, or would it be in favour of the ruling or banished sovereigns? This was the question on which the future development of Europe depended, and to understand it properly one must first understand what

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contained some provisions for security of person and property, equality before the law, ministerial responsibility, freedom of the press, Parliamentary control of taxation, and other necessary privileges. Most of these Constitutions were intended to be rigid, because their framers wanted to prevent the King from changing them. But it is a very difficult matter to make a new Constitution, and in spite of their good points those that were tried generally worked very badly, and were frequently changed, as will be seen in the history of the separate countries.

Hence it is evident that the settlement of Europe in 1815, by the gathering of emperors, kings, and ambassadors who formed the Congress of Vienna, was a highly important question. Unfortunately for Europe, men's terror and disgust at the late violent changes carried them too far; even Napoleon's good work was partially undone, and yet the lines of the map were again drawn with an absolute disregard of the feeling of the smaller nations, and the idea of "self-government" seemed almost to have disappeared.

Since 1815 Europe has been steadily but surely untying the tangle left by the Congress of Vienna, allowing first one nation, then another, to struggle forth towards independence, national unity, and some form of democratic government. The aim of this book will be to take a few of the more typical struggles and show what progress has been made.

CHAPTER I

THE RECONSTRUCTION OF EUROPE

"I love no peace which is not fellowship,
And which includes not mercy."
—*Mrs. Browning.*

In October, 1814, Vienna seemed to be full of kings, and everywhere one heard the cry: "Peace! Peace!" The kings professed to feel like brothers, to seek only the good of Europe as a whole, to wish to secure her against any possible plans of Napoleon. The beautiful city, with its narrow streets, magnificent houses, and splendid Prater, was ablaze with banquets and balls, amid which the actual work of the Congress seemed to sink into the background. And yet a closer observer remarked: "All Europe is now at play round a large green table; kingdoms are the stakes, and a diplomatic shake of the dice may win a hundred thousand or a million heads". That was the trouble. The kings talked of peace, of making a settlement which should be permanent, of keeping a just balance of power, and yet each one was intent upon attaining his own ambition. The Congress has been blamed for disregarding the happiness of the peoples of whom they were disposing so lightly; but in truth the difficulties were almost insuperable. Peace had to be made at any cost, and each power could point to some previous and separate treaty or promise which had to be considered.

Vienna, it was said, was full of kings. There were the two emperors, Francis II of Austria and Alexander I of Russia; there were the kings of Prussia, Würtemberg, Bavaria, and Denmark; there were numbers of German dukes and princes; there were famous representatives for almost all the other coun-

tries of Europe—Castlereagh for Great Britain, Metternich for Austria, Talleyrand for France, Consalvi for the Pope. But it was never intended that these representatives should discuss the settlement on free or equal terms; the four Allies—Britain, Prussia, Austria, and Russia—who had sent Napoleon to Elba were determined to arrange matters as seemed best to them. The principle on which they were prepared to act was to aim at justice and fair compensation as between sovereign and sovereign, and strong safeguards against a militant policy in France, but wholly to ignore the interests of subject races, except in so far as the Congress was genuinely striving to secure peace. Very much of the success of the Congress was due to Lord Castlereagh, who, although he did not always contrive to get his views adopted, was the only man capable of holding the Allies together in peace; to him, as much as to Wellington, is due the glory of Waterloo. In spite of his Irish parentage, he was in many ways a typical English gentleman—straight, brave and decided, handsome, but without eloquence, speaking the truth always, filled with determination that whatever he set his hand to should be well done. He was an extraordinarily successful diplomatist, partly because his entire straightforwardness was incredible to men of Talleyrand's stamp, partly because his country was less self-seeking than any of the nations represented at Vienna. "Ma foi, c'est magnifique", Talleyrand muttered, as Castlereagh appeared at the Congress wearing neither uniform nor medal nor order, save the broad blue ribbon of the Garter over his plain civilian dress. The story is typical of Castlereagh, of his simplicity and disinterestedness. Yet he had his weakness. He was no statesman, he had no sense of tendencies, of popular opinion, no faith in national efforts for freedom. His remark on Italy

shows this very plainly: "I should prefer seeing the Italians await the insensible influence of what is going on elsewhere than hazard their own internal quiet by an effort at this moment", he wrote in 1815; and again: "I am sure it is better to retard than to accelerate the operation of this most hazardous principle [of freedom] which is abroad". Hence one could not expect that Castlereagh should foresee the difficulties that the Congress was creating.

The chief changes effected may be summarized very briefly with the help of the map.

France was left with almost exactly the same boundaries as in 1789; the Tsar and the British envoys would not allow Prussia to annex Alsace-Lorraine, because they foresaw that such a loss would make Louis XVIII—who had been restored in 1814—so unpopular that he would be unable to maintain his throne.

Prussia was enormously strengthened. She had laid claim to the whole kingdom of Saxony, whose king had been consistently on Napoleon's side; but a compromise was effected, and only half the kingdom became Prussian; part of Poland (the province of Posen) was added, together with Swedish Pomerania, on the Baltic coast, and the greater part of Jerome Bonaparte's kingdom of Westphalia.

Austria gave up the Flemish Netherlands and some of her rights in Germany, and gained in compensation Illyria; the Tyrol, and other valleys of the Eastern Alps; Lombardy and Venetia in Italy; Dalmatia; and Galicia, formerly part of Poland. The principal *German States* became a Confederation, which was very little improvement upon the old "Holy Roman Empire".

South Italy, which had been for a time under Napoleon's brother-in-law, Murat, was given back to

its Bourbon king Ferdinand; the free constitution which Sicily had obtained was suppressed; the States of the Church were left untouched; Genoa was forcibly given over to Piedmont.

Russia gained what was left of Poland—the largest share, for, as the Tsar had said: "Avec 600,000 hommes on ne négocie pas beaucoup". Finland also and Bessarabia were secured to her.

Norway was given to *Sweden*, in spite of much resistance; *Holland* and *Belgium* were united into one kingdom under the Prince of Orange.

Turkey was left almost untouched; *Switzerland* became a neutral Confederation, and three cantons (Geneva, Valais, Neufchátel) were added to it.

Spain and *Portugal* were left unchanged in extent, and Ferdinand VII remained in possession of his throne (see p. 232).

Great Britain, which had borne so much of the expense of the war, besides taking her full share in the defeat of Napoleon, gained very little; indeed, Napoleon in St. Helena used to mock at what he thought was her blindness to her own interests. She kept Malta, Heligoland, and the Ionian Islands in Europe, and of her foreign conquests Ceylon, Demerara, and the Cape, which had been taken from Holland.

The question in which Britain was chiefly interested at this time was the abolition of the slave trade. Castlereagh worked hard for it at the Congress, publishing one of Wilberforce's books in Vienna, and adding his own arguments to prove that slave labour was very expensive, but he could only gain a vague undertaking that it should come to an end gradually.

This summary looks rather like a meaningless tangle of names, but there are a few important facts connected with it which must be remembered if the

history of Europe in the nineteenth century is to be understood.

(i) *Prussia* was made far the strongest power in Germany; the acquisition of the kingdom of Westphalia gave her a frontier touching that of France, and the refusal of the powers to grant her Alsace-Lorraine left her with a standing cause of discontent until the provinces were won back by the Franco-Prussian war (see p. 47).

(ii) *Austria*, which already was an extraordinary mixture of races (see p. 135), added still more to her difficulties by the addition of Galicia, Dalmatia, and the Italian provinces.

(iii) *Italy* was left in an impossible condition, divided among eight states, only one of which had an Italian ruler (see p. 66).

(iv) *Holland and Belgium* were very unequally yoked together; Holland was Protestant, and Teutonic, and had cast off the Catholic rule of Spain in the heroic struggle of the sixteenth century under William the Silent; Belgium had remained Roman Catholic, and had belonged sometimes to Spain, sometimes to Austria; the Belgians used French for all their public business, a French dialect was general in eastern Belgium, and they were far more like the French than like the Dutch.

(v) *Norway and Sweden* were in much the same position. Norway was perhaps the oldest democracy in Europe; Sweden was ruled by a semi-feudal monarchy; Norway, moreover, had generally made common cause with Denmark against Sweden.

(vi) *Russia* had advanced more and more into the

affairs of Central Europe, and she was not prepared to treat her new provinces—Finland and Poland—with the generosity which alone could have reconciled them to annexation.

(vii) An attempt had been made *to keep France in check* by strengthening the powers on her frontier; i.e. Holland and Belgium had been united, Prussia had become the neighbour of France on the Rhine, the Swiss Confederation had been strengthened, the little kingdom of Piedmont and Sardinia had been encouraged. This became very important in later years, when all Europe was afraid of the growing power of Napoleon III.

While the Congress was in progress, news came that Napoleon had escaped from Elba, and was making a desperate attempt to regain his Empire. The representatives at Vienna declared that "Napoleon Bonaparte had placed himself outside the pale of civil and social relations, and as an enemy and disturber of the peace of the world, had made himself an outlaw". They then hastened to get the final act or treaty of the Congress signed, and broke up their conferences. After Waterloo the agreement was renewed, with some additional conditions to ensure that France should pursue a peaceful policy.

The chief European powers were now thoroughly convinced that they must keep Europe at peace, but they were not agreed as to how it was to be done. Alexander I, in particular, was not satisfied with the steps taken by the Congress of Vienna. In September, 1815, he published a Manifesto, stating that he, the King of Prussia, and the Emperor of Austria had decided henceforth to regulate their policy by Christian principles, and thus to prevent further outbreaks

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The chief meetings of the powers may be summarized thus:—

(*a*) *Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle*, 1818, which met to discuss the affairs of France. It agreed to withdraw the foreign armies which had occupied France, and to recognize her again as one of the Great Powers, though Britain refused to allow her to join the four Allies, who had indeed combined against France, and would have no reason for existing if France joined them. Metternich also took the opportunity to persuade the German rulers to take strong measures against all Liberal thinkers and writers in Germany.

(*b*) *Congress of Troppau*, 1820, which discussed the risings in Sicily. Metternich tried to make the Allies agree that revolutions must only come "from above", that is, that changes in government could only be made by the King and his ministers. England naturally refused to agree to this, but Metternich won the Tsar completely over to his side.

(*c*) *Congress of Laibach*, 1821, which took the same line; Austria agreed to help Ferdinand in putting down the risings in Sicily and Naples.

(*d*) *Congress of Verona*, 1822, in which Britain, under the influence of Canning, refused to sanction the attempt to help the King of Spain against his rebellious subjects.

After this summary, it will be well to cease discussing Europe as a whole, and to turn to the history of the separate countries, which is far more interesting, and which makes the work of the Congresses far easier to understand.

CHAPTER II

FRANCE AND BONAPARTISM. 1815-71

"The name which we bear obliges us to help a suffering people that calls upon us." —*Prince Louis Napoleon*, 1831.

"The people, possessing the supreme power, should do for itself all that it is able to do; what it cannot do well, it must do through its elected representatives."

—*Montesquieu. Quoted by Louis Napoleon in* 1833.

It has been said that the nineteenth century in France was only a continuation of the Revolution of 1789. During more than fifty years there was a long struggle for a government which should be consistent with the Revolution. Hence the interest of history at this time lies rather in politics than in biography. The one really interesting personality is Prince Louis Napoleon, afterwards Napoleon III, but for the first thirty years of the period he was comparatively unimportant; his life must, therefore, be left for a later part of the chapter, but in many ways it may be seen how events were leading up to his revival of the Empire.

When Napoleon was banished to Elba in 1814, the Bourbon royal house was restored in France. The nation was tired of the great Emperor and of his upstart family; of his costly and deadly enterprises against other countries. It was tired, too, of political experiments, of Republics and Directories, of Consulates and Empires. The only form of government which seemed welcome was a constitutional monarchy. It was decided to restore the Bourbons, but under conditions; the King was henceforth to rule like a British Sovereign, by the free choice of the people, and also with the restrictions of a written charter.

The first difficulty was the question of the heir to the throne. After Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette had been executed, their children had been retained as prisoners. The story of the little Dauphin's death in the gloomy prison of the Temple is well known. Although his sister, Madame Royale (afterward the Duchess of Angouléme), survived, she could not succeed to the throne of France on account of the Salic Law.

Therefore the brother of Louis XVI came to the throne as Louis XVIII, "in the nineteenth year of our reign", as he said, for he ignored Napoleon altogether, and the Dauphin was counted as Louis XVII. Supported by the Allies, he seemed likely to establish himself peacefully; until Napoleon came back from Elba (1 March, 1815), and the famous Hundred Days began. Louis fled, and Napoleon entered Paris once more. But when all was over, and Napoleon had been safely disposed of in St. Helena, Louis was brought back again by the Allies, and bound himself to carry out the Charter which he had promised when he was first made King. This Charter guaranteed the four great rights of the British Constitution—

(*a*) Equality before the Law.
(*b*) Personal Freedom.
(*c*) Freedom of Conscience or Religious Liberty.
(*d*) Freedom of the Press.

That is to say, if this Charter was observed, no one could henceforth be unjustly imprisoned or unjustly tried; every man would choose his religion exactly as he pleased, and the expression of opinion in books and newspapers would be entirely free. The King, however, had the sole right of bringing forward new legislation through his ministers; he also had the right of veto. The British system of two Houses

of Parliament was adopted, with many other British customs; only a small number of the population (about 100,000) had votes, which depended upon the amount of property held by men over thirty years of age. Later on there was much discontent with the Charter.

Louis XVIII soon found that it was very unpleasant to owe his throne to the Allies. The Allies considered that France had been wrong in receiving back Napoleon, and thus upsetting the peace of Europe. Certain penalties were therefore imposed upon her, and agreed to in the second Peace of Paris. Savoy was given back to Italy, and some border fortresses to Germany; France was obliged to pay an indemnity of £28,000,000; the Allies were to garrison a line of fortresses on the frontier, and Wellington with an army of occupation was to remain in France; the four Ambassadors of the Allies in Paris were to watch over French internal affairs. Happily, Wellington's tact and the goodwill of the Tsar made these conditions less irksome than they might have been.

Louis XVIII's reign began with a strong reaction in favour of the Monarchy, the Church, and the old ideals. Unfortunately this took the form of violent persecution of the Bonapartists. Hatred rose so high that a terrible movement known as the "White Terror" spread over southern France. There were massacres in Marseilles and other towns, and everywhere the Bonapartists were attacked, imprisoned, their houses sacked, and their families treated with the utmost insult and cruelty. Though the movement was not so widespread, it was almost as bad as anything that had taken place during the Revolution. The émigrés (or nobles who had been in exile) did their best to encourage the "White Terror" and to persuade the King to act in its spirit. However, Louis

XVIII, like Charles II, had "no desire to go on his travels again", and, when left to himself, was inclined towards a moderate and sensible policy. Nevertheless, he rejoiced when the elections of 1815 returned him an ultra-Royalist chamber, which he nicknamed the "Chambre Introuvable" (or "Undiscoverable Commons"), because he thought it would have been impossible to find a Lower House so devoted to the King's cause. This "Chambre Introuvable", however, made a vigorous attempt to drive the King much further than he was willing to go in the direction of absolutism and hostility to the Bonapartists; he therefore got rid of it in 1816, and a more moderate assembly came together.

The extreme parties in it were called the Left and the Right, and between the two were several more moderate sections. The extreme Right would have restored Church and King to the position they had held before the Revolution; they considered the Charter as mere weak truckling to the people, because the King ought really to be absolute. The extreme Left, on the other hand, was composed of men who would have restored Napoleon Bonaparte, or of others who wanted a real Republic. Between these extremes were all the more sensible men, some of whom leaned towards the Monarchy, some towards the Republic; most of them, however, would have been in favour of some extension of the franchise.

Such was the state of parties under Louis XVIII. There were few events of importance in his reign. In 1820 the murder of the Duke of Berry, the probable heir to the throne, caused much indignation, and considerably strengthened the Royalist party.

In 1823-4 the successful invasion of Spain by the Duke of Angouléme, in order to restore Ferdinand VII to his former position (see p. 234), again in

creased the king's popularity. In 1824, when Louis XVIII died, the Monarchy seemed firmly established, although there was considerable discontent among the poorer classes. The Church was once again trying to tyrannize over men's lives, by enforcing attendance at church, and by gaining more and more influence over education.

Louis was succeeded by his brother, Charles X, a man of no tact and little common sense. He was regarded as the head of the émigrés, who "had learnt nothing and forgotten nothing" during their exile. He entirely refused to acknowledge that he was king by the consent of the people, and tried instead to revive the old ideas of Divine Right. He appointed his ministers from the most uncompromising Royalists in the kingdom; he tried to re-establish the monasteries and the Jesuits in France; he enraged Paris by disbanding the National Guard, of which the city was justly proud.

France took some share in helping the Greeks in their fight for freedom, and the French fleet was engaged in the Battle of Navarino (see p. 207). In a short war with the Dey of Algiers, France captured the city, and established her most flourishing colony, Algeria.

But although these military successes were some slight consolation to the nation, they could not make Charles X popular. At last the discontent which had smouldered under Louis XVIII burst into a blaze. In 1829 the king appointed a most unpopular minister, Prince Polignac. At the general elections next year a large majority was returned against the Government, but the ministers refused to resign, and advised the King to publish three Ordinances, which were in direct contradiction to the Charter, although he had the right to issue Ordinances "for the sake of public safety".

The first ordinance abolished the liberty of the press with regard to newspapers; the second dissolved the Chamber of Deputies, which had only just been elected; the third made several alterations in the system of election.

At once the storm began. The journalists issued a protest, saying: "The Government has to-day forfeited that character of legality which makes obedience a duty. We, for our part, shall resist it." The newspapers appeared as usual, and the electors of Paris decided that revolution was the only method left to them. Next morning, 28 July, all the streets were barricaded, to prevent charges of the troops; the Hôtel de Ville was captured by the citizens; the tricolour was hoisted, the tocsin sounded—the Revolution had begun. The King was at St. Cloud, a palace a few miles down the Seine. When he received the news from Paris, he merely sent a message that the revolt must be put down by military force. The soldiers, however, had received no consideration from the King, and were generally in sympathy with the citizens; their attack, therefore, was very half-hearted, and many of them deserted. The King refused at first to give way; when he did, it was too late, and on 31 July he fled from St. Cloud. Next day he abdicated in favour of his grandson Henry, later on Count of Chambord, and the royal family, with a few followers, made its way quite unmolested to Cherbourg, whence they embarked for England.

The French nation seemed neither to regret them, nor to have any feeling against them. The great object was to establish some new government which should not attempt to uphold the obnoxious Ordinances. The disturbances in Paris came to an end. Lafayette, now a very old man, was made chief of the revived National Guard, and for a time absolute

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tion were to be his rules of life, and these were particularly likely to gain him favour with the prosperous middle classes. The Charter was revised in such a way as to deprive the sovereign of much of his power, and to make parliamentary government more of a reality in France. Louis Philippe accepted the amended Charter, and France seemed to be on the highroad to constitutional monarchy modelled on the British plan.

It is true that the King still had enemies: (1) the Legitimists, who wished to set Charles X's grandson, Henry, Count of Chambord, on the throne; (2) the Republicans, who were opposed to any form of monarchy. But there were also two far stronger powers which eventually led to the dethronement of Louis Philippe, and the overthrow of the "July Monarchy", as it was called. These forces were: (1) the growth of Bonapartism, or the worship of the Emperor's memory, and the desire to reinstate his family in France; and (2) the growing opposition of the working classes, who, indeed, had every reason for the bitterest discontent.

In order to explain the growth of Bonapartism, it is necessary to leave the events of Louis Philippe's reign for a while and to go back to the history of the Bonaparte family after 1815. When Napoleon Bonaparte married Josephine Beauharnais, she had a daughter, Hortense, by a former marriage. This daughter was married to Napoleon's brother, Louis Bonaparte, whom Napoleon made King of Holland. Their two sons were very confusingly named Napoleon Louis and Louis Napoleon; however, the elder died when quite a young man, and the younger, Prince Louis Napoleon (born 1808), is the one who concerns us. At first it was thought probable that one of these boys would succeed Napoleon, but in 1809 Napoleon

divorced Josephine, married the Princess Marie Louise of Austria, and a son, generally known as the King of Rome, was born to them. Although Queen Hortense was both grieved and disappointed at the divorce of her mother, she never lost her reverence and loyalty towards the Emperor, and she brought up her sons to regard him as the most magnificent hero the world has ever produced. When he was only thirteen, Prince Louis Napoleon wrote to his mother: "When I do wrong I think of this great man, and I seem to feel his shade within me telling me to keep myself worthy of the name of Napoleon". In 1815 the whole family of Napoleon had been banished from France, and obliged to settle in England, Switzerland, Rome, Germany—in fact, all over Europe, and they were not allowed to travel or to meet one another without passports signed by the four Allies. Queen Hortense and Louis Napoleon had taken refuge first in Augsburg, and later on in the castle of Arenenburg, on the shores of Lake Constance. The boy had a curious character and a curious life. His father had hated Napoleon's aggressive schemes, and denounced war as "organized barbarism"; he was a calm, silent, modest, but unamiable man, with a love of retirement, and a strong vein of melancholy in his disposition. Queen Hortense was a beautiful, ambitious woman, with a spirit of adventure and a passion for great achievements, which led her to idolize Napoleon. She was an eminently sympathetic mother, but her son realized later on that he had never had any discipline in his life. He combined many of the qualities of both his parents, and this perhaps is the secret of the strange contradictions in his life. He was naturally reserved and nervous, generally shabby and careless of his own personal dignity; yet he had forced himself to become an adept in swimming, riding, and

other sports, and Queen Victoria speaks in her letters of the extreme fascination of his manners when he chose. He was extraordinarily kind-hearted; once he sent all his pocket money to the Greeks who were fighting for independence; his love for Italy was very real, and dated from the winters which he spent in Rome as a boy; in 1831 he risked much in order to join the Italian risings in Romagna; he is said, though without much proof, to have become one of the Carbonari (see p. 67). Although he seemed dull and unprepossessing at first sight, he was really the most romantic of men, and his life was devoted to creating an enthusiasm, to realizing an ideal for which he was not really fitted, and which he had not the steadiness of character to uphold. He is said to have been early impressed by the idea of his destiny, of his "star", which was to lead him to greatness, but as Napoleon's son (who was brought up in Austria) did not die till 1832, it can hardly have been till after that date that Prince Louis Napoleon seriously hoped to become Emperor.

However, he seems to have set himself deliberately to revive the enthusiasm for Napoleon, by persuading himself and the French nation that the Emperor had been the great champion of the peoples against their tyrants, that he had everywhere upheld the cause of nationality and freedom. There was a little foundation for this idea, though not much; but in persuading his fellow countrymen of its truth, Louis Napoleon was giving them a new enthusiasm, a legend, perhaps, but in any case a big idea, which appealed to the chivalry and love of adventure innate in most Frenchmen. The reign of Louis Philippe was dull, and without attraction; it was a compromise, and no one really felt any devotion to the King who was not King by right of birth, to the Constitution which was

not really a Republic, or to the Government which produced no military successes. Hence it was comparatively easy to stir up the old feeling for the Bonaparte family, and Louis Philippe, who despised his rival, encouraged the feeling, under the mistaken idea that the more men admired Napoleon the more they would uphold the monarchy against the republic. Thus in 1832 the bronze statue of Napoleon was replaced on the Vendôme Column; the Arc de Triomphe, commemorating Napoleon's victories, was finished; several of the newspapers were openly Bonapartist in their sympathy; the theatres presented plays on the life of Napoleon; finally, in 1840, the body of Napoleon was brought from St. Helena, carried through the crowded streets of Paris, and buried with the utmost pomp under the dome of Les Invalides, where many of his old soldiers were passing their last days. In speaking of this striking sign a French writer has said: "When silence and the night again took possession of the city, there were two Kings in Paris, one at the Tuileries, and one at the Invalides".

Meanwhile Louis Napoleon had done his part. In 1833 he published his first political writings, *Rêveries Politiques*; in 1836 he made a desperate and unwise attempt to gain possession of the city of Strasburg, and was exiled to America; in 1837 he returned to Switzerland, and when Louis Philippe threatened the Swiss with war if they did not expel him, he went to London, where he constantly talked of what he would do when he was Emperor; in 1839 he published another book, *Des Idées Napoléoniennes*; and in 1840 he made a second attempt to upset the "July Monarchy" by landing with a few followers at Boulogne, and trying to rouse the army. He failed, and was condemned to perpetual imprisonment in

the castle of Ham; but he had gained his object, he had drawn the eyes of all Europe to him, and he had roused sympathy in France. From this time onwards the people "began to live again, and to think of something more than getting rich". Louis Napoleon employed his imprisonment in writing articles on history and on a number of projects which he wished to see carried out, such as the Panama Canal; in 1846 he managed to escape and went again to England; thus when the Revolution of 1848 broke out he was free to take advantage of it.

But it is now time to consider the other cause of the Revolution—the terrible poverty and the intense bitterness of feeling among the working classes. In France, as in Britain, a great Industrial Revolution was bound to take place, but it came rather later in France. Roughly speaking, the Industrial Revolution means the change from manufacture on a small scale to manufacture on an immense scale; the spinning wheel or the handloom in the worker's own home was replaced by huge factories, where hundreds of workmen were crowded together, superintending complicated machinery. The easier work was undertaken by women and children, under the most unhealthy conditions, and at starvation wages. The Revolution in France had abolished all trade corporations and guilds; neither masters nor men were allowed to combine for their common interests, and thus the men had no protection against low wages or ill treatment, and the masters had no agreement among themselves. Every man did what was right or wrong in his own eyes, without regard to others.

The state of the working classes in France at this time has been described by Louis Blanc, a well-known writer, social reformer, and politician. In two books, the *History of Ten Years* (1830–40) and the

Organization of Labour, he describes the general misery, the low wages, the horrors of child labour in the factories, the hatred of new machinery, the efforts of the workmen to gain better wages by strikes. The masters, he says, were entirely unsympathetic; when men were only earning ninepence for a day's work of eighteen hours, the manufacturers asserted that they had "accustomed themselves to artificial wants", and that that was why their wages were insufficient. He describes the peaceful processions of workmen in Paris, the strikes in Rouen, the refusal to pay taxes, and the terrible strike of 1831 in Lyons, where thousands of men were either out of work, or only earning starvation wages, and where a perfectly orderly and reasonable strike was put down by violence and force, instead of being settled by concessions. An enormous proportion of the men called out for military service were found to be deformed or infirm; while as to education, "no one was taught moral principles until he was a murderer", and then men tried to reform him! Louis Blanc's account of these troubles was rather one-sided and perhaps exaggerated, but very much of it was true, and the working classes were beginning to realize that nothing was being done for them, that all the advantages of the Revolution of 1830 had gone to the middle classes, the manufacturers, the merchants, and the government officials.

Such were the complaints brought against the July Monarchy by the working classes. Side by side with this discontent went much discussion of Socialist schemes. Socialism had its birth during the Revolution of 1789, and its central idea was the abolition of private property, and the establishment of the State as the only owner of property. It was thought that this change would ensure a more equal division of

wealth. Many of the Socialists, however, saw that it would be very difficult to abolish absolutely all private property; they therefore proposed that each man should own his own private necessities or luxuries (i.e. house, furniture, &c.) and also his wages, while the State should own all land, railways, factories, and shops, together with all the capital which would otherwise have been saved and retained by private individuals. Wages were to be paid by the State in proportion to the work done, and it was thought that if every citizen had a vote, the Government would be obliged to pay fair and just wages.

Some of the most famous French writers on Socialism were Babeuf, who died in 1796; St. Simon, who died in 1825; Fourier and Louis Blanc, who lived somewhat later. In details their schemes varied, but their general idea has been explained above. The chief difficulties about these plans were: (1) that the State would have to decide every man's proper work for him, and though Fourier thought this would be easy, it is generally a very difficult task; (2) that the State would probably manage the factories and workshops very badly, as it would have such an enormous amount of business on hand; (3) that if the State had to find work for every man who asked for it, it might give work which would not pay, and then the country would speedily be bankrupt.

Still, the prospect of fair and reasonable wages was very attractive, and the Socialists had many followers who were to play a great part in the Revolution of 1848. Neither St. Simon nor Fourier had any idea of stirring up a revolution; their schemes were too peaceful and theoretical to have any great influence. But Louis Blanc was a practical man, and a revolutionist; in his *Organization of Labour* he had worked out a plan by which the State might take over the

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Liberals, who were Protestant or anti-religious. The Liberal party was victorious, and France was again found on the losing side. Thus the foreign policy of this reign was as unpopular as the domestic.

At home the great question was the reform and extension of the franchise. Out of a possible 7,000,000 or 8,000,000 of men over twenty-one, only 200,000 had votes, and even these votes were frequently bribed; the country was being governed by a small minority in the interests of a minority, and under a King who gave his subjects no military or diplomatic glory to distract their attention from political questions. Thus the Revolution, which had been prepared for so many years, by so many causes, was provoked at last by the refusal of the Government to reform the franchise.

The agitation began when the Government forbade the holding of a "Reform banquet", at which the claim for an extended franchise would have been made. On 22 February, 1848, the Paris mob, joined by the National Guard, paraded the streets, shouting "Vive la Réforme! A bas Guizot!" and finally attacked Guizot's house. The King asked the unpopular minister to resign, and gave his place to Molé, who was, however, quite incompetent to deal with such a crisis. The crowds came into conflict with the police, and several individuals were shot down by the troops, who were under a most unpopular general. The violence of the populace increased every hour—they obtained arms, erected barricades, and attacked the Palais Royal and the Tuileries. Louis Philippe made one last dispirited attempt to win them back to their loyalty to the throne, but without success; he therefore abdicated (24 February) in favour of his grandson, the Count of Paris, whom he left to the regency of his mother, the Duchess of Orleans.

Although the deputies were willing to accept this arrangement, the Republican and Socialist parties, headed by Lamartine, Louis Blanc, and Ledru-Rollin, would have no more of monarchy, and they set up a Provisional Government at the Hôtel de Ville. The Regency was abandoned, the Republic was proclaimed, and Lamartine's quick wit and ready sympathy prevented further bloodshed. The Socialists could now carry their ideas into practice, and on 25 February the principle of the "Right to Work" was accepted, and an address was issued by Louis Blanc, beginning, "The Government agrees to guarantee the existence of the workmen by labour, and work to all citizens". A committee of labour was set up at the Palace of the Luxembourg, with Louis Blanc at its head, to discuss all kinds of labour questions.

On 9 March, when 4000 tradesmen came to complain of the ruin that had overtaken them, it was decided to set up "National Workshops", giving work to all who asked and had no other means of livelihood. Louis Blanc declared afterwards that he opposed the "National Workshops", and indeed the scheme as put into practice was entirely unlike Blanc's plan for the organization of labour. The idea, however, seems to have originated in his writings. Within a month there were 60,000 workmen, from all parts of France, dependent on the State. The numbers afterwards rose to over 100,000. Of these, only 14,000 could work on one day, and their work consisted in excavating the Champs de Mars—a task which was of no use to anyone—or in similar public works; the others were paid for doing nothing. As they were all armed, they constituted a grave danger to Paris, and to any government which should displease them. Meanwhile it had been decided that manhood suffrage

should be established immediately, and on 26 April a general election took place. The majority was moderate in policy and strongly anti-Socialist, for the mass of the people outside Paris, and especially the peasants, were conservative in their views. Among the deputies was Prince Louis Napoleon, elected simultaneously by three constituencies, including Paris. However, although he was not considered dangerous, he was not allowed to take his seat, and he had the good sense to be willing to wait, believing, as he said, that "My destiny will none the less be fulfilled".

The Assembly met on 4 May to consider the making of a Constitution. After a few days, however, an armed mob collected and tried to force the adoption of Socialist principles by attacking the Assembly. The attack failed, and it was evident that the "National Workshops" were not greatly involved in it. Nevertheless, the Assembly decided upon their dissolution. On 21 June a tactless order was given that all the workmen should be discharged within three days, and that the able-bodied should be forced to enlist. This very naturally roused the fury of the workers, and a terrible insurrection broke out. For three days the eastern and poorer quarter of Paris fought a desperate fight with the west; fire and bloodshed and every kind of violence marked the struggle; 9000 of the troops were killed; but in the end the Socialists were defeated, and their numbers, already reduced by casualties during the fighting, were still further lessened by deportation. Paris had learnt a lesson which made it unlikely that the experiment of National Workshops would ever be tried again.

This terrible episode drove Louis Napoleon out of men's minds for a time. Although the Duke of Wellington declared that France wanted a new Napoleon,

he added, "I cannot yet see him. Where is he?" *Punch* seems to have been more far-seeing, for during this summer a mock advertisement appeared: "*Want Places, &c.*—As Emperor or President, in a place where a large standing army is kept, by a young man of Imperial principles, who can be well-recommended—by himself. Is willing to revive the glories of the Empire, and to make Europe generally uncomfortable.—Address, Louis Napoleon, London." No one, however, really expected that he would attain his ambition. In September the Prince was again elected by five departments, and this time he took his seat, saying that he had returned to work for France as a citizen of the Republic. Although he was greeted without enthusiasm in the Assembly, and even considered too stupid to be dangerous, and although some of the papers treated him with unsparing ridicule and calumny, his popularity in Paris and throughout France increased daily.

In November the new Constitution was made public. France was to have a thoroughly democratic Republic, the Assembly was to be elected by manhood suffrage, and the President was also to be elected in the same way—by a vote of the whole nation. It was feared that the people would not uphold the Republic; that their conservative instincts would lead to some kind of restoration of the Monarchy. Lamartine, in a wonderful speech, persuaded the Assembly to take the risk. "The die is cast," he ended; "let God and the people pronounce! Something must be left to Providence." The Assembly took the risk, and on 10 December Louis Napoleon was elected first President of the French Republic by over five million votes, while the next candidate had only one and a half millions.

The magic of a great name, the force of sympathy, and the worship of a strong, determined man had enabled Louis Napoleon to fulfil his destiny; his star had led him to the highest position in France. It was thought that he would not rest satisfied with being President, elected for four years only, but that he would go on to make himself Emperor. Undoubtedly if he had done so immediately after his election, he would have been supported by the vast majority of the nation. But he had promised publicly to resign at the end of the four years, and he was always convinced that, theoretically, a republic was the best form of government. He therefore took the oath to be faithful to the Republic and the Constitution, and outlined his future policy by declaring that, "God helping us, we will at least do some good, even if we are unable to accomplish great things".

Thus ended the third French Revolution. It is one of the most remarkable phases in the history of the modern world. The Revolution touched almost every country in Europe. It was the product not only of special causes of discontent, but of a great movement in favour of the liberal and democratic institutions which had been trampled underfoot in 1815. It has been said that the Congress of Vienna gave Europe thirty years' peace; it is true, and yet the revolutions of 1848 are also due to the reactionary policy of the Congress. That Italy felt the impulse was shown both by an attempt to expel the Austrians and by the extraordinary establishment and defence of the Roman Republic; Austria had to struggle with revolution at home as well as with war and insurrection in Italy; all Germany was stirred by the movement towards union and the revival of the German Empire, coupled with a vehement demand for manhood suffrage. The effects of this great wave of revolution will be described

in dealing with the different countries. Spain alone, which had an almost continuous revolution ever since 1830, was for the time hardly touched by this new spirit of unrest. Even Britain, which had less cause for discontent than any other European nation, feared Chartist riots in the London streets, and armed her citizens as special constables. It was at this time (April, 1848) that Prince Louis Napoleon was seen on his beat with a truncheon.

The Prince President entered upon his office with the best of intentions, but his political difficulties were many and his experience slight. His first decided action, the sending of the French expedition under General Oudinot against Rome (see p. 72), seems inconsistent; that the President of a newly formed republic should send an army against a still newer republic is surprising, to say the least of it. But there is some excuse. Louis Napoleon never took the side of the mob, and he believed that Mazzini and Garibaldi were only leading a mob; he was genuinely afraid that the victorious Austrians would interfere in Rome, and set up a worse tyranny than it had yet suffered; he was also convinced that Pius IX was really endeavouring to govern on liberal principles, and ought to be restored. But to the outside world, and to Italy, it certainly looked as if the French Ministers might have allowed the Roman citizens to judge for themselves, as the Parisians had done.

In home affairs his policy was not very clear; he seemed to favour the Monarchist party, and allowed the Church to regain much of her former influence. By the "Loi Falloux" the Church gained the direction of university education; the franchise was again restricted by the requirement of three years' continuous residence as a qualification; the Press was restrained once more; the President himself went about making

speeches on the necessity for a reform of the Constitution.

In December, 1851, he showed his hand more plainly. By a *coup d'état* he dissolved the Assembly, arrested the chief party leaders, re-established manhood suffrage, and induced the new Assembly to extend his term of office as President for ten years. Some violent resistance was put down by the troops, and a few days later a *plébiscite*, or direct vote of all the electors, gave him a huge majority and approved his *coup d'état*. The changes in the Constitution all gave more power to the President, and left the Assembly almost useless. Not satisfied, however, with this, Louis Napoleon ventured on a second *coup d'état*, and on 2 December, 1852, he asked for another *plébiscite*, which gave him the title of Emperor, as Napoleon III. Almost eight millions had voted for him this time.

The question arises: Had Louis been sincere when he swore to serve the Republic? It is not necessary to suppose that he was already intending to become Emperor, though he may well have been thinking of it; his many difficulties with the Assembly had driven him to the *coup d'état*, and he always maintained that as his throne was based upon a popular vote, there was nothing illegal in the means by which he had attained it. Like Chatham, he seems always to have had the feeling: "I know that I can save the country, and that no one else can". As early as 1831 he had said: "If the Rhine were a sea, then would I have a pure and simple republic". In times of danger he thought an empire was more likely to preserve peace.

Most unfortunately his foreign policy did not correspond in the least with his ideal of a peaceful empire. Two motives drove him into wars—a genuine desire to help weaker nations, and an ardent longing to win

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chooses to act as the champion of another has no right to throw over the rôle as soon as it becomes inconvenient. Italy had good reason for thinking herself tricked, and although the victorious Emperor was received with the utmost enthusiasm in Paris when he returned, this added popularity was shortlived.

Opposition to the Empire began to make itself felt. The clerical party could not forgive the Italian war; the trading classes were opposed to the free-trade policy which brought about the treaty of 1860 between France and Great Britain. The Emperor's foreign policy was somewhat fantastic, and always open to attack; in 1860 he joined Britain in a war to force the Chinese to open their ports to Europeans; in 1863 he undertook an unnecessary and absurd scheme to set up a Latin Empire in Mexico, under the Archduke Maximilian of Austria, a scheme which he afterwards abandoned when his help was most needed; he also attempted to colonize Anam and Cochin-China. In Europe he was obliged to stand by and see the various difficulties in Italy, in Poland, and in Schleswig-Holstein settled without his advice, for Europe unanimously rejected the idea of another Congress.

At home, however, he realized that he must retain the support of the people, and therefore more freedom of discussion was granted to his Assembly, and the newspapers were allowed to publish debates. In 1863, after the elections, a small but powerful Opposition appeared, with Thiers at the head. Napoleon III feared the revival of the old Republican party, and therefore turned again to the question of the working classes. His industrial policy included several wise and necessary laws; he allowed the establishment of co-operative societies, he granted the workers the right to organize strikes and to form trade unions, he made no objection to the founding

of an "International Association of Workers", and in many ways he encouraged thrift among the poor, and gave his help to schemes for improving the conditions under which they worked. The Labour party, however, had by this time fallen under the influence of the Socialist writer, Karl Marx (see p. 299), and was not disposed to be satisfied with the very real improvements which the Emperor was offering. The opposition to the Empire grew rapidly. The short and wholly decisive war of 1866 (see p. 108), in which Prussia had defeated Austria, came as a great surprise to Napoleon III. He had expected to be able to mediate in the quarrel, and now he suddenly became aware that victorious Prussia was only waiting a favourable opportunity to fall upon France, and that Bismarck, the "Iron Chancellor", could outwit him and outmanœuvre him at every turn. Thiers, Jules Favre, and Ollivier led the Opposition at home; Napoleon was obliged to make more and more concessions, until, in 1869, when the elections had gone seriously against him, he agreed to establish a Parliamentary Empire, in which the real power should lie with the Chambers and not with the Emperor. Nevertheless the Republicans still clamoured for the destruction of the Empire. In May, 1870, the Emperor asked for another *plébiscite*, which was given in his favour, but it was evident that he was face to face with great difficulties. It was thought that a successful war might distract attention and restore the feeling of loyalty. Moreover, a war was inevitable. Bismarck wanted it as a means of drawing the North and the South of Germany together, and what Bismarck wanted he commonly contrived to get. Napoleon himself knew that he was not ready for war, that his army was inefficient, and its arms out of date. He knew, too, that the nation did not want war. He had

tried to make alliances with Austria and Italy in view of the coming danger, but had had very little success, though he firmly believed that their help would be given when need arose. However, he was at the mercy of discontented parties in Paris; the Empress and the Clericals thought that war was the only way of preserving the interests of the Empire and the Church. Thus, although the responsibility for the war must rest with Bismarck, it cannot be denied that at least one section of opinion in Paris did its best to provoke it, and welcomed it with a light heart.

Bismarck's part in the negotiations is explained at greater length in Chapter V. The immediate cause of the war was the discussion as to whether a German prince should be allowed to accept the throne of Spain. The prince had already withdrawn, but the French ambassador, Benedetti, acting upon very persistent and imprudent orders from Paris, foolishly tried to press the King of Prussia to promise that he would never give his consent to any such plan in the future. The King informed him, politely but firmly, that he was going too far in asking such a promise, and refused to grant him another interview on the subject; he then telegraphed his reply to Bismarck. Bismarck slightly altered the form of the telegram, made it read like a studied insult to France, though without adding anything to what the King had written, and then published it. Both nations were moved to fury—Germany at the "outrageous arrogance" of Benedetti's demand, France at the public slight to her ambassador. Both nations prepared for hostilities. The Chamber in Paris was almost unanimously in favour of war; only ten members opposed the vote for the mobilization of the army. Once more France was led, against her will, by the strong feeling in Paris.

On 19 July war was declared. The two combatants

were very unequally matched. France had no allies at all. Italy was intent upon gaining possession of Rome, and therefore would not help France, even if any gratitude were still owing to Napoleon III. Garibaldi, it is true, with some volunteers, fought for France; but he had no support from the Italian Government. Bismarck had succeeded in securing the neutrality of Russia, Austria, Great Britain, and Denmark. Prussia, however, had the support of all the German States; for the first time in its history the German nation was fighting as one, having put aside its jealousies. The French army was inefficient, though large; it was badly equipped, unused to modern conditions of war, badly commanded, far too self-confident, though its real spirit had been sapped and drained by the luxury and corruption which had spread so rapidly under the Empire. Since 1866 an attempt had been made to render the French army more fit to cope with Prussia, and superior types of arms had been introduced, but the change was not sufficiently complete to be of much service.

The German military forces were, on the other hand, a perfect weapon, wielded by three men of political and military genius—Bismarck, Roon, and Moltke. The discipline was hard and efficient; the equipment as up-to-date as possible; the plan of campaign had long been determined. The whole army could be mobilized with almost incredible rapidity; it had recently been through a short but triumphant campaign against Austria; it was infinitely better organized than the French army. The German officers actually knew far more of the geography of France and had far better maps than the French themselves. It was small wonder, then, that the Germans were able to predict success for themselves, though they were amazed later on to find how

much trouble a spirited though disorganized nation could give.

The war was entirely a land war. Prussia at that time had no fleet big enough to do anything but defend her coasts, and France could make no use of hers. The struggle divides into two phases: the conflict on the German frontier, in which the French first talked of invading Germany but found they were not even able to check the German advance; and the later struggle within France to drive out the Germans and to preserve Paris.

The first phase began on 2 August. Three great German armies were rapidly massed upon the middle Rhine, under Steinmetz, Prince Frederick Charles, and the Crown Prince of Prussia. The original plan of Napoleon III had been to invade Germany from the south, while holding the fortresses of Metz and Strasburg. But his armies did not assemble as he expected; they moved slowly and their numbers were incomplete. He was obliged to fall back upon a defensive campaign, for which he had not been prepared, for public opinion in France had prophesied that he would be at Berlin within a fortnight.

The German commanders, on their side, had two objects in view—to defeat the French army in the field, and then to march on Paris and occupy it. The one danger which Moltke feared was that the French would reach the scene of action first, and would defeat part of the German forces before the others could come up. This very nearly happened, and undoubtedly would have happened if Napoleon III had had anything of his uncle's genius. On 28 July the French troops far outmatched those which had yet arrived from Prussia. But the French had no certain intelligence, and listened too readily to rumours; the country was hilly, almost mountainous (on the south-

Map to illustrate the

FRANCO-GERMAN WAR

1870-1

English Miles

0 10 20 40 60 80

Present boundary of France

Franco-German frontier before the war

BELGIUM

R. Meuse

LUXEMBURG

R. Rhine

R. Moselle

Frankfort

Mainz

Trier

Sedan

R. Oise

R. Aisne

Rouen

R. Seine

Paris

R. Marne

Châlons

Versailles

Gravelotte

Metz

LORRAINE

Saarbrücken

Weissenburg

Wörth

Vosges Mts.

ALSACE

Strasburg

Lunéville

R. Moselle

R. Rhine

Black Forest

GERMANY

FRANCE

Chartres

Troyes

R. Seine

R. Yonne

Orleans

R. Loire

Tours

Belfort

Dijon

R. Saône

Basel

R. Doubs

SWITZERLAND

east lay the Vosges), and patches of forest alternated with open hilltops. Troops of Germans might be lying in ambush at every corner. In any case, the French only effected a slight success, at Saarbrücken (1 August), and in the following days they were quite unable to sustain this success. The Germans won small engagements at Weissenburg and Spicheren, and important battles at Wörth and Gravelotte. The battle of Wörth is remarkable as showing the use which may be made of railways in modern warfare. The defeated French army managed to elude the German pursuit, which was not very skilful, reached the railway at Lunéville, and was no more heard of until it turned up again in the reserve army at Châlons, having in the meantime been up to Paris and down again by train!

At Gravelotte (18 August) General Bazaine was defeated, though not very decisively, and retired within the strong fortress of Metz. He has been much blamed for this move, and was condemned by court martial after the war, but he may well have thought that it would be useful to keep one German army fully occupied with the siege of Metz, and thus to gain a breathing space for France. Meanwhile, all the German troops not needed for the siege were put under the command of the Crown Prince of Saxony, and went off in search of the French army at Châlons under General MacMahon; MacMahon, on his side, advanced to relieve Bazaine and Metz. The Emperor at this time was with the army at Châlons, but he made no attempt to interfere with MacMahon's plans. He was in a most awkward position, accompanying his own army to defeat, but without the power to influence or change the plan of attack. That he loyally accepted the position is freely testified by his generals. On 1 September the

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nor a stone of our fortresses". Although his proud boast proved to be utterly vain, France redeemed her military reputation by the resistance she made. Not only Paris, but Metz, Strasburg, Belfort, and numbers of smaller fortresses held out for varying periods, thus delaying the concentration of the German armies.

A striking episode in the siege of Paris was the escape of Gambetta in a balloon; he made his way to Tours, and put himself at the head of a "Delegation" of the Government, and thenceforward carried on the war, and kept up relations with foreign powers as best he might. He did a marvellous work in raising and inspiring another army, but the generals were jealous of his constant interference, and his success was not lasting. It has been said, however, that whether he did right or wrong in his war policy, no one else at that time would have done anything.

Meanwhile the siege of Paris continued. The Germans could not take it by assault or by bombardment, and were obliged to sit down to starve it out. In the rear they were harassed by the rapidly gathering corps of the new army, and by irregular troops of the inhabitants. An army of about 150,000 had been gathered, by Gambetta's efforts, on the Loire. The Germans were thus in a perilous position. On 28 October, however, Bazaine capitulated at Metz; he had by no means exhausted his means of resistance, and his action in capitulating at that time is generally condemned as treachery. This surrender set free the German army of Prince Frederick Charles, and all hope for Paris was at an end. The French army of the Loire was defeated, the "Delegation" Government was obliged to retire to Bordeaux. Although resistance continued in the provinces, notably under Chanzy, who commanded 150,000 men at Le

Mans, and Bourbaki, who was carrying on a terrible winter campaign around Belfort, the real centre of the struggle was Paris. The inhabitants had suffered very severely from an exceptionally cold winter, and provisions were getting very low. After Christmas Day, the bombardment became more and more severe, and French attacks on German positions were generally repulsed with great loss.

On 18 January, the King of Prussia was proclaimed as German Emperor, at Versailles; on the 19th, one last desperate effort of the French at Mont Valérien was beaten back; on 23 January, Jules Favre went to Versailles to negotiate a peace; on the 27th the bombardment ceased, and on the 28th the armistice began. The operations of Chanzy and Bourbaki were thus suspended and the war was at an end. The mob in Paris was, however, highly indignant at the surrender; they greeted the generals as "Cowards" and "Traitors", and the scenes of confusion were amazing; everyone was struggling to get out of the city at once, and many succeeded in getting past the sentries. The terms of peace were at last arranged, between Bismarck and the French representatives Thiers and Favre (see p. 114): France was to recognize the new German Empire and to cede to it the whole of Alsace and Lorraine (except Belfort), and to pay a war indemnity of £200,000,000. In return for the exception of Belfort, Bismarck insisted that the German army should make a triumphal entry into Paris. Accordingly, on 1 March, the victors entered Paris from the west, marched to the Arc de Triomphe, which celebrated Napoleon's victories, and down the Champs Elysées to the Place de la Concorde. They seemed surprised to find that the Parisians had hung the great square with black flags and draperies of crape! Then the troops were

withdrawn, the siege of Paris was at an end; but the city was soon to suffer worse calamities, which belong to another chapter. The treaty of peace was confirmed on 10 May, at Frankfort.

CHAPTER III

FRANCE AS A REPUBLIC

"It is the Republic that divides us least."—*Thiers.*

"France has not lost, and will not lose courage. She is labouring; she is hoping; and while endeavouring to find her proper path, she looks forward to the day when revolutions will be at an end, and when liberty with order will for ever crown the long and painful efforts of her most faithful servants of every age and period."

—*Guizot.*

IMMEDIATELY after the capitulation of Paris, a hasty election for a National Assembly was held, and the new members met at Bordeaux, on 12 February. The great majority of the deputies were Monarchists, partly because the country districts were still conservative, and partly as a protest against the war policy to which it was believed that Gambetta and the Republican party were committed. The interest of the next few years centres in the fact that although the majority of the French and of their representatives were Monarchists, yet a Republic was firmly established in France, and has lasted longer than any form of government since 1789. The weakness of the Monarchists lay in their disunion. There were, as Thiers said, three heads and only one crown. That is, they could not decide between the Count of Chambord, grandson of Charles X, the Count of Paris, grandson of Louis Philippe, and the Prince Imperial, son of Napoleon III. Hence the party

was split into three, and the Republic was on the whole agreed to as a temporary compromise.

However, Paris had not much time in which to consider such questions. Discontent had been very bitter at the time of the capitulation, and the revolutionary elements in the city had got thoroughly out of hand. On 18 March, the Commune was proclaimed in Paris. The government of the city was seized by a group of men who, backed up by the National Guard, tried to carry out their theory that France should be divided into a number of self-governing Communes, owning no central authority. Similar attempts were made in other cities, but came to nothing. There were two main causes for the Communist outbreak—hatred of the moderate party, and a determination that Paris should not be outvoted or outweighed by the provinces. It was carried out by all the turbulent elements of the city, and scenes of the utmost brutality and violence took place. The remains of the French army, from Sedan and Metz, with the garrison of Paris, gathered at Versailles, and for nearly two months the amazing sight was seen of Frenchmen besieging Frenchmen in their own capital, before the eyes of the victorious Germans, who remained encamped on the hills round Paris. The Communists were guilty of the cold-blooded murder of many eminent citizens, including the Archbishop of Paris; they shot down scores of hostages, and when it was evident that they could hold out no longer, they set fire to most of the public buildings in Paris. The Tuileries and the Hôtel-de-Ville were burnt to the ground, and Notre Dame was only saved by accident from their senseless rage. When the French soldiers at last took possession of the city, their vengeance was equally terrible, if more deserved. It is variously reckoned that from 20,000 to 36,000

Parisians were killed by the victors. Paris had done herself a greater injury than the whole German army had inflicted on her.

At last, however, France settled down once more. Thiers, who had been head of the Government for some months, was made President of the Republic, August, 1871. Although personally he was inclined towards monarchy, the general confidence in Thiers, and the desire for compromise, made the Republic possible, and the Republicans, inspired by Gambetta, increased in numbers. Eventually Thiers boldly declared for a permanent Republic, whereupon in 1873 the Monarchists combined and drove him from office.

From this time forward the history of France is a confused and confusing story of very rapid changes of ministry, with equally confusing changes of policy among the various groups in the Chamber. Within the twenty-six years from 1873 to 1899 there were no fewer than thirty-seven different Cabinets, no ministry except Waldeck-Rousseau's (1899–1902) lasted for as long as three years, and at any time one could point to four or five quite distinct parties in the Chamber. It will therefore be necessary to summarize party politics within this period as much as possible, and the question of foreign policy will be treated separately.

After Thiers's resignation, one of the generals of the late war, Marshal MacMahon, was made President. Thereupon began a determined effort on the part of the Monarchists to combine their forces. The general policy of the new ministry was to strengthen the Church, to remove as far as possible all Republican officials, and to revive enthusiasm for the Bourbon family and for the Pope. It was decided that the Count of Chambord should be asked to accept the throne, and that, as he had no children, the Count of Paris should be recognized as his heir. He might

perhaps have become "Henry V" if he had been willing to compromise a little, but he entirely refused the first demand made upon him, that he should give up the white flag of the Bourbon kings for the tricolour. It sounds a trifle, but the French nation had become thoroughly attached to their national flag, and no minister would have dared to abolish it. Probably, too, the Count of Chambord's refusal was symbolic; he did not want the throne, and this was one way of saying that he would make no sacrifice, no compromise in order to attain it. From this time forward there was very little chance that the Bourbons would regain their kingdom; and after 1879, when the Prince Imperial was killed fighting in the British army in Zululand, there was equally little chance that the Bonaparte family would again play a leading part in France.

MacMahon introduced several constitutional changes in the Republic. By a law called the Septennate, it was decreed that the President should always hold office for seven years, instead of four; at the same time the President was no longer to be Prime Minister, and therefore need not be affected by changes of party policy. Thus the President became more like a British king, to some extent above party, while the Prime Ministers changed with amazing rapidity.

In 1875 the formal Constitution of the Republic was drawn up and accepted; the President was to be elected by the Chamber and the Senate sitting together, he was to hold office for seven years, and was to be re-eligible.

One of the most important questions still to be decided was the position of the Church. What was to be the attitude of the new Republic towards religion as a whole, and towards the Roman Catholic Church in particular? Was Christianity to be offici-

ally abolished, as under the first Revolution? Was the Church to be separated from the State and allowed to go on its own way, with neither help nor hindrance from the State? Or was the State to try and maintain a compromise, like the Concordat which Napoleon I had made with the Pope, by which the Church was both controlled and protected by the State? It was a very difficult problem, all the more difficult because it was so closely connected with education, and education was a cause very dear to the Republicans. Gambetta's words, "Aprés le pain, l'éducation", expressed the common feeling throughout France. Education, however, to a very large extent, lay in the hands of the Church. The Jesuits were the best teachers in France, and there were many other religious orders which spent most of their time in educational work. Almost all girls received their education in convent schools, and even in university teaching the influence of the Church was very strong. The question therefore arose: Was this quite fair to those parents or students who did not want a religious education, or who did not want a Roman Catholic education? One must remember that in the attacks made on the Church there were two parties—those who wanted as far as possible to destroy religion, and those who only wanted to make the laws perfectly fair and just to everyone, even though it meant lessening the influence of the Church.

It was in 1877 that Gambetta ended one of his speeches with the words that have since become famous, "Le Cléricalisme, voilá l'ennemi". By Clericalism he meant that devotion to the interests of the Church that made men ignore their opponents' views, that determination to put the Church first in every question, regardless of what others called justice, together with the desire to uphold the Pope's

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statesman. He was too rash, too impetuous, too fond of domineering and interfering in other people's business; he could do good work when all the responsibility fell on him, but he could not work with others.

In 1883 Jules Ferry was made Prime Minister. Under him the Constitution was again revised, and a further attempt was made to render it more "rigid"; it was declared that the republican form of government should never be upset, or even called in question. Of course, there is no power that could force the French nation to accept this rule, but on the whole they seem to prefer a republic, and therefore it has never been seriously challenged. It was also enacted that no member of a former reigning house should be eligible for the presidency; the Republic did not want to run the risk of another Napoleon III.

The years 1886–9 were enlivened by the strange and tremendous popularity of General Boulanger, the Minister for War, who became the idol of the soldiers, and had dreams of being a successor of the great Napoleon. The Government was exceedingly unpopular, it was thought that all the ministers both gave and took bribes; and France was always ready to welcome a hero. Boulanger was a dashing, picturesque figure, who caught the fancy of the people. For years afterwards, in almost every cottage one might see a portrait of him on his great black horse. The Royalists supported him because they hoped he would restore a Bourbon king; Paris and the people generally were willing that he should do what he pleased. However, in 1887, Carnot, the grandson of the man who had "organized victory" in 1793, was made President, and his personal popularity diverted attention to some extent from the royalist hero. In 1889 the Government decided to arrest Boulanger, but he fled from the country, and soon afterwards

committed suicide in Belgium. He has been called a "sham Napoleon", and that is a very fair description of his character.

Under Carnot various reforms were carried out in the army, and with regard to the working classes. In 1892 the Pope, Leo XIII, sent an Encyclical (or public letter) to all French Roman Catholics, bidding them accept the Republic as a settled form of government; many moderate Monarchists therefore abandoned their views, and the feeling between Church and State became more friendly for a time.

But this satisfactory state of affairs was not to last long. In 1892 the Panama Canal scandal was the one subject of interest. The great engineer de Lesseps, who had planned the Suez Canal, afterwards undertook a far more difficult task—the construction of the Panama Canal, which was to connect the Atlantic and the Pacific Oceans. The project was eagerly taken up, and hundreds of the thrifty French poorer classes invested their scanty savings in the Panama Canal Company. The difficulties proved to be enormous; the United States was hostile to the whole scheme; £50,000,000 were spent on the work, and it was calculated that £30,000,000 more would be needed. Even when the canal was opened, it was not likely to pay for a long time. It was suspected that the vast sums of money had not been spent on the canal, and that the ministers and members of both Chambers knew only too well where they had gone. The shareholders, who were losing both their interest and their savings, insisted on an investigation. One minister was condemned, and sentence passed on de Lesseps himself, though, as he was over ninety and very infirm, it was not carried out. Public opinion was not, however, satisfied; it was generally thought that ministers were shielding themselves, and the

unpopularity of the Government increased yet more. Unfortunately the prevalent corruption, instead of leading to a determined and vigorous protest, only drove the best men out of politics, disgusted with the present state of affairs and sceptical as to their power to improve matters. The ordinary Frenchman of to-day is even more disposed than the ordinary Englishman to grumble at the government, without considering that he himself helps to form that government; he does not even give vent to his feelings by writing letters to the newspapers!

In 1894 President Carnot was assassinated at Lyons, and his successor, Casimir-Périer, resigned in seven months, because he could not accept the policy of the Chambers.

The next President, Félix Faure, was a new type—a successful business man, with a keen eye for practical advantages. He set himself to increase the ceremonial side of his office, to make himself a more impressive figurehead, and to gratify the French love of splendour and display. In 1896 he arranged a magnificent reception for the Tsar when he visited Paris—the first visit that had been paid by any European sovereign to the officials of the Third Republic. In 1899 Faure died, and was succeeded by President Loubet.

During these years the great cause of excitement was "the Dreyfus Affair", which even now is not forgotten in Paris. It had its origin in a strong anti-Jewish feeling, which had become very prominent in Paris about 1890 through the influence of some of the newspapers. The Jews were hated at first, not because of their religion, but because it was thought that the great Jewish financiers were using their wealth to corrupt the Government; they were hated, too, by the Socialists simply on account of their wealth,

which, it was thought, was a means of oppressing the poor; finally, the Clericals joined in the crusade, because they thought Jewish influence was anti-religious. In 1894–5 Dreyfus, a Jewish captain in the French army, was accused of having sold valuable information to the German Government. French trials are carried on very differently from those in this country; much of the procedure is secret, evidence is used by the judges which is not necessarily shown to the prisoner, and the accused is "held to be guilty until he is proved to be innocent". Moreover, this was a trial by court martial, and when Dreyfus was degraded and sentenced to imprisonment for life in the Devil's Isle, off South America, there was very little agitation or sympathy on his behalf, although there was much indignation in this country when the methods of trial were later on disclosed. Gradually, however, more information leaked out about the secrets said to have been sold to Germany, and, though the Government did its best to hush up any further evidence, public opinion gradually grew in favour of Dreyfus, and the Government was obliged to grant a new trial. It was no longer a simple question of whether a man had been unjustly condemned; "l'affaire Dreyfus" became the one issue in politics on which men took sides. All the anti-Jewish party were against Dreyfus, almost all the army, most of the Clericals and Royalists, together with some who wished to defend the Republic through thick and thin. On Dreyfus's side were the Jews, the Radicals, the Socialists, the Protestants, and, in general, all those who wished to bring about a real improvement in the administration of justice in France. During the second trial the excitement all over Europe was intense, and Paris went almost mad with party feeling. Great writers like Zola and Anatole France

fanned the flame by defending Dreyfus, while Royalist and Catholic writers used their pens against him. At last he was found guilty, but the judges declared that there were "extenuating circumstances", and he was pardoned. After a third examination of the whole matter he was reinstated in the army and promoted. No one was really satisfied with the final result, but France was glad to drop the question which had raised so much bitterness, and is still a very tender point, both with ardent politicians and with those who are keen for the honour of France.

The end of the Dreyfus case coincides with the end of the nineteenth century, and would make a good point at which to stop, were it not that one great question, mentioned earlier in this chapter, has been decided since the year 1900.

The relations of Church and State yet remained to be dealt with, and the final solution of the question has been the complete separation of the two.

In 1901 the chief subject of discussion in the Chamber of Deputies was the "Associations Law", which was aimed at the religious orders. It was thought that the Jesuits had used their influence against Dreyfus. The religious orders had enormously increased in numbers, in spite of the hostility of the Republic; their property was valued at £40,000,000 sterling; most of the orders had not been "authorized" under the earlier laws, and were consequently liable to be dissolved at any moment. Throughout the debates it was noticeable that the most earnest champions of the Church were not the Clericals, but the Liberals, who had always stood for tolerance, and who especially disliked the refusal to allow the religious orders to continue their work of teaching. This refusal, they thought, was a direct interference with liberty.

However, in 1903 Émile Combes was made Prime Minister, and his main policy seems to have been inspired by hostility to the Church. The Associations Law had been passed in 1901; Combes set to work to put it in force as strictly as possible. Several thousand private schools were abolished, because the teachers in them were said to be members of the religious orders; many of the orders were dissolved and part of their property confiscated; many of the communities voluntarily left France and went to England or other countries, where they could carry on the work of education unmolested.

At the same time Combes quarrelled with Pope Leo XIII about the nomination of the French bishops. In the midst of the quarrel the Pope died, and was succeeded by Pius X, a much less diplomatic man, who vigorously opposed Combes's policy.

In 1904 the Pope protested against the intended visit of the President to the King of Italy, in language which was obviously offensive to France; later on in the same year he attempted to deprive two bishops of their sees without any reference whatever to the French Government. This brought the matter to a crisis, and diplomatic relations were broken off; that is to say, there was no longer any agreement between the Papacy and the French Republic; ambassadors were no longer sent from the Vatican to Paris, nor from Paris to the Vatican.

Next year, 1905, came the decisive Act of Separation in France. Henceforth the Stäte was to make no payment or grant of any kind to any religion or Church, though liberty of conscience and freedom of worship were to be secured; pensions were to be allowed to those priests or ministers who had previously been paid by the State; the property of all religious bodies was to be transferred to new "Asso-

ciations for Worship", which were to be set up in each district, while a formal "Inventory" was to be taken in each church, to decide to whom its property really belonged. As the Pope forbade all Roman Catholics to form these "Associations", this part of the law was never properly carried out. The "Inventories", however, were taken, amid considerable opposition in Paris and in some of the country districts. Thus the final separation of Church and State was complete. The most remarkable fact about this change was the general indifference with which it was regarded; the better men on both sides objected to the manner in which it was carried out, but the majority of the people cared nothing for the great questions involved. The refusal to allow religious instruction in the schools seems to be increasing this indifference, though there are also undeniable signs that the Church has gained in vigour and independence from its enforced separation from the State.

With this problem to some extent solved, one may leave the internal affairs of France to give a brief outline of her foreign policy since 1870.

The key to French history since the Franco-Prussian War may be described as mingled hatred and fear of Germany. On the one hand was a keen desire for revenge and a longing to recover the lost provinces of Alsace-Lorraine; on the other was Bismarck's fear that France had not been sufficiently defeated, and his intention to strike another blow if his fallen enemy showed any signs of recovering strength.

Thus in 1875 a second war was only just averted. The new Republic seemed to Bismarck to be growing too strong, and France had always spirit enough to attack any foe, however superior in forces. However, the Emperor William and the Crown Prince were both in favour of peace; Queen Victoria used her per-

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moting greater mutual knowledge and interest and closer friendly intercourse. France has now established her right to the whole of North-west Africa, from Tunis southward to the Congo, with the exception of some relatively small British and other states on the coast. This territory includes some extremely unpromising stretches of country, such as part of the Desert of Sahara, and it would seem to add very little to the wealth or importance of France. But the French people have very little genius for colonization, and, as has been satirically remarked, this vast accession of territory is "no doubt a satisfaction to a people which prefers to pursue its policy of colonial expansion without the aid of emigration". Algeria, the most valuable part of French foreign possessions, is not accounted a colony, but an integral part of France, sending members to the Chamber of Deputies.

Thus France at the present day seems to stand in a secure position; there is little or no fear that the Republic will be overthrown; there is appreciably less fear of Germany, now that France can count upon Britain and Russia as her allies, although Russia has been very much discredited by her defeat in the Russo-Japanese War (1904–5).

Probably the chief dangers with which France is threatened are due to the declining birth rate, which makes it impossible for her to have flourishing colonies of the British type; to the distaste with which many of her best men look upon political life, as corrupt and altogether too precarious; and to the discontent which exists among the working classes, and which has shown itself in recent years by very extensive strikes. There is no reason, however, why these threatened dangers should not pass away. France has had centuries of autocratic rule, and the feeling

for self-government must grow slowly; as it grows, corruption and autocratic methods ought to drop away from a Republican form of government, which is at least intended to be "by the people and for the people".

CHAPTER IV

GARIBALDI AND THE LIBERATION OF ITALY

"In the end, a country true to itself and determined to claim God's gift to brave men, will overmatch a mere army, however solid its force."

—*Meredith, Vittoria*, p. 71.

In 1807 a little boy was born in Nice. He was the son of poor fisher folk, who had never done nor thought anything great. Yet he was fated to be heard of in every corner of the world, to be loved by men of every nation, and above all to restore his own country to Liberty, Independence, and Peace. For Italy was in a sad plight during the years in which the boy Joseph Garibaldi grew up. Italy is the most beautiful country in Europe, the land of great poets and painters, of soldiers and of saints, the land of a picturesque, romantic, and brave people. But Italy had never had a peaceful Government under one ruler since the days of the Roman Empire. Some of her poets have bewailed her "fatal gift of beauty", which has attracted race after race of conquerors for the last thousand years. Many causes contributed to the disunion of Italy, but the two chief were: first, the long connection with Germany in the Middle Ages, when the Holy Roman Emperor claimed to be King of Italy; and secondly, the existence of the Papacy in Rome, which made it impossible for a strong national kingdom to arise. Thus, when

Garibaldi grew to be a man, and first realized that Italy was his country, this is what he saw.

In the south, where Naples and the island of Sicily

formed the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, was a King, Ferdinand II, half Spanish and half French by descent, afterwards nicknamed "Bomba". The people hated him, he was a foreigner, and was entirely under the sway of Austria. His government ought not to have been bad, because the laws and institutions were

fairly good. But the laws were constantly broken, no justice was done, punishments were brutal and capricious, the people were ignorant and very poor, neither trade nor agriculture was flourishing, chiefly owing to the foolish interference or the neglect of the government.

North of the Two Sicilies lay the States of the Church or Papal territory, with Rome, the former mistress of the world, as their capital. For centuries the Pope had ruled these States both in temporal and in ecclesiastical matters; he was, one might say, both King and Pope, with the whole system of government depending on him alone. Here men were bullied and threatened by the priests who taught them, governed them, and punished them. "We don't like young people to think unless we know the subject of their thoughts" was the principle on which these clerical rulers acted. Under such a government freedom in thought, in politics, in religion, even in ordinary life, was unknown; and although the Romans were on the whole attached to the Papacy, yet year by year their respect for religion decreased, and their desire for liberty and progress grew stronger.

Northwards again came the Grand-Duchy of Tuscany, which was fairly well governed, and where, in Florence, Mrs. Browning lived undisturbed during many years of Italy's struggle for freedom. But although the Tuscans had little to complain of, they had nothing to rouse them to energetic or independent action, and their patriots were unpractical and wanting in determination.

Three small states lay to the north of Tuscany; of these, Lucca, the smallest, had a tolerant but foolish and capricious Duke; Parma was well governed by the ex-Empress, Marie Louise, Napoleon's widow, and was in a very flourishing condition; Modena,

under its Duke Francis, was considerably oppressed. Francis was well-meaning, but so suspicious of new ideas or patriotic leanings that he even forbade his people to read Dante!

In the north were two much larger divisions. Piedmont with the island of Sardinia was ruled by a native prince, and represented the union of the ancient kingdoms of Savoy and Sardinia, with Turin as its capital; its government was simple, honest, and well-intentioned, but not very progressive; it was inspired alternately by hatred of France and of Austria, and two of its kings, Charles Felix and Charles Albert, did little to help it forward. Charles Felix openly said: "The first duty of a loyal subject is not to complain", while Charles Albert gained the nickname of "Re Tentenna", the wavering king.

Eastward from Piedmont, the old kingdom of Lombardy and the province of Venetia had been given over to Austria; the famous Iron Crown of Lombardy was taken to Vienna, and Austria tried to make her new subjects forget that they were Italians. It is only fair to say that this was the best governed part of Italy; in finance, in justice, in religion, in education, in local government the administration was just and enlightened, and Lombardy prospered under Austrian rule. But in political matters injustice was common; men who differed from the Austrian statesmen suffered long and cruel imprisonment and even torture, and at last the feeling against the foreign rulers grew so strong that the nobles of Milan refused to speak to an Austrian officer, and no Italian lady would recognize an Austrian in society.

Thus Italy was so divided, by race, by geography, and by government, that it seemed almost impossible to hope for her union. Yet all over Italy a desire for change was growing up; secret societies, such as

the Carbonari, kept up a ferment of small revolutions, and in every city of Italy the young men were leaguing together to fight against the intolerable oppression. Unfortunately, they did not agree among themselves; some thought that Italy should become a group of small republics; some wished for a united monarchy; some thought that the Pope (especially Pius IX) might put himself at the head of the reforming movement and give Italy free institutions.

It is because Garibaldi, with his strong simple and fine character, became the hero of these different parties, that he has been chosen for the central figure of this chapter.

Young Garibaldi grew up as a sailor; he saw and thought much of the misery of Italy, and something of the new ideas of liberty. Lord Byron, with a brave little band of Englishmen, was helping the Greeks to gain their independence (see p. 205), and thus Garibaldi first heard of the English as the friends of freedom. He also learnt to know Mazzini, a great thinker who was trying to rouse the young Italians to fight for "God and the people" and for a free and united Italy. When Garibaldi was eighteen, his father took him to Rome, and there, he says, he first began to dream of the Rome of the future, the centre of a great nation. He was about twenty-eight when he first joined in a rising which was meant to help Italy; but it failed, and he was obliged to flee from the country.

He went to South America in 1836, and there for twelve years he lived a wild adventurous life, fighting for Monte Video and other small states of South America; learning to be a splendid soldier, riding over the great plains on the hardy prairie horses;

now and then going back to the sea which he loved so well; gathering together a band of devoted companions, who adopted the famous uniform of the red shirt; always ready for fighting, but thinking always of Italy, planning how he might help her, making friends with the Italian exiles. At last his chance came.

Between 1834 and 1848 things had changed for the better in Italy. In almost every state the people's reiterated demands had been met by some measure of reform; their ideas had become more practical, and there was real reason for hope.

Pius IX (Pio Nono) had become Pope in 1846, and his liberal sympathies and partial reforms had won for him a popularity which was almost worship. Unfortunately he was a weak man, who could not hold firmly to any one policy, and ultimately he deceived the hopes of Italy. Yet his influence was great, for he convinced all moderate men that unity and independence did not mean the destruction of Catholicism, to which the majority of Italians were devotedly attached.

In the south, Sicily had made a tolerably successful revolution, and Ferdinand II had been obliged to grant a Constitution (Jan., 1848) to the Neapolitans. In Piedmont, Charles Albert had been carrying out a steady policy of reform. Although he was superstitious and often undecided, he had in him many of the elements of a noble king. "I believe", he said, "that we best please God by utilizing every discovery in science and art to serve the greatest good of the people." Hence the laws were improved, railways begun, trade encouraged, and both the universities and elementary education received a new impulse. In February, 1848, the King granted his subjects

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of Piedmont was rife among the other states, and Charles Albert was deserted by the Pope and by Ferdinand II. He was a poor general, though indomitably brave, and could not maintain the advantages he had won.

News of these events had reached Garibaldi in South America, and he and his band of followers saw once more a chance to help Italy. So they took ship and crossed the Atlantic, going, as Garibaldi said, "towards the attainment of the passion and desire of their lives". Garibaldi's landing at Nice, his hearty welcome, and his return to his old mother were perhaps the last entirely happy moments of his life. Piedmont rejected his offer of help, and shortly afterwards Charles Albert was utterly defeated in the battle of Custozza (25 July, 1848). Garibaldi now offered his services to Lombardy, and, even after the King had concluded an armistice, carried on the war among the Italian Alps; but at last he was obliged to give up, and retreated into Switzerland.

A few months' cessation of hostilities ensued, but in March, 1849, the King could bear the humiliating situation no longer; he could not accept Austria's terms; the Austrian commander-in-chief, Radetsky, was treating Milan with barbarous severity; none of the European powers would help Piedmont to obtain honourable terms. Charles Albert did the only thing he could—he renewed the war, putting the command into the hands of a Polish general, for he was only too conscious of his own defects as a military leader. But in vain. The Italian army was utterly defeated at Novara (23 March). All day Charles Albert sought release from his troubles in the hottest of the fight, until at length he cried, "Even death has cast me off". He was obliged to beg for a truce, and then he

abdicated, as he had always intended to do if defeated. Silently and in disguise he went into exile, leaving behind the sad promise that, in case of further war, "the Austrians may be sure of finding me, a simple soldier in the ranks of their enemies". But before four months were ended he was dead. His waverings were all forgotten, his indecision and mistakes no more mentioned, the unjust outcry against his "treachery" ceased, he was indeed "shriven in cannon smoke", and Italy remembers only that he would have died for her, and that he did in fact renounce everything for her.

Happily the new King, Victor Emmanuel II, was loyal to the cause of free government, besides being a stronger man than his father; so that in spite of the defeat, and while the rest of Italy suffered a cruel reaction, it was felt that Piedmont had achieved a moral victory.

Meantime South Italy was struggling with even worse difficulties. Since the granting of the Constitution there had been small isolated risings on behalf of Charles Albert, but Ferdinand put them down with great severity. Nevertheless the movement grew, and a "Society of United Italy" was formed. Sicily was (since January, 1848) in practice independent of Naples, and after the news of the battle of Custozza the King tried to reconquer the island. He wantonly bombarded the city of Messina, and so won for himself the well-known nickname, Bomba. Resistance continued through the winter, but in vain. On 11 May, 1849, Palermo surrendered; the Bourbon King once more reigned in Sicily; and there ensued that terrible treatment of political prisoners which was exposed in Mr. Gladstone's famous "Two Letters" (see p. 74).

Venice, as has been said, had obliged the Austrians

to withdraw, and had proclaimed a Republic, under the leadership of Daniel Manin. This man had a most remarkable power over the people. "I know that you love me," he said, "and by that love I command order." He kept control over the city during a siege that lasted from the August of 1848 to 22 August, 1849; then when capitulation was absolutely inevitable he went into exile, to continue his work for Italy as a writer and thinker. Thus Venice was once more under Austrian rule.

The hardest fight, however, had been fought in Rome. During the autumn of 1848 Garibaldi had been gathering a legion of devoted men from all parts of Italy, and even from Monte Video. Some of these men were soldiers, but more of them were students, artists, shopkeepers, or artisans. They had at first no definite object, but drifted towards Rome, where they thought they might help the cause of Republicanism, which was growing daily stronger under the influence of Mazzini's writings.

On 15 November the Pope's unpopular minister, Rossi, was assassinated, and the Pope in terror fled to Gaeta, which was in Neapolitan territory. In February, 1849, Garibaldi enthusiastically assisted in the proclamation of the Roman Republic, which speedily invited Mazzini to become its most honoured citizen, and made him chief of the Triumvirs to whom the Government was confided. Garibaldi was entrusted with the defence of the frontier towards Naples, where he won two victories, and his force rapidly grew to 1000 men.

All might have gone well if the European powers had been content to leave the Papacy to its fate. But there was much sympathy with Pio Nono. France felt that some help must be given to the Church, that Austria ought not to be its only champion. There-

fore the French Republic sent troops against the Roman Republic, with orders to occupy Civita Vecchia. At first their general, Oudinot, professed friendly intentions, but after a time it became apparent that he intended to restore the Pope. This the Roman Republic was determined not to tolerate, and war was therefore inevitable.

Garibaldi and Mazzini now devoted all their energies to preparing for a siege. They were very different men—Mazzini a thinker and a poet, a dreamer and an idealist, whose belief in Republicanism was stronger than any other feeling; Garibaldi essentially a man of action, impatient of theories, which indeed he did not understand. But for the time they forgot their differences, and together inspired the magnificent defence of the city. In June Oudinot attacked Rome, fearful lest he should be anticipated by the Austrians, or the Spaniards or the Neapolitans, who were all mustering for the fray. The French attack was unexpected and not entirely in accordance with the rules of honour usually observed in war, and the French army outnumbered the defenders. On 1 July the French entered the city, in order to restore the Pope to his unwilling subjects—"one of the meanest deeds", says an English historian, "that ever disgraced a great nation".

Garibaldi invited those who would not surrender to follow him, promising them "hunger and thirst and vigil, but never terms with the enemy". For three weeks he and his wife Anita (a Portuguese girl whom he had married in South America) and a body of two or three thousand men marched through the wildest parts of the Apennines, pursued by French and Spaniards and Austrians. Gradually the men fell off; Garibaldi made terms for some of them, some escaped to Venice. At last, almost alone, he watched his

faithful wife die in a hut in the forests near Ravenna. Then all was over. Garibaldi escaped as best he might, and went once more into exile.

The whole movement had failed, and the real reason of the failure seems to lie, not in the many faults and mistakes of Charles Albert, but in the fact that Italy was as yet aiming only at independence and not at unity. There were, as Cavour said, "too many songs about freeing Italy", too little determination to fight side by side and work for the union of Italy, sinking the natural jealousies of Lombard and Piedmontese, of Tuscan or Neapolitan. The spirit of the people, however, was roused, and Italy could no longer be disregarded in Europe.

At first, however, the reaction was terrible. In Rome the Pope, who had returned in 1850, disregarded all advice, and abandoned his subjects to a clerical tyranny which was worse even than they had suffered before. In the Two Sicilies Ferdinand gave up all pretence at constitutional rule, and his barbarous treatment of political prisoners (which Mr. Gladstone saw with his own eyes) won for his tyranny that terrible description—"the negation of God erected into a system of government". In Lombardy there were horrors beyond words. It is true they were due to Radetsky himself, and not to the Austrian Government, but when a governor could flog women for political offences it was small wonder that the Italian cry was: "We do not ask Austria to be humane and liberal in Italy, . . . we ask her to go."

For the next ten years (1851–61) Cavour is the greatest man in Italy. It is he who brings Italy into public notice, and who endeavours to gain by diplomacy what cannot yet be won by fighting. He and Victor Emmanuel worked together for Piedmont, lessening the power of the Church by abolishing

about half the monasteries, and taking care to keep the army as large and as well organized as possible.

In 1854 he insisted upon sending 17,000 Italian troops to fight side by side with the British and French armies in the Crimea (see p. 173), though Piedmont had little or no interest in the war with Russia. But partly to gain the alliance of France, partly to prevent Austria from joining the Allies, and partly for the general reason of gaining more consideration for his country in European Congresses, Cavour sent the men, and they proved a well-organized, efficient, and successful contingent of the Allied army. The state of Italy was discussed at the ensuing Congress of Paris, but although Cavour did his utmost he could obtain no practical results. He therefore gave fair warning of his intentions in a memorandum to France and Britain, to the effect that if diplomacy could do nothing revolution would be tried. For Cavour was convinced that another war would be necessary, but he never accepted Charles Albert's maxim, "Italia fará da sé" (Italy will do her own work). He therefore devoted himself to winning the alliance of Louis Napoleon, now Napoleon III, Emperor of the French. The character of the Emperor has been discussed elsewhere (p. 24). Here it is sufficient to say that he had a genuine sympathy with Italy, a genuine desire to help in the expulsion of Austria, but he constantly wavered in his sympathy because the influence of the Clerical party in France was strongly against him, and the Empress Eugénie was anxious to do nothing that might alienate the Pope.

In 1858, however, in a secret meeting at Plombiéres, Cavour managed to obtain a promise of help from the Emperor, who undertook to attack Austria as the ally of Piedmont, with the understanding that the

Austrian possessions in Italy and some of the Papal States should be added to Victor Emmanuel's kingdom, while Tuscany and Umbria were to form a kingdom of Central Italy. Napoleon was to receive Savoy, the oldest province of the North Italian kingdom, and perhaps Nice; Victor Emmanuel was to give his daughter Clotilde in marriage to Prince Jerome Napoleon, the Emperor's cousin, thus uniting one of the oldest royal families in Europe with the new dynasty of the Bonapartes. These conditions were not expressly agreed to, but they were understood to be the price of Napoleon's help. Henceforth Cavour waited only till Austria should give him a reasonable pretext for making war. The pretext came in April, 1859, when Austria, after refusing to admit the Piedmontese representative to a Congress, sent a peremptory demand that Piedmont should disband her armies within three days, on pain of invasion. This was what Cavour wanted; Austria had offered an unpardonable insult, and by 26 April war had begun, while France formally declared war on 29 April. Victor Emmanuel announced the news to his countrymen thus: "People of Italy! Austria has invaded Piedmont because I have espoused the cause of our common country in the Councils of Europe. . . . For myself, I have but one ambition,—to be the foremost soldier in the army of Italian Independence."

In this war both the King and Cavour were anxious to have Garibaldi's help. He had spent some wretched years in exile—in Tangier, in England, and in New York. In 1853 he had returned to the island of Caprera, where he lived for some time quietly tending his farm. In 1858 Cavour had taken counsel with him in Turin, and he had been instructed to raise a volunteer force. Men of every class and from all

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French aid. When he had sadly decided that the "infamous treaty" must be signed, Cavour came to him almost mad with disappointment, spoke violent, abusive words to his sovereign, and resigned his office of Prime Minister. All popular feeling of gratitude to Napoleon naturally vanished, and Italy watched his retreat to France in contemptuous silence. Things, however, were not quite so bad as they seemed. Central Italy worked steadily all through the autumn of 1859 to bring about the union with Piedmont; Cavour returned to office in January, 1860, and worked for the same end. Napoleon agreed to abide by the result of a *plébiscite* (or general vote of the people) on the question of union, on condition that Savoy and Nice should be ceded to him. By overwhelming majorities the Romagna, Bologna, Modena, and Tuscany were added to Victor Emmanuel's kingdom. Savoy and Nice gave a similar decision in favour of annexation to France, but in this case the votes were notoriously not free. Cavour has been greatly blamed for making this sacrifice. Nice was the home of Garibaldi; he felt its loss bitterly, and never quite forgave Cavour for his action. Yet it is difficult to see what else could have been done. France was determined to obtain some recompense, and, at least, Cavour had rid himself of the debt of gratitude; Napoleon III was well paid for his help, and henceforth Italy could treat him as she chose.

Indirectly Piedmont owed much of this success in Central Italy (and later on in Sicily) to the sympathy of the British ministers, Palmerston, Lord John Russell, and Gladstone, who, unlike the Queen and Court, were willing to brave much if they could thereby help Italy.

While these negotiations were going on in the north, Ferdinand II had died (May, 1859), and was

succeeded by his son, Francis II, as King of the Two Sicilies. He determined to follow in his father's footsteps, refusing the advice of Napoleon III that he should either grant a Constitution or ally himself with Victor Emmanuel. The island of Sicily had been forcibly kept quiet since 1849, but there was much hidden discontent and much talk of getting Garibaldi to come and deliver the Sicilians (themselves a non-military people) from their foreign rulers. Garibaldi declared his willingness to help if there were any chance of success, and if the Sicilians would begin the revolt. Mazzini, therefore, used all his influence to stir up the island, and several small risings, such as those of Riso, the plumber, and Rosalino Pilo, took place. All through April, 1860, there was the utmost suspense. Would the insurgents be able to hold out until Garibaldi could collect arms and men enough to go? Would the King and Cavour allow him to attack a power with which they were not at war? And lastly, would Garibaldi think it rather his duty to remain, and fight Cavour in Parliament over the question of the cession of Nice? But all these difficulties were at length solved. News came of continued risings. Garibaldi easily collected 1000 men, the number he wanted; with more trouble he procured firearms for them. His English friends persuaded him to drop the question of Nice. The King and Cavour were only too willing that he should go, if he could go as an independent adventurer, without public support from the King and Government. And thus began the famous adventure of "Garibaldi and the Thousand". On 5 May the little band embarked; on 11 May they landed under the silent protection of two British vessels at Marsala, in Sicily; on 15 May Garibaldi had won a battle at Calatafimi; on 27 May he had entered Palermo, in spite of an

army of 20,000 Neapolitans who might have barred his way. Never had such a rapid conquest, by such a handful of men, been known in the pages of history. But now political difficulties began. Garibaldi had proclaimed himself Dictator of the island, in the name of Victor Emmanuel, which, indeed, was at first the best thing he could do. But when the conquest was complete, he steadily refused to allow the island to be annexed to the kingdom of Piedmont. He wanted to conquer Naples, and perhaps Rome, in his own way before he had to submit to Cavour's orders. Cavour, on the contrary, was determined that no attack should be made as yet on Rome, because he knew that France would again defend the Papacy. The summer of 1860 was a time of bitter jealousy between the minister and the soldier. Happily Garibaldi was always loyal to Victor Emmanuel, and the jealousy had less ill-effects than might have been expected.

On 8 August, in spite of the King's advice, Garibaldi crossed to the mainland of Italy and won the battle of Reggio. Forty thousand Neapolitan troops fell back before his advance. On 7 September he entered Naples in triumph, and Francis II fled to Gaeta. It ought, perhaps, to be said that the Neapolitan soldiers owed their defeat more to the incompetence of their officers than to any lack of courage. Military capacity had never been encouraged in Naples, and it is said that each officer was more incapable than his subordinates, until the generals were almost a public joke.

By this time it was evident that no persuasion would induce Garibaldi to give up his mad scheme of attacking Rome, and Victor Emmanuel, therefore, made use of some hostile moves on the part of the Pope to join in the war, having obtained a promise of neutrality from Napoleon. He occupied Umbria and the Marches,

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every moment of his life, for his country, and for the cause of truth and freedom.

Cavour was succeeded as Prime Minister by Ricasoli, an able and honourable man, who had done good work in Tuscany. But from the time of Cavour's death party and political difficulties became more acute in Italy. It was, for example, far easier to conquer the South than to govern it. The people were miserably poor, unenterprising, and often incapable; those who were discontented became brigands, hid in the mountains, and made travelling almost impossible. Matters improved somewhat when a system of small divisions for local government was set up, but there has always been jealousy and difficulty between the North and the South.

A harder problem still was how to secure Rome. Mere conquest would not do, because it was thought that the Roman Catholic powers of Europe would never allow the Pope to be dispossessed of his dominions or turned out of Italy. It had been held for centuries that the "Temporal Power" was necessary to the Papacy—that is, that the Pope could not be properly independent unless he actually ruled over a State as Sovereign. Cavour had realized that this problem could only be solved by "moral forces"; that until men were convinced that the Temporal Power was a mistake, Victor Emmanuel could not reign in Rome. He had therefore spent the last months of his life in trying to spread the idea of "a free Church in a free State", for he did not wish the State to interfere with the Church, any more than he would have allowed the Church to take the place of the State. Unfortunately, the more the Papacy was threatened, the more vehemently it held to its old claims.

The years that followed 1861 form an unsatisfactory

chapter in the life of Garibaldi. He could not follow political arguments; as was once said of him, "He had a heart of gold, but the brains of an ox". Consequently he had set his heart upon getting to Rome at any cost, and he was sometimes encouraged, sometimes deserted, sometimes necessarily opposed by the King and his ministers.

In 1862 he made a foolish attempt in Sicily, was opposed by the royal troops at Aspromonte, wounded, and taken prisoner. The sympathy that he aroused was unbounded, and he received a free pardon. Two years later he visited London, and there are many people who still remember the extraordinary scenes of enthusiasm with which he was greeted.

About the same time a treaty was made by which the French agreed to evacuate Rome within two years if Victor Emmanuel would undertake not to attack it at present. A very unpopular clause in the treaty arranged that the capital should henceforth be Florence, and not Turin.

In 1866 Bismarck, who was working for the unity of Germany (see p. 107), and was very hostile to Austria, made an alliance with Italy, by which Venetia was to be added to the kingdom, in return for Italian help to Prussia. Napoleon III was favourable to this arrangement, though he did not openly join in it. War between Austria and Prussia began on 20 June, 1866. Garibaldi was again given the command of volunteer troops. Unhappily, Italy was defeated on land at Custozza, and on sea off Lissa, on the Dalmatian coast. The Prussians, however, were completely victorious at Königgrätz (or Sadowa), and made peace without consulting Italy. The Italians were greatly insulted by an agreement that Austria should cede Venetia as a gift to Napoleon, and that he in turn should pass it on as a gift to Victor

Emmanuel; they would far rather have continued the disastrous war. At last a compromise was arranged. Venetia was granted its independence by Napoleon, and immediately voted by enormous majorities to be annexed to the Italian kingdom.

Garibaldi, meanwhile, had his eyes still turned towards Rome. In 1867 he invaded the Papal States, but his foolhardy attempt was crushed by French troops. He was defeated at Mentana, and did his cause far more harm than good. Eventually the Government sent him back to Caprera.

At last the long-awaited opportunity came. In 1870 the Franco-Prussian war broke out (see p. 40), the French troops evacuated Civita Vecchia, and Napoleon gave Italy a free hand to do as she pleased in Rome. The chief European powers engaged not to interfere, and Victor Emmanuel wrote a conciliatory letter to the Pope, offering him full and honourable protection if he would give up the Temporal Power. Pius IX replied that he would yield only to force, and after overcoming a brief resistance the Italian army poured into Rome.

Rome was thus added to the Kingdom of Italy. As the Pope persistently refused to renounce his "Temporal Power", a compromise was effected. His palace of the Vatican, together with the Lateran Church and Palace, was allowed to form a little island of Papal territory in the midst of Rome. Here the Pope chose to remain as a self-constituted prisoner. The State has guaranteed that he shall have absolutely free communications with the other European States, and for this purpose he has his own postal and telegraphic system; his personal safety is protected, and as far as possible he is treated like a sovereign prince. The State has absolutely no power within the rather extensive "prison", from which the

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Pope emerges only occasionally to go to St. Peter's. A "Law of Guarantees" was passed which secured certain rights and privileges to the Pope, leaving him supreme in spiritual matters, while the State received some power of control in secular matters over the bishops and priests throughout Italy. The law was, however, not accepted by the Pope, and though the State has kept its part of the bargain, the Papal obstinacy has led to many difficulties and much bitterness.

The kingdom of Italy, however, was now complete. In 1872 Victor Emmanuel made a public entry into Rome as his capital, and henceforth the Italian Parliament met there.

Garibaldi had, however, taken no part in the final attack on Rome, for he had raised another volunteer corps and was fighting for France. He returned later on to Italy, and spent the remainder of his life quietly as deputy for Rome. In 1882 he died at his old home on Caprera. The tenderness and simplicity of his character was manifested even to the end by his last words—bidding his servant open the window to feed the little birds which he had tamed.

Victor Emmanuel, the *Re galantuomo*, the honourable king, lived eight years after the capture of Rome. He was a man of very simple tastes, who shocked the Roman nobles by his hatred of ceremony, though he was greatly beloved by most of his subjects. When he died in 1878 Italy lost her greatest statesman.

His son, Humbert, who succeeded him, made little mark in history. He was no statesman, but all the people learned to love their simple sportsman King, who, like Victor Emmanuel, hated ceremony, who drove the finest horses in Italy, and who went about entirely without guard or escort. When, in 1900, he was assassinated at Monza, the national grief was

deep and genuine. The present King of Italy, Victor Emmanuel III, seems likely to be as popular as his father and grandfather.

It is hard to write the history of the years 1870–1910, for much of it still lies hidden in stacks of old newspapers. It is necessary, however, to give some indication of the many questions in which Italy has been involved during that period.

The Church question, which has already been mentioned, is still unsettled, and is not likely to be settled unless a Pope of very unusual character should be elected. Leo XIII and Pius X, who have succeeded Pius IX, have held fast to his policy, though Leo XIII showed himself both diplomatic and enlightened. Finance has been and still is a great difficulty, but economy, new railways, a better system of taxation, increased trade, and above all the enormous industrial development of Lombardy, have done much to lessen the financial strain. The army and navy both underwent much-needed reforms. Friendly visits were paid by the King to the Emperors of Austria and Germany. Considerable irritation was caused by the French occupation of Tunis, which would have been most useful to Italy. At the Congress of Berlin in 1878 (see p. 220) Italy found herself entirely isolated, and gained no advantage whatever. A movement was therefore made to promote a Triple Alliance between Italy, Germany, and Austria. Bismarck pressed it on by all the means available, even going so far as to advocate the "Temporal Power", in hopes of conciliating the Pope and frightening Italy. However, after King Humbert had stoutly declared "that he must be master in his own house", the Triple Alliance was formed (1882), though the terms of the treaty remained secret. Soon after, Italy came to a friendly understanding with Britain, and the two countries

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CHAPTER V

BISMARCK AND THE MAKING OF THE GERMAN EMPIRE

"The only sound principle of action for a great State is political egoism, and not romanticism, and it is unworthy of a great State to fight for any matter which does not concern its own interests."

"Prussians we are and Prussians we will remain."

—*Bismarck*, 1850.

THE history of Germany in the nineteenth century seems at first sight to be very like that of Italy; in both cases a number of small and divided States have become a nation by means of war and of revolution. But the real story is very different, and because this difference is largely due to Otto von Bismarck, he has been taken as the chief character of this chapter. Before tracing the course of his life, however, it is necessary to realize what was meant by Germany in 1815. The great days of German history lay far behind, in the twelfth century, when Frederick Barbarossa, Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire and King of Germany, had been the greatest monarch in Europe; and again in the sixteenth century, when Charles V and Luther made the name of Germany famed, as it has never been again until the nineteenth century. Since those days Germany had become more and more divided; at one time there were over 300 independent States, owning only a shadowy obedience to the Holy Roman Empire, then chiefly powerful in Austria. One great struggle stands out in the eighteenth century—the hard and bitter fight to make Prussia a nation, which was so relentlessly carried on by Frederick William I and Frederick the Great, Carlyle's hero, who fought in alliance with Britain in the Seven Years War. Except for this struggle, Germany was singularly quiet and apathetic during

the eighteenth century. As Madame de Staël said: "The Germans unite the greatest audacity of thought to the most obedient character". Although in many ways German thinkers and writers were in advance of the rest of Europe, the majority of Germans were content to take their ideas from France, and to admit that French literature, manners, and language were infinitely superior to their own. Lessing, however, ridiculed this toadying to France (e.g. in *Minna von Barnhelm*), and Schiller and Goethe made it clear by the end of the century that there was more power in German literature at that moment than elsewhere in Europe; France, however, remained profoundly ignorant of German thought and German achievement.

Then came Napoleon. He found Germany a mass of incoherent governments, needing "to be gathered into one by the violence of a conqueror", some of them good, some bad, all except Prussia hopelessly weak and oldfashioned. He left instead three main elements in Germany: (1) the South-west States (Bavaria, Würtemberg, Baden, &c.), which were permitted to retain their independence because they were favourable to France, and allowed their foreign policy to be dictated by Napoleon; (2) the new French kingdom of Westphalia, under Jerome Bonaparte, where everything German was to be rooted out; (3) the kingdom of Prussia, always hostile and independent, even after the defeats of Jena and Friedland. In Germany, however, as in Italy, Napoleon's conquests had some excellent results; antiquated customs and institutions were swept away; the chaos of ignorance, corruption, and abuses was no longer possible; the laws were simplified and improved. Prussia, too, in the day of her humiliation, turned to practical reforms. Under her great minister, Stein, the whole organization of the kingdom was reformed. Serfdom

was abolished, municipal rights established, an admirable system of education was provided, and sweeping military reforms were carried out. Thus, in 1813, when the War of Liberation broke out, Prussia was well prepared to take the field with Austria and Russia, and after a few months' campaign Napoleon was utterly defeated at Leipzig, and the Allies were able to invade France. In the treaty which followed (Chaumont, 1814) it was agreed that Germany should become a Confederation of sovereign States; this was largely due to Austrian influence, for Metternich did not wish to see Germany growing into a strong or consolidated power which might ignore his advice. The Constitution of the Confederated States was very hastily drawn up, and embodied in the "Final Act" of the Congress of Vienna (1815). Thirty-nine States were recognized, each independent in matters which concerned itself alone, pledged not to make war among themselves, to maintain a confederate army, to refer all external matters and all disputes to a Diet of representatives, meeting at Frankfort-on-Main, and presided over by the Austrian minister. The worst fault of this Diet was that it would not take the responsibility of acting as a sovereign body, it constantly referred questions back to the separate States; it was entirely under Austrian influence, and thus little or no good was achieved by it. One clause in the Constitution which declared that there should be "assemblies of estates" (i.e. some kind of Parliament) in all the confederate countries, was not generally carried into effect.

Thus in 1815 the problem was, "Could a United Germany come into existence, and if so, how?" Germany was even less than a geographical expression; it had no very clear natural frontiers; no one knew how far a United Germany might extend. The only test was language, and to bring together

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secure democratic institutions, and something of the liberty, equality, and fraternity so much talked of by the revolutionists. Some of the States—Weimar, Bavaria, Baden—tried the experiment of granting Constitutions.

In the Universities, the gymnastic associations and the Burschenschaften (or students' associations) talked loudly and somewhat wildly of patriotism and a United Germany. In 1819, the murder of Kotzebue, a supposed Russian spy, drew down Metternich's wrath. Although it was clear that the murderer was of unsound mind, Metternich and Hardenberg, the Prussian representative, drew up the famous Carlsbad Decrees, which effectually muzzled both the Press and the Universities. A period of stagnation followed, broken only by some sympathy with Greece (see p. 204) and much fruitless excitement over the French Revolution of 1830.

The years which Bismarck spent at the Universities of Göttingen and Berlin (1832–35) belong to this period of dullness, and he seems not to have taken any interest in the Liberal movements of the time; the aristocratic students' corps to which he belonged looked with contempt upon the Burschenschaft. As a student he led a wild and careless life, and some years after he was still known as "the mad Bismarck". In 1840 Bismarck, who had completed his year of military service, had tried and had given up the Civil Service, went back to Schönhausen and devoted himself to the management of his father's estates. He was devoted to the old ways in almost everything, yet his occasional demand for reforms made men call him a Liberal. About this time he visited England, and it is interesting to see how English influence affected him. What he admired most in England as a nation was its independence,

and therefore he would never consent to imitate her. He believed that Prussia must refuse to learn anything from France or England, and must work out her own success in her own way. This explains much of Bismarck's later policy. It did not, however, seem probable that Bismarck would ever be the most powerful man in Germany; he seemed to settle down entirely to a country life; he undertook a considerable amount of local business in the local "Diets", and became gradually a much-respected man in his district. He tried to reform the manorial courts, where justice was still administered by the landowners, as in feudal England; he was profoundly influenced by a religious revival, and this influence was strengthened by his marriage. Bismarck's religion is very notable in the history of his country, because he says it made him believe more firmly in the monarchy. "If I were not a Christian, I should be a Republican," he said; and it is due largely to him that the Emperors of Germany seem to have revived the idea of "Divine Right". He thought that the king held his throne, "not of the people, but by the grace of God"; he could imagine no finer death than to die upon the scaffold for such a cause as Strafford's or Charles I's. One can see that, holding such views as these, he can have had but little sympathy with Liberal opinion.

But at this point we must turn back to the Kings of Prussia, and see to what extent they were furthering the movement towards a United Germany. Frederick William III, though a brave soldier, and in many ways a patriotic king, had one great fault: he could not follow a policy of his own without deferring to Austria or Russia. His reign is chiefly remarkable for the success with which freedom of speech and freedom of the press were put down, and for the

establishment of the Customs Union (or Zollverein), which was the first great step towards German unity. By this Zollverein it was agreed that no duties were to be paid between the different States of the Confederation, but only at the foreign frontiers. Thus, goods passing from Russia to Prussia would pay heavy duties, but on their being sent on into Saxony or Bavaria, no further duty would be paid. Austria was excluded from the Union. This was a very important step; not only did the partial abolition of duties make trade far more flourishing, but the fact that Prussia had suggested the idea made all the German States look to Prussia as a leader. This Union was not completed all at once; the first States joined Prussia in 1818, the last in 1853.

Frederick William IV was a very different man from his father; more like an artist than a king, he was extraordinarily unlike a Prussian king. He was very little a soldier, he had a shambling hurried manner, and he hated the exactness and "red-tapeism" of the Prussian officials. "Frederick the Great would have been the man for you; I am no great ruler," he said once, and it was very true. He had great intellectual ability, and did all he could to encourage genius; he was a man of fascinating manners, and great versatility of interests. In politics he hated and feared Revolutions; he believed in the divine right of kings and emperors, and yet he would have liked to grant his people what they wanted; he was generally weak and wavering, yet on some points it was impossible to convince him. Here, again, was a king from whom very little could be hoped for Germany. A stronger man was needed, and that man was Bismarck, whose gradual entry into political life must now be traced.

Frederick William IV had come to the throne at

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after another, felt its influence, and rose against its rulers, with no very clear idea of what was wanted, but with a vague demand for Constitutions and political liberty, and with a more definite demand for a United Germany. In March the Revolution broke out in Berlin. The King first ordered the soldiers to disperse the mob, and then, being almost a prisoner in his palace, he gave way, promised a Constitution, and put himself at the head of the revolutionary movement. Not only did he promise manhood suffrage, trial by jury, and all the rights usually contained in the Constitutions, but he also accepted the national movement, he wore the German tricolour (the black, red, and gold of the students' association), and declared that henceforth Prussia should be swallowed up in Germany.

Bismarck was in despair. What could be done if the King deliberately deserted his own cause? He hastily wrote to the King, promising help and loyalty in any circumstances; then he came to Berlin, to see if he could be of any use. When the Estates-General met for the last time to consider how to carry the Constitution into effect, the whole House voted an address of thanks to the King for the concessions he had made. Bismarck and one friend voted, in a minority of two, against it. This was indeed a courageous act, for Berlin was now as revolutionary as Paris. Anyone who opposed the new principles went in danger of his life. The proposals of the new National Assembly were so extreme that Bismarck did not even seek re-election, feeling that he could have no part in its work. He spent his time trying to encourage the remnant of the aristocratic party, and in founding a newspaper, the *Kreuzzeitung*, which was to uphold the principles of Conservatism and a Christian monarchy.

Through the summer of 1848 matters remained thus, but in October came news that the Revolution Government in Vienna had been overthrown by the army (see p. 148). Frederick William, always inconstant, made up his mind to try the same plan. Count Brandenburg was made chief Minister, the Assembly was forcibly turned out (5 December) and dissolved, the King issued a new Constitution, giving him far more power than the first, and summoned a new Assembly, in which Bismarck sat as member for Brandenburg. Bismarck still vehemently opposed, not only revolution, but the whole idea that government rested on the will of the people. "Sooner or later", he said in a speech made about this time, "the God who directs the battle will cast his iron dice" against such principles; and when next day (22 March, 1849) came the news of Charles Albert's defeat at Novara, he honestly believed that the God of Battles had spoken.

While Bismarck and Frederick William were thus suppressing the Prussian Revolution, a wider-reaching movement was on foot. The Liberals of South Germany had already organized a National Convention, and when the Revolution carried all before it the old "Diet" at Frankfort agreed that the ideas of the Convention should be accepted, and that a German National Parliament should meet, also at Frankfort. It was fervently hoped that in the general excitement of the Revolution some form of government might be devised to which all Germany should be subject. There were three great difficulties in the way: (1) There was a strong Republican party, which, although a minority, would accept no monarchical government; (2) it was more than doubtful whether Austria would agree to a new Germany in which she had no part; (3) it was almost impossible to arrange

was determined to humiliate Prussia—if possible to destroy her. When the Italian war was over he turned his whole attention to Prussia. The Tsar supported him in his threats, with the result that Frederick William gave way at every point. The Conference of Olmütz (28 November, 1850), in which the King and Schwarzenberg met, marked the depth of Prussia's humiliation, for the King, besides his other concessions, promised to disarm, and made no conditions with Austria in return.

Prussia had been struggling with yet another difficulty during the revolutionary period—the Schleswig-Holstein question. The two duchies of Schleswig and Holstein lay between Denmark and Prussia. The King of Denmark was trying to annex them, while Holstein claimed to be German; and it was almost impossible to say what ought to be done with them. In 1848 they broke into rebellion, and appealed to Prussia for help; some troops were sent, at the orders of the Diet. Later on, the difficulties became too great; Frederick William acted independently of the National Parliament at Frankfort, and made peace with Denmark (August, 1848). The Parliament was angry at what they called Prussian perfidy, and at first refused to recognize the peace. When at last it was confirmed, the Frankfort mob was furious with the Parliament, and made a violent street attack upon it, which was only put down by Prussian troops. Although this whole episode showed more clearly than ever that Prussia was the only effective power in Germany, it made Frederick William's course still more difficult. The Schleswig-Holstein question will come up again, for it was by no means settled yet.

Humiliating as the Conference of Olmütz was, Bismarck rejoiced in it. It is at first difficult to see

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In 1851 Bismarck was sent as Prussian representative to the revived Diet at Frankfort. It was new work to him, but he was perhaps the only man in Prussia who could keep friendly with Austria and yet, in familiar language, "stand up" to her. He says in his letters that he disliked the atmosphere of suspicion and of petty fussiness, that he had become an adept at writing long reports which contained no meaning—even to himself, that he found cautious dishonesty was the characteristic of the Austrian envoys. Bismarck, however, was bent on maintaining an attitude of equality towards Austria. Previously only Thun, the Austrian minister and President of the Diet, had smoked in Committee meetings; Bismarck, to his great indignation, asked him for a light. On another occasion Thun sat down in his shirt sleeves. "It is very hot", remarked Bismarck, and took off his coat. This is only typical of the way in which he treated Austria on all important questions.

Perhaps the greatest difficulty which Bismarck had to solve during these years was the question of the Crimean War. Prussia had no interest in the question, but Austria was disposed to take sides against Russia, and public opinion in Germany, led by the Crown Prince and Princess, followed the same line. Bismarck, however, contended that Prussia could gain most consideration by threatening to join the Tsar against Austria and the other Western powers. What he really intended was that Prussia should stand upon her own feet, and get any advantage she could out of the war. To this intent he offered "moral support" to Russia. But with such a king all Bismarck's diplomacy was in vain. Frederick William finally concluded a treaty with Austria, promising his support if necessary. Bismarck was not consulted about this treaty, and his loyalty was hard put to it

to endure the King's changeableness. However, he said nothing publicly, and in the end peace was kept in Prussia.

Another problem was the establishment of friendly relations with Napoleon III. The King would have nothing to say to a usurper, who seemed to him to embody the Revolution. Bismarck, who saw that Austria was the first enemy to be disposed of, wished to be on friendly terms with Napoleon, saying that Prussia had no concern with the internal affairs of other nations. But he was unable to bring the King round to this point of view, and he grew daily more unpopular at Court.

In 1858 a change came. Frederick William's health had been breaking down for some time, and his brother William was now permanently appointed Prince Regent. A more Liberal ministry came into power, and the first question it had to consider was the war between Italy and Austria. Bismarck had been inclined to favour Italy, because she and Prussia had a common enemy in Austria, but German opinion generally and the new ministers were opposed to Napoleon III and Italy; and, as has been seen (see p. 77), Prussia now made an offer, perhaps not very sincere, to assist Austria by attacking France on the Rhine. However, Austria in her jealousy wished to appoint the general who should lead the German armies; the Prince Regent could not agree to this, and in the end the Emperor of Austria made a hasty peace at Villafranca, preferring to surrender Lombardy rather than accept Prussian help on the Regent's own terms. Villafranca, unsatisfactory enough to everyone else concerned, was a triumph for Prussia.

Bismarck, feeling more and more out of this diplomacy of which he did not approve, was transferred to

St. Petersburg (1859), where there was no very important work for him. His years at Frankfort, however, had been invaluable to him, for he had gained there a close acquaintance with all the States of Germany, and this was to be exceedingly useful to him in the years to come.

In 1861 the Prince, on the death of Frederick William, became King. William I was an absolute contrast to his brother. He was mainly a soldier, with a bluff honesty and genial disposition which eventually endeared him to his subjects. In many ways he was opposed to Liberalism, but it was possible to convince him. He chose good ministers, and listened to advice, especially from Bismarck. His own attitude is best summed up in his own words: "I never could permit the progressive development of the nation's inner political life to question or endanger the rights of the Crown, or the power of Prussia". One might say that he put the Crown first, the Fatherland second, and the Constitution last. He was a man of vivid personality and strong religious feeling, which Bismarck encouraged. There is something of Puritan fervour in the way both call upon the Lord of Hosts to help in battle.

The King's military instincts, however, soon brought him into trouble. General von Roon was appointed to reform and increase the army, but he could get little or no support for his schemes from Parliament. In September, 1862, the House entirely refused to vote the necessary money. The King, after threatening to abdicate, sent for Bismarck, and asked him if he would become chief minister, without a majority in the House and without a Budget. Bismarck accepted, and the King tore up the proposed act of abdication. A few weeks previously Bismarck had paid a flying visit to London, and explained to

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once more outraged public opinion by passing very severe Press Laws, which gave the police the right to suppress any newspaper which they did not like. The Crown Prince declared his disapproval of such a policy, and Bismarck came to the conclusion that only by an extremely vigorous foreign policy could he reconcile conflicting parties at home. It must be remembered that all through these years he was secretly aiming at a United Germany. In August, 1863, there had been a great meeting of German princes at Frankfort, summoned by the Emperor of Austria, to discuss the reform of the German Confederation. Bismarck persuaded the King, though with much difficulty, not to go; he meant to teach the other States how impossible it was to do anything without Prussia.

In November, 1863, a yet better opportunity occurred—the Schleswig-Holstein trouble cropped up again. The King of Denmark had issued a new Constitution for his whole kingdom, including the two duchies, which were determined not to accept it. German feeling and the Prussian Court were absolutely against Denmark. Bismarck at first had no sympathy with the duchies, and did not seriously try to settle the question; but after a time he saw how useful they would be to Prussia by giving her more sea coast. He was already talking of the great Kiel canal, and he made up his mind to get hold of them sooner or later by any means that he could devise. The King wanted to make the duchies into an independent State under the Duke of Augustenburg, but Bismarck nevertheless meant to have his own way. It is impossible to go into the details of the case, but Bismarck on the one hand pressed Denmark to withdraw the Constitution, while he circulated reports, which he knew were entirely untrue, that Britain

would support Denmark if she refused. Thus deceived, Denmark risked war. Bismarck then persuaded Austria to join with him in sending an army into the duchies. The combined forces were successful, and the disputed territory was given up to the Allies. Bismarck, of course, wanted to annex it at once, but he also wanted a cause for war with Austria in the future. He therefore came to a compromise in the Convention of Gastein, which he said was like "papering over the cracks" of his disagreements with Austria. Schleswig was to go to Prussia, Holstein to Austria.

Britain and France were disposed to protest vigorously against this arrangement, for they had been trying to negotiate a more satisfactory settlement. Bismarck, therefore, had to win them round, at least to neutrality, before he could enter upon the war for which Moltke, his best general, now told him that Prussia was fully prepared. Late in the year 1865 he went to Biarritz, and had many friendly interviews with Napoleon III. He assured him that the arrangement about the duchies was only temporary, and explained to him his ideas for building up a strong German State. Napoleon was always sympathetic towards a nationalist cause, and Bismarck led him to believe that the price of his neutrality would be considerable gains upon his Rhine frontier. It was tolerably certain that Britain would not intervene in the coming war, but Bismarck wanted an ally, and he therefore proposed to make common cause with Italy against Austria. The alliance was difficult to arrange, as neither side trusted the other; but at last it was agreed that if Prussia went to war with Austria within the next three months, Italy would also make war, and Prussia would support her until Venetia had been recovered.

The real cause of the war was that Bismarck wanted it, but he was careful to have good pretexts, and he had to overcome the King's great reluctance. A quarrel had arisen about the Austrian government of Holstein, which Bismarck declared was stirring up trouble in Schleswig. A more respectable reason, however, was found in a scheme for reforming the Confederation. Bismarck, who had been so ultra-Conservative and aristocratic, now wished to replace the Diet by a Federal Parliament, based on manhood suffrage. Bismarck always treated opinions rather like foreign allies, and changed sides when he thought anything was to be gained. Just now he wanted to gain over the working classes, who might be more likely to support his war policy. But he was very generally distrusted, because with the example of Napoleon III before their eyes, people thought he was only preparing the way for despotism. Austria was to be excluded from this new Confederation, and when, somewhat naturally, Austria objected to the whole scheme, Bismarck made war. He contrived to make it appear that his hand had been forced by Austria, but the actual declaration of war (18 June, 1866) came from Prussia.

The war was literally only a matter of days. By the end of the month Hanover, Schleswig-Holstein, Cassel—in fact all the Northern States—were occupied by the Prussians, and the three main armies, under the Crown Prince, the "Red Prince" (Frederick Charles), and General von Bittenfeld, were advancing upon Austria. On 3 July the combined armies met the Austrians at Sadowa (or Königgrätz), in Bohemia, and there, on a hill overlooking the battle-field, Bismarck passed some of the most miserable hours of his life. So far all had been his doing; now he had to stand aside and leave the issue to his

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than we can digest", he said. He knew that another step was needed before the Southern States would willingly enter the German Union; he was therefore careful not to take any measures which might render them unfriendly. (3) Bismarck had some trouble in persuading the King to accept this very moderate treaty; William I was anxious to have some more substantial advantages from his great victory.

Meantime Napoleon had been vaguely talking about the compensation he was to receive. He seemed very uncertain as to what he really wanted, and foolishly waited till Bismarck had made peace with Austria before presenting his claims. Then he asked for the Bavarian and Hessian possessions on the left bank of the Rhine, or failing that, for part of Belgium. Bismarck could now refuse point-blank, and threaten war if Napoleon persisted. He was careful, too, to keep all the Emperor's written proposals, and published them later on, when he wanted to incense the Southern States and the rest of Europe against France.

The next three years were comparatively uneventful. Bismarck was at last able to secure a majority in the Parliament; he allied himself with the moderate Liberals, and worked out the Constitution for the North German Confederation on the basis of manhood suffrage. (This Constitution will be discussed further in a later chapter.) He devoted all his efforts to arousing national feeling in Germany, conciliating public opinion in the Southern States, and stirring up irritation against France. He revealed Napoleon's demands to the Southern States, and so persuaded them to make secret treaties with Prussia; when France protested against Prussia's aggressive policy, Bismarck's only answer was to publish the secret treaties.

The circumstances which led to the war of 1870 are very important, because they show how cleverly Bismarck made it appear as a French attack on Germany, and not, as it really was, a Prussian attempt to secure union with the Southern States.

In 1869 Spain invited Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern, a distant relative and devoted adherent of William I, to become the head of a constitutional Spanish monarchy. At first he refused, but Bismarck pressed him to accept, and at last he agreed, provided that the King, as head of the family of Hohenzollern, should give his consent. Bismarck pretended that it was solely a question between the King and the Prince. Napoleon III was furious—both because he had not been consulted, and because it would have been a very real danger to France to have a German Prince ruling in Spain, and devoted to Prussian interests. Britain supported France, and the opposition was so strong that in a few days Leopold withdrew, Bismarck's scheme was spoiled, and all seemed happily settled. But the French ministers were not content with this success; they sent Benedetti, the French Ambassador, to King William at Ems, asking him to promise that Prince Leopold should never renew his candidature. The King refused, though graciously, but when Benedetti asked for another interview, he replied that the incident was now closed. Benedetti had been politely snubbed. Then the King sent Bismarck a telegram —the famous "Ems telegram"—stating what had taken place. Bismarck was dining with Moltke and Roon when it arrived. He read it rapidly, asked them if they were ready for war, took a blue pencil and struck out parts of the telegram, making it read like a deliberate insult to France, then he sent it to the newspapers and to all the German embassies.

The telegram had the desired effect both in Germany and in France. The Germans were indignant at exaggerated accounts of Benedetti's presumption; the French were stung to madness by the rebuff and the ensuing ridicule. On 19 July Bismarck received a declaration of war from France, sent, as the French minister had openly declared, with a light heart. Napoleon knew he was wrong, but he dared not face the wrath of the Paris mob, if he kept the peace.

The history of the war has been told in more detail in the chapter on France. A short recapitulation will be enough here. Moltke's plan of campaign was to mass the German armies (for the whole of Germany, north and south, had joined Prussia) on the upper Rhine, and then to pursue and defeat the French army wherever it might be. The French, though miserably unprepared, at first expected to march in triumph to Berlin. The three German armies, under Steinmetz, the "Red Prince", and the Crown Prince, won the battles of Wörth (6 August) and Gravelotte (17 August), shut up Bazaine with 170,000 men in Metz, and defeated MacMahon's attempt to relieve him at Sedan (1 September). This terrible battle brought one phase of the war to an end. The Emperor surrendered in person to King William, explaining, however, that it was his own sword, and not the sword of France, that he laid down. This meant that if France could organize another form of government immediately, she might yet struggle to retrieve her honour. Bismarck, who was with the army all through the campaign, would not yield a single point to make the Emperor's humiliation less. He did not believe in gratitude, as he did not believe in generosity, and therefore he said, Germany had nothing to gain by sparing France. But indeed it was impossible to make peace as yet. A Provisional

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should become Emperor of Germany. The lesser kings would then be able to retain considerable independence, while in all important matters they would acknowledge the superior authority of the Emperor. The King of Prussia, however, was not very willing to give up his ancient and honourable title for a new crown which he professed to regard as a "stage property"—a show with no reality behind it. Bismarck, therefore, had to contrive that while there should be a popular demand for the revival of the Empire, the actual offer should come from the Princes and not from the Reichstag (National Parliament). His moderation in making terms with Bavaria, and the enthusiasm of Bavaria for the war, gave him much influence there. He persuaded the King of Bavaria to invite his fellow princes to join him in requesting William I to assume the title of German Emperor. William's opposition gave way, and on 18 January, 1871, in the glittering Gallery of Mirrors at Versailles, the simple-mannered King of Prussia was proclaimed Emperor.

The union of Germany was completed only a few months after the surrender of Rome had realized Victor Emmanuel's hopes of a united Italy. The after history of the two countries was to be strangely different. Ten days later Paris capitulated, and Bismarck could now turn his whole attention to the terms of peace. He demanded that France should cede Alsace and Lorraine to Germany, with the fortresses of Metz, Strasburg, and Belfort, and that Germany should receive a war indemnity of 6,000,000,000 francs (£240,000,000). Thiers, who was now at the head of the French Government, fought desperately to obtain some reduction of the penalties for France. When he pleaded, with a curious mixture of pride and entreaty, that Belfort, "an absolutely French city", should be left to him, Bismarck remained in-

flexible. At last Thiers burst out: "Do it! . . . Complete your work. We will fight to the last breath; we shall succumb at last, but we will not be dishonoured". Bismarck was impressed at last by the bitterness of his grief and shame, and after a time consented to give up Belfort, if Thiers would agree to a formal occupation of Paris by the German troops; the indemnity was also reduced to 5,000,000,000 francs. On these terms peace was finally made at Frankfort, 10 May, 1871. A further clause provided that German troops should be gradually withdrawn from France as the war indemnity was paid off. Having thus subdued and crippled her enemy, Germany was left the chief military power in Europe, and free to turn her mind to the peaceful settlement of internal difficulties—a task which has proved longer and more intricate than war. Germany, since 1870, forms as it were a new chapter in history, in which Bismarck appears in a new character.

CHAPTER VI

GERMANY SINCE 1871

"We Germans have ceased to be the nation of thinkers, of poets and dreamers, we aim now only at the domination and exploitation of Nature."—*Dr. Rein.*

"I have been faithful to this: the unification of Germany under the leadership of Prussia. All else is accessory."—*Bismarck.*

AFTER the establishment of the new German Empire in 1871, Bismarck remained, as before, the central figure in German history. The brief sketch of the constitution of the Empire (see p. 271) shows how entirely the Chancellor meant to hold all the strings of government within his own hands. It is true that

he was often overruled by circumstances, his plans were sometimes modified by the Empéror, and occasionally rejected by the Reichstag, but on the whole it is fair to consider Bismarck responsible for German policy up to 1890 in all its good and all its evil aspects. His attitude towards the party system makes it clear that he was willing enough to accept the responsibility. He might rely on the Conservative or the National Liberal party, he might alternately bully or conciliate the Church (or Central) party, he might even stoop to win over the Socialists, but what he was always aiming at was the creation of a Bismarck party—a party which should uphold him blindly and without reserve, because he (Bismarck) had made the German Empire, and meant to sustain it against all attacks from within or without. This is the key to Bismarck's changes of home policy during the years 1871–90. The key to his foreign policy is at first his sincere desire for peace, now that he had obtained what he wanted. Later on he realized the necessity for the expansion of Germany as a colonial and commercial power if the Empire was to continue to carry weight in the councils of Europe.

The most pressing need of the Empire in 1871 was for some further degree of union to bind the States more firmly together; hence Bismarck, with much efficient assistance, undertook the work of building up Imperial institutions.

First, perhaps, in importance came the need for legal reform. In 1871 there were in Germany at least forty-six different legal systems. The original legal system had been the German common law, akin to the English common law, but even in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries this had been largely superseded by new codes based on Roman law. As Germany split up into hundreds of small states, the

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legal system tended to split also, and to develop very differently in different parts. The Napoleonic conquests and influence introduced the Code Napoléon, mingled with some survivals of older custom, into the Rhine provinces. The result was an appalling confusion of law. Not only had the judges to administer forty-six different codes or systems of law within the Empire, but in each court a man might have a different kind of trial. Here he might be allowed an open trial by jury, there a secret trial carried on by means of written documents; here justice might be fairly cheap and speedy, there it might be cumbrous, expensive, and interminable in its methods.

It was impossible to sweep away this medley of justice and law, equally impossible to allow it to continue indefinitely. It has therefore been gradually superseded by new Imperial codes dealing with special subjects, e.g. a code was published for the whole subject of trade, commerce, and banking; a later code dealt with conditions of manufacture, and the relations between masters and men; the criminal law was also codified; and in 1900 a new Civil Code was issued, which deals with almost all matters of law, but leaves the ancient laws of land tenure as they were, or subject only to alteration by individual States. At the same time the procedure (or method of trial) was made uniform throughout the German Empire. This legal reform was not, to any great extent, the work of Bismarck, though it was inspired by his desire for the unification of the Empire.

The commercial reorganization was highly important for the future development of Germany. A new common coinage was instituted; an Imperial Bank and Imperial Post Office were established; and Bismarck was extremely anxious to secure an Imperial railway system. This, however, he could not

accomplish; the opposition was too great, and he had to content himself with taking steps which seemed to lead up to his Imperial system. All the railways in Prussia were taken over by the State; many of the private railways throughout Germany were bought up by Prussia; the railways in Alsace-Lorraine are owned and worked by the Empire; moreover, the Empire has important rights with regard to the building and working of all German railways, so far as they may be needed for military purposes. However, Bismarck was never able to complete his plan for the nationalization of the railways, because the separate States hastened to acquire those within their own territories. Hence Germany is now a country of State-owned railways, but, except in Alsace-Lorraine, none of these railways are owned by the Empire.

Bismarck's chief financial measures were the reorganization of the Imperial revenue and the introduction of Protection through a strict system of Customs duties. There were several reasons for this. In 1871 the Imperial revenue was provided by the Customs duties, and if these were insufficient, Bismarck had to ask the separate States to make up the deficiency in proportionate sums. Obviously, this might lead to endless disputes between the States and the central Government. Bismarck had also a great dislike for direct taxes (i.e. taxes like an income tax, paid directly in money), and indeed they seem to have pressed very heavily on the poor in Germany; he thought that indirect taxes on goods, even on the necessaries of life, would be easier to pay. Another great reason for the change was the fact that manufactures in Germany were only just beginning to flourish; Germany had vast wealth in minerals, especially coal and iron, but as she was only just beginning to use them, she could not produce goods as

cheaply as Great Britain. Hence a system of heavy duties was built up, which was to exclude foreign goods, and to encourage the growth of manufactures at home. It was also found necessary to protect agriculture in the same way, in order to secure the consent of the very large agricultural interests to the duties on manufactured goods.

Statesmen and economists are still disputing as to the wisdom of this system of Protection. It is indisputable that German commerce has flourished and increased under it; but it is also highly probable that Germany would have flourished equally under a Free Trade system. In any case, the change, which dates from 1879, fulfilled one of its purposes by providing Bismarck with a large Imperial revenue, and enabling him, to a great extent, to dispense with direct taxation.

The third great field for reorganization was the Army. There is actually no Imperial or German army. Instead, there are the Prussian army, the Saxon army, the Bavarian army, &c.; but as all these State armies are under the ultimate control of the Emperor, they have all conformed to the model of the Prussian army, and thus there is no dangerous diversity among them. One of Bismarck's most notable defeats was on the subject of the Army. In 1874 he wanted to fix its numbers permanently; the Reichstag strongly objected that this would greatly weaken their powers. If they could not vote for an increase or decrease in the army, much of their very slight control over the Chancellor and the Emperor would be gone. Finally, a compromise was arranged, and the numbers of the army were decided for seven years. The army has been steadily increased each time that a vote is taken, and since 1897 a similar periodic vote is taken on the increase of the Navy. The Socialist party, however, have begun to issue

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right to control the Church in any way, "in the interests of public order". No bishop or priest might be appointed without a notification to the Government, which reserved a right to veto the appointment. Again, no priest might be ordained who had not been educated on lines laid down by the State; even the schools for the training of priests were subjected to State control. This was persecution such as no Protestant State had yet attempted. The Catholics protested vehemently and refused to obey the "May Laws". The clergy and the bishops were fined, imprisoned, banished, deprived of their parishes or their bishoprics. In more than a thousand parishes no religious services were carried on. Yet the priests had the sympathy of their people, and often managed to elude the Government watch by living with each of their parishioners in turn for a day or two. When Bismarck realized that his police were having a hopeless hunt for the offending priests, he seems to have become aware that he was on the wrong track. The Catholics were regarded as martyrs; a tremendous newspaper agitation grew up; the new priests approved by the Government hardly dared to show themselves in their new parishes, and their churches stood empty; worst of all, Bismarck was alienating all parties in Germany. In 1877 the Centre (or Catholic party) was larger than ever before; the Old Conservatives were disgusted by the violence and intolerance of Bismarck's anti-clerical campaign; the Socialist party grew stronger, and the National Liberals, on whom the Chancellor relied, were becoming less important in the Reichstag. Moreover, Bismarck had other schemes, social and economic, which he wished to forward. Although he had emphatically declared that he "would not go to Canossa" (i.e. would not humiliate himself to the

Church), he began gradually to abandon his policy as a failure.

One by one the "May Laws" were relaxed and then withdrawn; the religious orders were allowed to return; the attempt to control the education of priests was given up. Leo XIII, who succeeded Pius IX in 1878, was diplomatically willing to meet Bismarck halfway. In a few years' time Bismarck found his "journey to Canossa" so satisfactory that he even invited the Pope to use his influence in the coming elections! The *Kulturkampf* faded away, but it left bitter memories, which resulted in a permanent strengthening of the Centre party.

The main reason for Bismarck's reconciliation with the Roman Catholic Church was, as has been said, his desire to press forward social and economic reforms. The years after 1870 had been marked by a great increase of the Social Democrats, or Socialist party, which in Bismarck's opinion constituted a great danger to the Empire. The working classes were, to a large extent, under the influence of the Catholic Church, and the Church was disposed to join hands with the Socialists, and to declare that it was the duty of the State to provide the means of subsistence to all its citizens. This probable union of his two worst enemies thoroughly alarmed Bismarck. His policy for the ten years 1878–88 was a vigorous attempt to rid himself of the danger. Thus he first effected a reconciliation with the Church; he then tried to give the poorer classes such great benefits that they would no longer need to be Socialists; finally, he tried to root out the Socialists altogether by methods of persecution similar to those he had used against the Church.

During the years 1883–9 Bismarck worked out some extremely useful social legislation. His avowed

object was to make even the poorest classes realize that the State was not only a necessary but a benevolent and beneficent power. He therefore permitted the re-establishment of workmen's unions or guilds; his replacement of direct taxation by increased indirect taxes was intended to relieve the poor, but his greatest work was the establishment of a system of *National Insurance* against sickness, accident, and old age. This scheme roused much opposition in the Reichstag, the Conservatives thinking that it went much too far, the Socialists averring that it was merely patching up the great evil of poverty, and not really curing it. However, for six years Bismarck steadily pursued his aims, and got his insurance scheme through piecemeal. In one notable point it was amended by the Reichstag: Bismarck had meant the State to pay the entire contribution, in order that the working man might not feel any of the burden, but the Reichstag obliged him to make his scheme contributory, the cost being divided between the employer, the workman, and the State. On the whole, the system has worked well, and has prevented much distress, but it has certainly been very expensive, in proportion to the benefits obtained. But though Bismarck was willing to give the nation what he thought good for it, he was not willing to listen to the national voice as expressed in the Reichstag or through the elections. He hated Democracy, and he hated the Social Democrats; they must therefore be rooted out. Between 1878 and 1890 very severe legislation was enforced against the Socialists. No Socialist opinions might be expressed in any newspaper, no Socialist books might be read, no public meetings might be held, no clubs or societies might be formed for Socialistic purposes. Enormous powers were given to the police to exile any suspected persons,

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ninety days, but it was evident that a changed spirit would have inspired the Government had he lived. One of his few acts was to dismiss from office a relative of Bismarck's, who had been guilty of corruption at the recent elections. In June, 1888, he died, and was succeeded by his son William, the present Emperor. At first it seemed doubtful if Bismarck's position would be affected. The new Emperor was energetic, young, impulsive, full of ideas of his own great functions, imperious and exacting to his subordinates, unwilling to be guided or influenced. Yet he was an enthusiastic admirer of his grandfather, the great Emperor William, and he was evidently disposed to agree with Bismarck in military matters, and in his more Conservative ideas. In the end, however, William II's desire to be a real ruler, and not a mere shadow, overcame the respect and gratitude that were due to the statesman who had served the Emperor and the Empire so faithfully for so many years. Bismarck claimed that the Emperor should not communicate with subordinate ministers except through him, and quoted an order to this effect issued by the King of Prussia in 1852. The Emperor insisted that the order should be repealed; Bismarck refused to carry out his wishes. Bismarck himself says that he then asked if the Emperor found him in the way, and that the Emperor curtly replied, "Yes". The details of the quarrel are not accurately known, but the Chancellor was obliged to send in his resignation, and retire into private life. It was well known that Bismarck and the Emperor had differed for some time past on foreign policy; on the anti-Socialist laws, which were withdrawn in 1890; and on the Emperor's plans for settling labour grievances. It would have been wiser, no doubt, if Bismarck had retired without waiting to be dismissed, but he hardly realized that the Empire

could survive without his guidance. For the next three or four years he kept up a constant criticism of the Government, and succeeded in exciting much sympathy. In 1894, however, the Emperor was formally reconciled with his fallen minister. In 1898 Bismarck died—undoubtedly one of the greatest, but also one of the least attractive, men of his century.

Since 1890 the chief interest of German history has lain in foreign policy (which will be treated separately). In internal affairs William II has generally followed the lines laid down by Bismarck, though he has aimed at conciliation rather than persecution. The Socialists have been on the whole unmolested, though at times large numbers of persons have been prosecuted for criticisms of the Emperor, such as would be allowed in any other country in Europe. The demand for an enlarged franchise in Prussia has been steadily ignored or repressed; the Poles in the south-east have been subjected to a process of "Germanization", which has roused bitter hostility, and has been wholly unsuccessful; the hostility of Alsace-Lorraine has, on the whole, been diminished by conciliatory measures. The Emperor has a habit, extremely disconcerting to his ministers, of acting or speaking suddenly on some important matter, without their knowledge or approval. In 1908, after an unusually strong outburst of criticism on some of the Emperor's statements, his ministers extracted from him "something like a promise" that he would not in future take any such public steps without the approval of the Chancellor or his deputy. If this understanding with the Emperor is maintained, it will mean a real step towards ministerial instead of personal government in Germany. Yet it would be giving a wrong impression to imply that the personal government of the Emperor has not been popular. He

has been severely criticized at times, and by different parties, but in the main he is considered to have done much to further German interests.

Turning back to the foreign policy of the German Empire, it must be noted that Bismarck's aim after 1871 was the preservation of the peace of Europe. Bismarck's desire for peace was a very different thing from Metternich's. He did not fear war because it might break up his Empire; on the contrary, he had just shown how a great war might consolidate the Empire. But, unlike Metternich again, he was full of schemes for the reform and reorganization and unification of the Empire—hence his love of peace.

He first attempted to control European affairs through the league of the three emperors—Austria, Russia, and Germany. This was a general understanding which aimed at keeping France weak, and preventing her from renewing the war of 1870. Gradually, however, the conflict of Austrian and Russian interests in the Balkan Peninsula broke up the agreement between the three emperors.

In 1878, when a European Congress was called at Berlin to settle the "Eastern question", Bismarck found himself called upon to act as an arbiter, and not as the ally of either party. The Treaty of Berlin marked the height of Bismarck's power in Europe, and was perhaps the most disinterested piece of diplomacy to which he ever lent his mind. But it was a great blow to Russia to have the Treaty of San Stefano thus upset (see p. 218), and the Russian ministers considered that it marked the end of the league of the three emperors.

In 1879, therefore, Bismarck formed a strict alliance with Austria, by which the two powers promised each other support in case one of them was attacked by

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in Morocco. It is impossible to show in detail how this acquisition of colonies has created causes of friction between Germany and both Britain and France. Germany started late in the race for colonial wealth, and she cannot find a field where she can expand without coming into collision with other interests.

Side by side with this search for colonial possessions, and with the vast extension of German trade, goes the desire of the Emperor William for a strong navy. From about 1894 the building of battleships has gone on apace; the opening of the Kiel Ship Canal in 1896 was a sign that, as the Emperor said, "Germany's future lay on the water". Everything has been done to increase the navy in numbers, to extend the interest in it and the respect felt for it by the nation. The Navy League is one of the strongest and most powerful societies in Germany.

Note.—These last paragraphs hold good up to August, 1914. Since that date the history of Germany has been the history of the Great War. In November, 1918, the signing of the Armistice was accompanied by Revolution in Germany, the abdication of the Kaiser, and the establishment of a Republic in Germany.

CHAPTER VII

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY

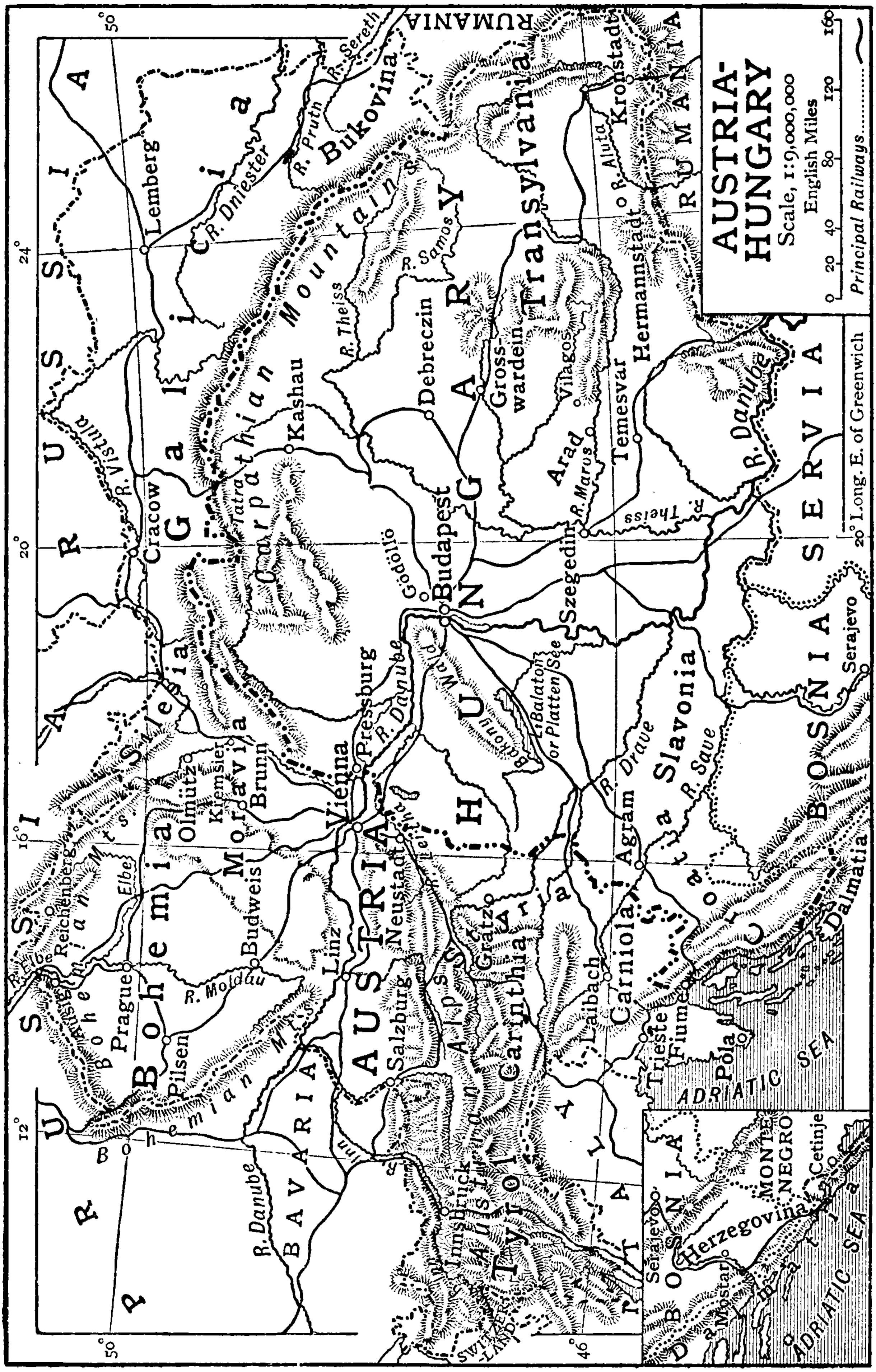
"Grant not the soil on which we dwell the sacred name of fatherland. The true fatherland, which none can misuse, of which none can rob us, we carry in our hearts. Dear are the woods, the streams, the home inherited from our sires. But the sole fatherland which endures, and defies all shame and insult, is that unity of custom and language and mood which blends soul with soul."

—*From a Slav Poem.*

To understand the recent history of Austria-Hungary, one must begin by looking very closely at the map, and tracing out with some care the chief provinces which form the Dual Monarchy, as it is called. For Austria-Hungary is unlike any of the other States of Europe; it is really two States, united under one person, the Emperor and King Francis Joseph—much as England and Scotland were united before the union of the two Parliaments in 1707.

What is the importance of this difference? What influence will it have on the future history of Europe? How has the union come about, and, having united thus far, why cannot the two States merge into one? Which is the predominant partner, and which of the two would one wish to see extend its influence over the other? These are some of the questions which make the history of Austria-Hungary interesting. The answers to them depend partly on geography, partly on past history, partly on the extraordinary mixture of races in Austria-Hungary.

At the present day Austria is divided from Hungary by the little river Leitha, near Pressburg. The principal Austrian provinces are, from east to west, Galicia, Moravia, Bohemia, the old provinces of Austria proper, the Alpine valleys and slopes, notably the Tyrol, Carinthia, Carniola, the Austrian coast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RUMANIA
Tyrol
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Carniola
Slavonia
Croatia
Dalmatia
BOSNIA
SERVIA
Herzegovina
Lemberg
Cracow
Kashau
Debreczin
Budapest
Gross-wardein
Vilagos
Arad
Temesvar
Hermannstadt
Kronstadt
Szegedin
Pressburg
Vienna
Brunn
Olmütz
Kremsier
Budweis
Linz
Salzburg
Neustadt
Gratz
Laibach
Agram
Trieste
Fiume
Pola
Pilsen
Prague
Reichenberg
Innsbruck
Mostar
Serajevo
Cetinje
Gödöllö
Balaton or Platten See
Bakony Wald
R. Vistula
R. Dniester
R. Pruth
R. Sereth
R. Theiss
R. Samos
R. Maros
R. Aluta
R. Danube
R. Drave
R. Save
R. Moldau
R. Elbe
R. Inn
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the Turks. In 1526 we find the Hungarians, who had just been defeated by the Turks, inviting Ferdinand of Austria to become elective King of Hungary. From that time onwards Hungary and Austria have been united under one ruler. In 1556 Ferdinand was elected Holy Roman Emperor, but he continued to rule Hungary as King, and not as Emperor, for Hungary had never been part of the Empire.

During the seventeenth century the Turks were finally driven back, and Hungary recovered most of what she had lost. Moreover, Hungary retained a very strong sense of national independence; she had had a very interesting constitutional history, in many ways like that of Britain, and it is largely due to her institutions that she continued to resist Austria's encroachments.

One or two points in this Constitution must be noted. Hungary had a central Diet or Parliament, which all the nobles had a right to attend. The nobles were of three classes—the great nobles, the gentry, and the peasant nobles; thus practically all free men might attend. There was also a large serf population, which had no political rights.

Besides this central Parliament, Hungary had local assemblies, the County Congregations, which were rather like the English shire courts. These Congregations were very important. In them the gentry and peasant nobles used to meet, and there was fostered and kept alive that spirit of independence which was to burst forth once more in the nineteenth century.

At times Austria tried to unite Hungary more closely with herself, and to suppress some of the old free institutions, but the fear of the Turks always kept her from going too far, as the Hungarians might easily have been driven to unite with the Turks against Austria.

One very important constitutional change in the eighteenth century must be noticed, as it has survived all the other changes in Austria-Hungary. In 1723 Hungary accepted the famous "Pragmatic Sanction", which was laid before its Diet by Charles VI. The best-known clause in this document is that which allowed Maria Theresa to succeed her father in all his dominions. But it had other very weighty provisions. It provided that the same man or woman should infallibly (*infallibiliter*) succeed to both the Austrian and Hungarian lands, and that those lands should be united for all time, and against all external powers. Hungary, however, insisted that its ancient liberties should be guaranteed, and that it should retain its own laws. If this condition were violated, Hungary would again become an independent State. Moreover, if the heirs male or female of Charles VI should fail at any time, Hungary might elect a new monarch of its own. This bargain between Austria and Hungary must be remembered when one comes to the epoch of revolution in the nineteenth century.

During the period of Napoleon's power Austria played a very doubtful game, now opposing him, now allying with him, but in 1815 Austria perhaps had been less changed by Napoleonic influence than any other country in Europe. This brings one to the third answer to the questions about Austria-Hungary. Austria-Hungary never rose as a nation against the tyranny and aggression of Napoleon, simply because there was no Austro-Hungarian nation. In the preceding slight sketch has been shown how the two States contain both Germans and Magyars; to these one must add various Slavonic races (e.g. the Czechs in Bohemia, the Poles in Galicia, the Slovaks in Northern Hungary, and in the south scattered

groups of Slovenes and Serbs, and the Croats of Croatia), a considerable Italian element also in the south, and a large and important group of Rumanians in the south-east, who claimed descent from the Romans. Thus in speaking of the nationalist and revolutionary movements of the nineteenth century in Austria-Hungary one must speak in turn of the Germans, the Magyars, the Czechs, the Poles, the Croats—in fact, it is almost impossible to describe all the movements for independence which have torn the Dual Monarchy, and very much that is interesting must be omitted to make the rest intelligible.

Such are the difficulties peculiar to Austria-Hungary. To them must be added the problem common to all the States of Europe—how to obtain self-government? Many of the provinces had their own constitutional arrangements, their own Diets; but these Diets had little real power, except in Hungary, and the tendency was always for the Emperor to become more and more absolute, more careless of the feelings of his subjects, more entirely under the influence of one minister.

In 1815 the Emperor Francis I (who had in 1806 renounced the title of Holy Roman Emperor, and was now Emperor of Austria and King of Hungary) was not a man from whom much could be expected. He was slow, heavy, opposed to innovation, anxious to suppress the principles of the French Revolution, and to keep Europe at peace, but not at all anxious to take any decisive step. "Let us sleep upon it" was his favourite maxim, but sleep brought no wiser counsel with it. His theory was that peace might best be preserved, that men might be kept most inactive, by setting Italians to rule in Hungary, Germans or Hungarians in Italy. Discontent, he thought, would not break out if only he could keep his subjects

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outweighed Stein's, and the hope of a united Germany was thwarted; the Federal Diet established at Frankfort was almost entirely ornamental and useless, and Austrian policy for the next thirty years combined with internal causes to keep Germany disunited and weak (see p. 90).

Metternich is sometimes blamed as being the author of all the harsh acts of Austria towards Italy, of all the repression of German Liberalism, and of all the maladministration within Austria-Hungary. This is hardly fair. Given a free hand, he would have been open to Liberal ideas; he was far more humane than Francis I, and he would certainly have reorganized the system of government. But he conceived it his duty to act as policeman to Europe, and to maintain peace and order at any cost. Hence he joined with the Tsar in the Holy Alliance, though he thought that it was mere "empty words", as far as its religious intentions went. He did his best, through the Carlsbad Decrees, to crush out all thought, all initiative in South Germany; he acquiesced in the repressive and unsympathetic Austrian government in Italy, and he made no real attempt to secure reforms or progress within Austria-Hungary. His great aim was the government of Europe by Congresses (see Chapter I); and perhaps his greatest contribution to the political thought of modern days is the idea that peace can be kept if all the powers will act in concert. That, however, is a principle which ought never to be used, as Metternich used it, to crush a nation struggling for national independence or constitutional liberties. Metternich himself seems to have realized that his theory was not quite sound. "I have come into the world", he said, "either too early or too late. Earlier, I should have enjoyed the age; later, I should have helped to reconstruct it. To-day I have to give my

life to propping up the mouldering edifice." And therefore he failed, as one of his fellow diplomats said of him, through acting timidly. The man whom all Europe feared was afraid to take any step that might end in change—a very poor standpoint for a statesman. It involved the use of spies, the muzzling of the Press, repression of thought, repression of all national movements. No wonder that in 1848 the great cry was for the abolition of the "Metternich system".

The one point on which Metternich's foreign policy was bound to break down was the Eastern Question. If he was to police Europe, he must have the co-operation of Russia, and Russia and Austria had a vital cause of quarrel in the Balkan Peninsula. Russia might support the Greeks, because they belonged to the Orthodox faith, and were suffering at the hands of the Turks; Austria might give her moral support to the Sultan, because Metternich always upheld legitimate authority; but it was quite clear that the real question was whether Russia or Austria should ultimately reign supreme in the Balkans. Though Metternich succeeded, on the whole, in maintaining peace, it was obvious that his system could offer no solution of the Balkan problem (see Chapter IX).

With this explanation of the kind of government carried on by Francis I, Ferdinand I, and Metternich, one may pass over most of the events of the years 1815–48, in order to trace the various causes of the great Revolution of 1848–9. This means going back to take the provinces to some extent separately.

The central Government had somewhat short-sightedly permitted the revival of national languages and literatures in the various provinces, though any independent thought was repressed whenever detected. It was hoped, perhaps, that men's minds might be thus too preoccupied to concern themselves with poli-

tics. If so, the plan was an utter failure. Just as the agricultural societies of Poland and Italy had worked for reforms and independence, so the philological societies, the professors and students in the universities, together with the journalists, were the centre of revolutionary and nationalist agitation in Austria and Hungary. This was very natural, for among such mixed races the question of language was of the utmost importance in education, and the enforcement of one language or another plays a very large part in Austro-Hungarian politics at this time.

In tracing the course of the Revolution of 1848-9, one finds that it had at least four important centres within Austria-Hungary (Vienna, Budapest, Prague, Agram), besides the two centres of rebellion in Italy, Venice and Milan (see p. 69), whose resistance and defeat strongly influenced the internal course of events. There were three common claims made throughout the Hapsburg domains: (*a*) the demand for better social conditions, for the emancipation of the peasantry, and the abolition of feudal dues and privileges; (*b*) the demand for a better political system, for real representative government, and a Cabinet responsible to Parliament instead of to the Emperor; (*c*) the demand for equality between races, involving equal rights in Church matters, in language, and in education, and equal rights to official positions, which had generally been reserved for Germans, or men able to speak German.

It will be seen that these demands were to some extent mutually hostile: whereas the demand for a representative assembly might have led to greater unity, the claim to equality between races tended towards disunion. These claims, however, were generally made throughout the whole of the Austro-Hungarian dominions. The national movement was

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the schoolmasters would be obliged to use only a foreign tongue.

The resentment of the Illyrian party was cleverly used by the Imperial Government of Austria; the Ban (or ruler) of Croatia was an excellent general, Jellacic, who seemed at first to be throwing himself into the national movement. The Emperor was naturally suspicious of him, but it soon became apparent that his chief motive was hostility to the Hungarians, and he bent all his energies to preserving the unity of the Hapsburg domains, with the help of Croatian hatred of the Magyars. This is very important in view of the military operations against Hungary; apart from that, the revolution in Agram had little result.

The Czech movement of Bohemia had its centre in Prague. Bohemia had accepted the Pragmatic Sanction of 1723 without making any conditions, and though the Diet still met, it had no real power. The nationalist movement, however, was mainly literary, concerning itself at first with the revival of the Czech language and literature. It was led by the journalist Havliĉek, in connection with the scholars and professors of the universities; a great impetus was given to it by the patriotic history of Bohemia by Palacky.

This movement, like the Illyrian, had its dream —Panslavism. Panslavism meant the union of all the peoples speaking Slavonic tongues, e.g. Czechs, Poles, Slovaks (in Northern Hungary), and the Serbo-Croats of the Illyrian provinces. They hoped to be supported by the only independent Slav power —Russia. The most practical part of the movement, however, was the bitter opposition it stirred up to Austria and the Germans in Bohemia.

In Austria proper, and particularly in Vienna, the national question hardly entered into the Revolution.

It was simply an outbreak of Liberal ideas among men whose sympathies were mainly German. It must be remembered that a Liberal and National Parliament was sitting in 1848 at Frankfort (see p. 97) trying to unite all the German lands under a Liberal Constitution, presided over by a German Emperor. The Austrian Liberals, therefore, were drawn towards Germany by two desires—the desire to establish a constitutional government in Vienna, and the desire that the Austrian Emperor should be the first emperor of a united Germany.

Looking thus to the North, the Austrian Liberals were, however, too ready to turn their backs on Hungary. The proposed Germanic Empire could hardly admit a vast non-Germanic territory such as Hungary, nor on the other hand could Austria be expected to renounce the union with Hungary. Hence the difficulties that beset the Viennese Liberals were almost insuperable.

This brings one to the central point of the whole Revolution—Hungary's attitude. The Hungarian Revolution was essentially nationalist—a Magyar movement. We have seen how proud the Magyars were of their ancient Constitution, of their legal system, of their independent local government. Francis I had promised to preserve that constitution unhurt, to love it, and to transmit it to his heirs. Nevertheless, for thirteen years (1812–25) no Hungarian Diet was called. As the counties refused to contribute either taxes or recruits for the army, the Emperor was obliged to give way, and the Diet met again in 1825.

From that time onwards constant signs were given of a great Magyar revival. This revival centres in the work of three great Hungarian patriots—Count Szechenyi, Louis Kossuth, and Francis Deák.

Count Szechenyi was in some ways a typical Hun-

garian noble, but he had come under the influence of modern ideas, and especially of English ideas. He was zealous to restore Hungary to a great and commanding position in Europe, but he did not believe in revolutionary methods nor in the use of repression against other races. What he did very thoroughly advocate was the improvement of education and learning, of commerce and of material prosperity. Thus in 1825 he offered his whole year's revenue towards the founding of a Hungarian Academy of Sciences; it was largely owing to his influence that the Magyar language was adopted in the Diet in 1835–6, and his name is connected with such enterprises as the making of roads, the building of the great bridge at Budapest, the introduction of steamboats on the Danube, the improvement of the peasants' position, and the abolition of the nobles' exemption from taxation. He opposed Kossuth as being too revolutionary, but was himself distrusted as too aristocratic in his methods.

Louis Kossuth was a man of very different type. Essentially an enthusiast, of extreme views, little caution, and less statesmanship, he was nevertheless the leader who not only stirred his countrymen to action, but also by his fiery words and vivid personality roused sympathy throughout Europe and America. Yet he had also a practical side. Educated as a Protestant, he had turned to the study of law, and there his enthusiasm for Hungary found its origin, in the legal institutions which dated back so many centuries. As lawyer and manager of a great lady's estate, he first learnt to know the troubles of the peasants. In 1831 his sympathy was roused on behalf of the Polish exiles. He did excellent work in maintaining order through these troublous times, and during a cholera epidemic. In 1832 he attended

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reforms was expressed in the words, "I hold him for no brave man, no true Magyar, to whom this poor suffering country is not dearer than the most brilliant Empire in Europe". A strange doctrine indeed this would have sounded to Metternich! His work in the Diet was always on the side of conciliation. Again and again he sought to bring about an understanding between the Government and the Liberals. In 1843–4 he refused to take his seat, because he knew there had been corruption at his election. To the fiery eloquence and impassioned appeals of Kossuth he opposed his own conviction, "Generosity is a fine thing, but there is something even finer, and that is justice". His ideal for Hungary is summed up in the words: "We consider it is contrary to law and justice that the interests of Hungary should be made subordinate to those of any country whatever. . . . Our constitutional life is a treasure which we cannot sacrifice."

Such were the men who made the revolution in Hungary. The Diet which met in 1847 hotly resented certain Austrian attempts to interfere with the Hungarian County Assemblies; Kossuth sought to inflame men's minds against Austria; Szechenyi endeavoured to preserve order and moderation; Deák formulated the Hungarian demands, and began to reform and modify the ancient Hungarian Constitution. In February came the news of the Revolution in Paris; Vienna was seething with discontent; on 3 March Kossuth made his famous speech against the Austrian Government: "From the charnel-house of the Vienna Cabinet a pestilential air breathes upon us, which dulls our nerves, and paralyses the flight of our spirit". Hungary, with its own free institutions, thus invited the revolution in Austria, believing that the two States could most easily con-

tinue to live under one ruler, if Austria would adopt a Liberal Constitution.

Thus on 3 March the Hungarian Diet voted an address to the Emperor, asking for responsible Parliamentary government in Hungary and a similar Constitution in Austria; no mention was made of any common affairs, which would need to be treated by the two countries jointly. This address helped to provoke the revolution in Vienna. On 12 March there was a great demonstration of students, journalists, and citizens, which ended in street fighting. Metternich fled ignominiously to England, and Ferdinand promised a Constitution. He was also obliged to consider the Hungarian demands, and allowed a ministry composed of Batthyany, Kossuth, Deák, Szechenyi, and Eötvös, and bound by no conditions, to enter upon office in Budapest.

A similar demand from Bohemia was disregarded; the Bohemian Diet thereupon assembled as an independent Parliament, but a popular rising in the streets of Prague was put down by the troops under Count Windischgrätz, and the Bohemian movement was suppressed for the time. In May a second revolution took place in Vienna, and the Emperor, thoroughly alarmed and disheartened, fled to the Tyrol. It must be remembered that during all these weeks of revolution in Vienna, Charles Albert was successfully waging war against Austria in Lombardy, and all Austria's resources were needed for the war (see p. 69). Not until the battle of Custozza, 25 July, when the Piedmontese army was defeated, could Austria act with a firm hand at home. In July, however, the combined Austrian Diets met to discuss a new Constitution; most of the deputies were peasants, clad in sheepskins; their main interests were social and economic rather than constitutional or national; the ma-

jority of them were Slavs. They recalled the Emperor, and then turned their attention to manorial problems, to the emancipation of the serfs, and the compensation of the landlords. In September they refused to receive a deputation from the Hungarian Diet, which by this time was anxious to act in concert with Austria. The rejected deputies joined forces with the German Liberals, who would have been quite willing to allow Hungary to separate from Austria; another insurrection took place in the streets of Vienna; once more the Emperor fled.

Meanwhile, war had been declared between Austria and Hungary. It remains to be seen how this war had come about, and what were its effects on the constitutional and revolutionary movements in both countries. The real cause of the war lay in Croatia. The moderate Hungarian leaders, such as Szechenyi and Deák, had been overshadowed by Kossuth, and Kossuth was unfortunately a typical Magyar in his harshness and intolerance towards all other races. The result was that all the Southern Slavs, together with the Slovaks and Rumanians, resented the Magyar domination. In Croatia the national aspirations created by Louis Gaj once more became important. Agram, as well as Budapest, became a centre of revolution. The Austrian Government, however, appointed a very clever general and statesman, Jellacic, to be Ban (or Governor) of Croatia. At first he encouraged the Croatians, declared the kingdom entirely independent of Hungary, and convoked the Croatian Diet. But he was not genuinely acting on behalf of Croatian independence; he had conceived the idea that if Austria could manage to use the Slavs against the Magyars, and against the German Liberals in Vienna, the Emperor might succeed in re-establishing his authority again. The Croats were to be the

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Hungarian Diet declared that the Emperor could not abdicate without their knowledge and consent, and that therefore Francis Joseph was not King of Hungary. Thus the Hungarians claimed that they were fighting in defence of the Constitution, and this claim was strongly emphasized by Görgei, the chief general in Hungary, who opposed any schemes that Kossuth might have entertained for making Hungary a Republic. Deák and the moderate party, despairing of conciliation, had retired into private life, and thus, during the winter of 1848–9, Kossuth was practically Dictator in Hungary. Count Windischgrätz was sent against Hungary, Jellacic co-operated with him, the Croats and Rumanians were willing enough to join in the attack on the hated Magyars. Early in January, 1849, Kossuth and the Diet left Budapest, and sought safety beyond the marshes of the Theiss, at Debreczin. Defeat seemed to threaten Hungary on every side, but Windischgrätz thought the victory was already won, and wasted time in useless delays. Görgei, on the contrary, showed his military capacity in a marvellous winter campaign among the mountains, trained his raw recruits into a capable and redoubtable army, and pressed forward to recover the ground that had been lost. In spite of much jealousy between him and Kossuth, he advanced steadily during the month of March, won two considerable battles, Gödöllö and Nagysarlo, during April, together with several smaller engagements, and finally, on 25 May, he entered Budapest once more. During April, however, the Hungarian Diet had declared that there was no longer any King of Hungary, and had placed Kossuth at the head of a temporary government, with the title of Governor of the Hungarian Republic. (No Republic was actually instituted.) This action was mainly inspired by Schwarzenberg's haste in issuing

a new Constitution for Austria and Hungary jointly (see p. 153). Görgei's military success, however, combined with the action of the Diet, thoroughly alarmed Austria. The Government sought help from Russia, and Nicholas I was only too willing to assist in putting down a revolution; a Russian army was sent, on condition that it should be commanded entirely by its own general, and that it should be larger than any army put into the field by Austria. Even against such odds Görgei and Kossuth could not combine. Görgei wanted to uphold the Monarchy while fighting for Hungary's independence; Kossuth, perhaps, wanted to assume a permanent Dictatorship (or even the crown) himself; in any case he was an impossible colleague. During June and July, the Austrians under Haynau, the Russians under Paskievich, and Jellacic with his Croatians advanced once more against Hungary. Again the Diet fled eastwards to Arad, the Hungarians were everywhere defeated, and at last, on 13 August, Görgei surrendered to the Russian army at Világos. Kossuth had played an ignoble part during the last few weeks; he had first placed an inefficient commander-in-chief over Görgei; on 10 August he had resigned his Dictatorship to Görgei and fled into Turkey; when once he was safe in Turkey he declared that he had not left the Dictatorship to Görgei in order that he might surrender it. (Kossuth's chief importance in Hungary ends here. He remained in Turkey until 1852, then he came to England, and spent much of his time in England and America speaking and writing on behalf of Hungarian liberties. He died, almost forgotten, in 1895, at Turin.) Görgei and his army were handed over by the Russian general to Haynau, by whom the last important battle had been won. By the surrender of Világos the war was ended, but Hungary had still

to suffer eight months of martial law, under the rule of General Haynau. Haynau, to put it simply, was a brute. He had already, in Italy, won for himself an unenviable reputation by the wholesale massacre which followed his capture of Brescia. He now went on to terrorize the Hungarians by a series of brutal executions, confiscations, and other punishments imposed by military law. At Arad thirteen generals were shot or hanged; Görgei only escaped through the intervention of the Tsar; Count Batthyany, who had taken no part in the war, and had advocated more moderate counsels, was shot, together with other statesmen. Fortunately Haynau speedily quarrelled with the Government and resigned his command; the only satisfactory episode in his career is the sound thrashing which he received from the men of a brewer's yard which he visited in London in 1850.

Thus Hungary was beaten, and the revolution both in Austria and Hungary was at an end. How was the constitutional question to be settled? It is necessary to go back a little and see what had been happening in Austria during the war.

During the winter of 1848–9 the Austrian assembly, which had fled from Vienna and then from Prague, was sitting at Kremsier, a small town in Moravia, where it hoped to be free from interruption. It set steadily to work to frame a constitution for the whole of the Hapsburg domains. There were several alternatives before it: either Austria and Hungary might be entirely united, under the same constitution; or they might go on as they had done before, united only by the person of the Emperor and King, each country retaining its own constitution; or they might separate absolutely, as Kossuth wished during the later stages of the war; or they might join in a Federal union, in which a common constitution should control

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by the Hungarian Diet. Hence no constitution offered by Austria could have been accepted by Hungary, but for the time there was no further talk of constitutions. From 1850 to 1859 Austria and Hungary suffered under an arbitrary provisional government, which exceeded even the "Metternich system" in its stern repression and inquisitorial police methods. The administration was in the hands of Bach, the minister of the interior, and his officials, who gained the name of "Bach's Hussars", because they tried to treat the people as if they were soldiers to be drilled.

Every national difference was to be ignored; German was the only official language; the local Diets, and all the forms of local government were to be abolished; Croatia, Bohemiá, Hungary, were mere names, "geographical expressions"; and the more national feeling could be crushed and ignored, the more successful Bach felt himself. It is only just, however, to state that during these ten years of oppression much was done to improve agriculture, trade, and commerce, and Austria-Hungary increased in material prosperity. But the system was universally hated—by all the Liberals, who had fought for a Constitution; by the Czechs, who hated its Germanism; by the non-Magyar races, who had hoped to be rewarded for their help to the Austrian Government. Nevertheless, the system lasted ten years, and the main interest of those years lies in the foreign policy of Austria.

The immediate question was whether Austria should give up any attempt to influence the German States and leave the leadership to Prussia, or whether she should try the fortunes of war with Prussia. In 1850, having recovered from her internal troubles, Austria inflicted an apparent humiliation on Prussia by the Convention of Olmütz (see p. 100), but the humiliation was more apparent than real. Prussia,

and above all Bismarck, needed time to prepare for the inevitable struggle, which was postponed till 1866. During the Crimean War Austria and Prussia supported each other as neutrals; but Austria was amazed to find that Russia regarded her as thoroughly ungrateful for the help given in 1849, while the Western powers resented her neutrality, and considered that she ought to have joined with them against Russia. Thus isolated, Austria could not prevent Cavour from raising the question of Italy in the Congress of Paris. In 1859 came Napoleon III's intervention on behalf of Italy, which Austria had neither foreseen nor forestalled by efficient preparation. The two defeats at Magenta and Solferino (see p. 77) opened the eyes of the Austrian Government—obviously something must be done. Bach's system could not be called successful; besides causing infinite discontent, it was ruinously expensive. The Hungarians had evolved a method of passive resistance which made government wellnigh impossible. They would give absolutely no obedience to Bach's innumerable officials. They neither paid taxes, nor performed any public service without compulsion; if the tax gatherer came and took his dues, he was not resisted, but the inhabitants refused to give him any information, or simply retired to the mountains or forests. Of course it was possible to collect money in this way, but it was, as has been said, ruinously expensive. Something had to be done. Hence the years 1860–1 saw two more experimental constitutions, the October Diploma and the February Patent. The first of these was an attempt to conciliate the provinces by reviving the local Diets and uniting them in a Federal union; the second was an attempt to set up a centralized Constitution, on German lines, for the whole of the Hapsburg dominions. Both were alike opposed by

the Hungarians, led by Deák, on the ground that the "March Laws" of 1848 were still the Hungarian Constitution, and that they were unable to accept any further changes until these "March Laws" had been either legally repealed or acknowledged.

Things, however, were slowly working towards the Compromise of 1867. Hungary was no longer treated as a nation of rebels. In the Reichsrath (or Council), which had drawn up the October Diploma, Hungarian delegates had sat, and had had the opportunity of expressing the point of view of Hungary. The Diploma itself provided for the revival of local Diets and for the presence of some Hungarian members in a central Assembly. Deák himself was willing to treat the Diploma, not as legislation, but as evidence of the conciliatory intentions of the Government.

In 1860 the Hungarian County Congregations were allowed to reassemble, and they immediately showed their sympathies by electing Kossuth (still in exile), Napoleon III, Cavour, and Garibaldi as members!

The Diploma, however, pleased no one; it was too essentially a compromise. The ministry which had introduced it fell, and in February, 1860, the February Patent was issued. This was an apparently Liberal Constitution, setting up a system of local Diets, which should elect members to a central Parliament. The whole importance of the Constitution was, however, vitiated by a famous clause, which allowed the ministers, whenever they pleased, to carry on the Government without the consent of the Parliament. In fact, the February Patent was an attempt to secure the support of the German Liberals in the war between Prussia and Austria that was inevitably coming; it was not a genuine attempt to secure harmony and good government at home. However, it is an important document in Austrian history, as, with some modifications, it

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The Austrian Constitution, as determined by the February Patent, was only slightly modified. But this was not the whole work of the Compromise. While admitting that both Austria and Hungary were independent and sovereign States, it yet reserved certain questions for their joint control, and set up the machinery by which these common affairs were to be regulated. In Chapter XII is a fuller description of the joint ministry for war, finance, and foreign affairs, responsible to the two "Delegations" of Austrian and Hungarian members, which supervise the finance and administration of the Dual Monarchy. On the whole, the Compromise was a reasonable solution of the difficulties between Austria and Hungary, and has worked fairly successfully. Difficulties arise when it is necessary (as in military matters) that the two countries should pass the same laws, but these difficulties have generally not been insurmountable; the most serious cause of friction has been the arrangement that all commercial and financial agreements between the two States should be renewed every ten years.

Since 1867 the history of Austria-Hungary has been mainly interesting on account of—(*a*) the development of her foreign policy in the Balkan Peninsula; (*b*) the struggles between the different nationalities within both Austria and Hungary, with which struggle is closely connected the demand for electoral reform.

The development of interest in the Balkans was the direct result of Austria's defeat by Prussia and her expulsion from Italy. Geographically, the Danube is the true centre of the Dual Monarchy; it was a mistaken policy that had led Austria to seek expansion towards Germany or Italy. Just as Russia was led by sympathy with its fellow members of the Greek Church, as well as by economic needs, to

advance upon Constantinople, so Austria-Hungary was compelled, by the vast numbers of her Slav population, to sympathize with the Slavs of Bosnia, Herzegovina, Servia, &c., who were suffering under the misrule of the Turk; it was clear, too, that the economic future of the Dual Monarchy lay on the Danube and on the Eastern Adriatic.

The details of the reopening of the "Eastern Question", and the part played by Austria in the Congress of Berlin, 1878, may be most clearly explained in the chapter on the Balkan Peninsula. Here it may be sufficient to say that the Eastern Question gradually drove Austria-Hungary, somewhat unwillingly, into hostility to Russia and alliance with Prussia. The most tangible result of the negotiations to the Dual Monarchy was the occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1878. These two provinces, which had suffered severely from Turkish incapacity and deliberate misgovernment, were occupied by Austria-Hungary jointly; their administration, which has been very successful, therefore lies in the hands of the joint ministry, supervised by the Delegations. These provinces were formally annexed in 1908.

The internal history of both Austria and Hungary, as has been said, is one long struggle to find some means of enabling the various races to live together in peace. The solutions that come nearest to solving the question seem to be manhood suffrage, and the fact that economic questions are rapidly becoming more engrossing than racial disputes.

The question of the suffrage differs in Austria and in Hungary.

By the February Patent Austria adopted a somewhat medieval electoral system, by which the electors were divided into *curiæ*, or classes (i.e. landowners, cities, chambers of commerce, and rural districts).

By this system very few persons had votes, and those few were very unequally represented. Not only were the people unequally represented as to numbers and class, but they were unequally treated as to race. The whole period 1867–1907 is one long struggle on the part of the Czechs to obtain fair play in the Reichsrath; their methods were often questionable, but their grievance was undeniable.

A pretence was made in 1896 of remedying this state of affairs. A fifth curia was added, consisting of all citizens over twenty-four. This looked like manhood suffrage, but in reality it was rather a mockery of it, for while 5,500,000 voters in this new class elected 72 members, the remaining 353 members were elected by about 2,000,000. Therefore the agitation went on unabated, until in 1907, largely through the determination of the Emperor, real manhood suffrage was granted, and the whole system of the curiæ was swept away. The results of the change have been distinctly to lessen the animosity between Czech and German, Pole or Ruthenian. The electoral districts have been so arranged as to contain only one race, as nearly as was possible.

In Hungary, matters are perhaps less hopeful. The political genius of the Magyar is to a large extent nullified by his incapacity to sympathize with any other national aspirations. The Magyar policy is framed definitely to ensure the "Magyarization" of the subject races as soon as possible.

Travellers in Hungary are almost unanimous in their accounts of the harsh treatment of the Slavs and of all non-Magyar races. The Slovaks of Northern Hungary seem to be particularly ill-treated; their worst crime apparently is that they are fervent and poetic Slav patriots. One serious grievance lies in the educational system; the Magyar language is a

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the army should be one and undivided. Thereupon ensued a serious deadlock, which has not yet been finally settled. The Emperor desired that Hungary should adopt an equal system of manhood suffrage before he pursued the dispute further. Various schemes for an extension of the suffrage have been proposed, but as yet neither of them has been adopted, and it must be admitted that the racial enmities in Hungary seem to be as acute as ever.[1]

CHAPTER VIII

RUSSIA.

"Nothing is more apt to ruin the prestige of authority than a frequent and extensive employment of repression. Measures of repression are dangerous, and when they get to be continuous, they either lead to an explosion or else turn the people into a casual throng, into human dust."

—*Count Witte, formerly Minister of Finance in Russia.*

RUSSIA, the largest country in Europe, is perhaps less known and less understood than any other. All through the Middle Ages, Russia was a mystery to the West—a land almost as unknown as Central Asia. It is difficult to gain access to Russia by sea. A map will show how easily a fleet could be prevented from entering or leaving the Black Sea or the Baltic, while the White Sea is frozen during a great part of the year. The climate is colder than that of most European countries, and until the railways were built, travelling was extremely difficult and dangerous. The chief races of Russia—the Slavs, who are the Russians proper, the Finns, and the Mongol races (Tartars, Turkomans, &c., from Asia)—were alien to the Western nations, and their languages unintelli-

[1] Cf. notes on p. 130 and p. 322.

gible to them. Russia had been converted to Christianity by missionaries from Constantinople in the tenth century; her people, therefore, belonged to the Greek or Orthodox Church, the Church, that is, which acknowledged the Patriarch of Constantinople as its head instead of the Pope, and which in some of its teaching and doctrines differed from the Roman Catholic Church.

Thus, owing partly to her geographical position, partly to her past history, Russia was in 1815 in many ways the most backward country in Europe. In order to realize its condition one must often compare it rather with England or France in the thirteenth century than with any other Western nation in the nineteenth.

Towards the end of the seventeenth century Russia seemed to awake and press forward into the notice of Western Europe. This is not the place to tell the story of Peter the Great, but ever since the days when he travelled over Europe in search of modern ideas, Russia has been wavering between the East and the West. At one moment she seems about to adopt modern civilization and Western institutions; at another the intense patriotism of her people seems to throw her back on the old ideals, or the corruption and tyranny of her officials makes reforms impossible.

The object, therefore, of this chapter is to show very briefly what Russia needed in the nineteenth century, why she has partly failed to obtain it, and what measure of success she has attained. Russia had not much to fear in the earlier years of the century from open enemies, she was not obliged to make an heroic struggle for her very existence; and thus, although her foreign policy was of the greatest importance to other nations, it is the home policy of the Tsars

which forms the really important aspect of Russian history.

The greatest problem that Russia had to deal with was a social question—the existence of serfdom. There were in Russia in 1815 only two main classes of society—the nobles or landlords, and the serfs. (The merchants, traders, and townspeople generally formed only a very small proportion of the population. Even now the peasants form 75 per cent of the whole.) The unfortunate peasants were in much the same position as the villeins on a medieval manor, but they had even fewer rights and privileges. They were considered to be the property of their lord, like slaves; they worked for him and paid taxes to him; he had the right to flog them, to punish them in almost any way, to arrange their marriages, to send them to work in one town or another, or to fetch them back again. There was no law or justice for them but their lord's will. Of course they were not all ill-treated, in some villages they were prosperous and happy; but they were practically slaves, "chris-tened property", as they were called, with no more power over their own lives than the tools they used. A large number of the serfs were the lord's household servants, and these were the most completely at his mercy. It is important to remember, however, that the Russian peasant had not always been in this miserable position; he had sunk through the diffi-culties of paying heavy taxes, and because the entire burden of military service (as in feudal days) had been laid upon the lord, who oppressed the peasant in order to satisfy the Tsar's demands. Thus serfdom in Russia was a comparatively new institution, dating from the sixteenth century, and was steadily getting worse—not, as in France before the Revolution, a very ancient institution which was gradually dis-

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tions, to make the Tsar part with some of his autocratic power, and to obtain the franchise for as many Russian citizens as possible. Side by side with these two great demands went the desire for education, for the increase of prosperity, for the reform of judicial methods, and the expansion of Russia in Central Asia and Siberia.

After this brief explanation of what one has to look for in Russian history, we must turn back to deal with each reign separately, for the character of the Tsar was, of course, of enormous importance in the progress of Russia.

Alexander I, whose reign lasted from 1801 to 1825, was a very remarkable man. In early life he had been greatly interested in the ideas of the French Revolution; his sympathies were frankly Western, and it seemed probable that Russia would see vast changes under his rule. For a time he was dazzled by Napoleon's offer of alliance, and at the Treaty of Tilsit the two monarchs practically agreed to divide Europe between them. However, Russia's turn was to come; in 1812 Napoleon led the disastrous expedition into Russia, which ended in the burning of Moscow and a tremendous outburst of patriotism among the Russian people. Alexander's part in the coalition against Napoleon, and in the congresses which followed, has been sketched in an earlier chapter (pp. 12–13). It is interesting to notice how he wavered between the parts of a great military leader, and a great internal reformer. His was a curiously unbalanced character, and he never seemed entirely sure of his aim. He sincerely believed that he had a mission to keep Europe at peace, and to prevent the spread of dangerous ideas; he was convinced, too, that literal obedience to Christian teaching would

bring about this result. Hence the formation of the Holy Alliance. At the same time he was sincerely interested in reforms, and sympathetic towards the demand for a Constitution; his care for his country was shown in constant visits to different parts, in work for the improvement of schools, colleges, roads, hospitals, and prisons. His Liberal tendencies were shown in the Constitution which he granted to Poland, according to promises made at the Congress of Vienna, and in the respect which he showed for the Constitution of Finland—a province which had only just been annexed to Russia, and which has maintained much of its independence throughout the nineteenth century. But he did not believe that Russia itself was ready for a constitution, and it was his settled policy that reforms ought to be given by the Tsar to the people as a favour, rather than that the people should be enabled to work out improvements for themselves. In his latter years he fell almost entirely under the influence of Metternich, and his fears were roused by the growing number of secret societies (similar to the Carbonari in Italy) in almost every country in Europe. Thus he abandoned his belief in Liberalism, and was ready to use his influence, or his armies if necessary, to put down revolutionary movements in Naples, in Germany, or in Spain. For a time Metternich was able to withhold him from joining in the Greek rebellion against the Turks (see p. 205), but finally his desire to act as champion of his fellow Christians of the Orthodox Church grew stronger even than Metternich's influence. At the time of his death he was generally supposed to be on the point of taking active measures against the Turks.

In estimating Alexander's character, it is apparent that his mind was often so unstrung as to be barely sane; the melancholy and mystic form of religion

which he adopted in later life seems to have blinded his eyes to the real trend of events in Europe; fear and suspicion completed the change. He died, as he said himself, "worn out with the burden of a crown". Yet he had done much good work; his part in the defeat of Napoleon and in the reconstruction of Europe was, on the whole, in harmony with his high ideals; his reforms at home, especially his attempts to improve the condition of the serfs, deserved real gratitude. Had he been more strong-minded, more consistent, less given to follow wandering fires, he might have ranked among the really great rulers of the nineteenth century.

Alexander I died on 1 December, 1825, and his death was followed by a short period of anarchy and insurrection. The next heir was his brother Constantine, who was unsuitable for the position of Tsar, and moreover, did not desire it. However, some days passed before Constantine could declare his refusal, and before Nicholas, the next brother, could be proclaimed Emperor. During these few days a serious insurrection broke out in St. Petersburg, chiefly among the soldiers and the numerous secret societies. The insurgents, instead of acclaiming Nicholas, shouted for Constantine and the Constitution; many of them, however, were so ignorant that they thought "Constitution" was Constantine's wife! The rebellion was put down with the utmost severity, and Nicholas entered on his reign with a conviction that his brother's fear of secret societies was thoroughly justified.

Nicholas I is said to have been a fine, handsome, honest man—a blunt soldier, incapable of sentimental sympathies. He was convinced that Western ideas could only bring harm to Russia, that Russia must develop on her own lines, with as little borrowing as

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No sooner was this difficulty partly solved than trouble arose in Poland. The year 1830 was a year of revolution throughout Europe, and Poland felt the impulse which originated in France. The larger part of the kingdom had been joined to Russia in 1815 under certain conditions; these conditions had been partially carried out, a Constitution had been granted, and Poland was rapidly becoming more prosperous. There were, however, grave causes of discontent; the Constitution gave no real power to the Polish assemblies; the army was ill-disposed and exasperated because the Emperor had given it no part in the Turkish war; secret societies were common; the nobility was factious and disloyal.

In 1830, when Nicholas summoned the Polish Diet for the first time in his reign, the discontent was openly avowed, and when news came of the "July Revolution" in Paris, it was the signal for another revolution in Poland. In November Warsaw was full of small armed bodies of men, who attacked the army and the palace of the viceroy Constantine, Nicholas's brother. Constantine, unfortunately, lost his head, and made no attempt to rally his men; the Polish army therefore joined the movement. The authority of the Emperor was cast off, a provisional Government was formed, and for a time it seemed to have a real chance of success.

Nicholas would hear of no compromise, and sent an army to put down the rising. None of the European powers would help Poland, though they feebly reminded Nicholas of the conditions imposed by the Congress of Vienna. Prussia actively sided with Russia. In September, 1831, Warsaw, the Polish capital, surrendered, and thus ended Poland's struggle for the independence which had been hers for so many centuries. The Poles had fought with all their old

bravery and dash, but they were not united, and they were evidently incapable of securing order among themselves. The Tsar put down the insurgents with the utmost severity; the prisons were soon full; thousands of exiles were sent to Siberia; the Constitution was abolished; many of the special Polish institutions were swept away; the Tsar issued a ukase declaring that Poland was no longer a nation; everything was done to make the former kingdom an integral part of the Russian Empire.

The various religious sects in Poland, such as the "Old Believers" or the "United Greeks" (who had joined the Roman Church while preserving many of their old customs), as well as the Lutherans in the Baltic provinces, were subjected to a legal persecution to make them join the Orthodox Church. This policy, though it seemed successful at the time, left a legacy of hatred in Poland which, thirty years later, was still unsoftened, and which has effectually prevented any real union with Russia.

Nicholas's belief in the value of the "strong hand" did not apply to Poland alone. In Russia itself the Government was more and more strictly organized, and the Tsar made a great effort to prevent corruption among his officials; but as he always insisted that the whole responsibility lay with him, and as he constantly interfered in every detail, he was unable to create a higher standard among his ministers and servants. A typical story is told of the building of the railway between St. Petersburg and Moscow (1851). There was some discussion as to the best route, and many of the smaller towns were anxious that the line should pass through them. When the minister tried to explain the matter to the Tsar, Nicholas simply took a ruler, drew a line on the map, and said: "You will construct the line thus".

It would be hard to find a story which better explains what is meant by autocracy.

This tendency to autocracy was still further increased by news of the many revolutions of the years 1848–9. The rising in Hungary under Kossuth (see p. 149) filled the Emperor with fear lest the trouble should spread, and he willingly came to the assistance of the Austrian Emperor, Francis Joseph, by sending him 100,000 men, with whose help the revolution was brought to an end. It is said that when the first news of the revolution in Paris arrived, Nicholas strode into the ballroom, holding out a piece of paper, and crying: "Gentlemen, saddle your horses, France is a Republic".

When in March, 1849, the King of Prussia was doubting whether to accept the crown of Germany, offered to him at Frankfort, the Tsar made it very clear that an Emperor of Germany would incur his uncompromising hostility, and Frederick William refused the offer.

Thus far the influence of Russia in foreign affairs was paramount; it was soon to suffer a severe shock.

Most of the foreign policy of Nicholas's reign may be summarized as indirectly leading up to the Crimean War; it is therefore necessary to discover what were the essential causes of that war.

It had long been evident that Russia had a very firm hold over Turkey, and thus over the whole Balkan Peninsula; it was clear, too, that if Turkey closed the Dardanelles to warships of other nations, it would be impossible, in case a war broke out, to attack Russia by sea. Moreover, the whole fate of the Balkan States was becoming a very pressing question (see Chapter IX). Nicholas was convinced that Turkey was a "sick man", and that the Turkish Empire must inevitably break up ere long. After

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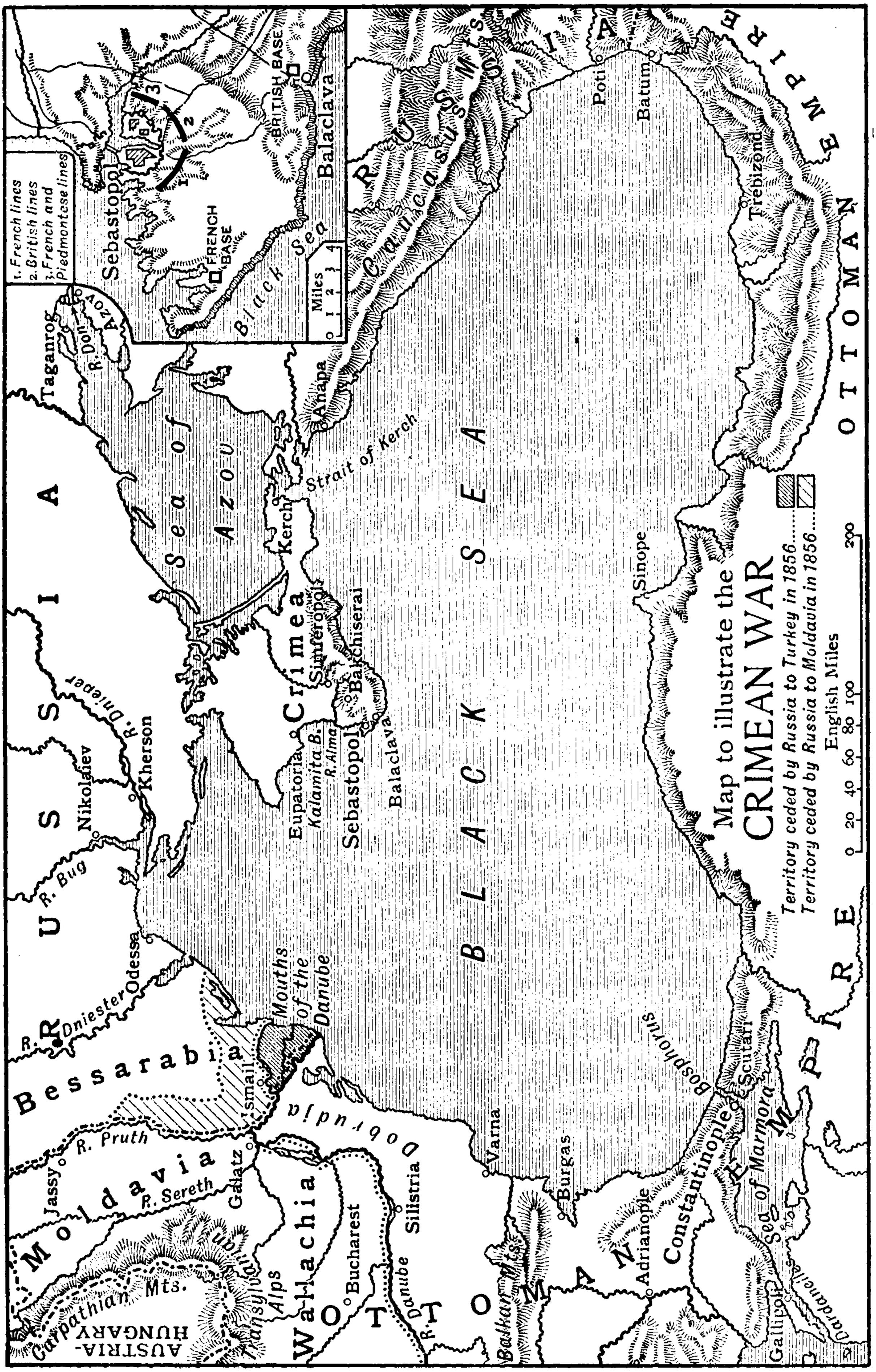
The first important incident in the war was the destruction of a Turkish fleet, which was lying in the harbour at Sinope; war had really been declared before this occurred, but Britain and France got the impression that it was an unjustifiable surprise attack, and it was largely this impression which caused the British nation to enter with so much zeal into the war against Russia.

At first the Tsar attacked Turkey on the Danube, by an invasion of Moldavia and Wallachia, but, although his forces were very strong, he was obliged to retire from the siege of Silistria, because Austria threatened hostilities. Henceforward the war centred in the Crimea; Britain and France had decided that Sebastopol, the harbour of the Russian fleet, must be destroyed, and all the incidents in the war, from September, 1855, to September, 1856, were leading up to the capture of this great fortress, which had been so skilfully strengthened that it was almost impregnable.

The combined French and British armies landed to the north of Sebastopol and marched southwards; at the river Alma they were met by a Russian force under General Menshikoff, and it was only the iron discipline of the British troops which enabled them to gain the summit of a steep hillside in the teeth of the Russian guns; Menshikoff was obliged to draw off, and the Allies pressed on towards Sebastopol.

Passing to the south of the city, the French took Kamiesh as their base, while the British army obtained possession of Balaclava. Both these bases were ports, and thus throughout the long siege the Allies were able to obtain reinforcements and provisions by sea, while the Russian forces and stores had to be brought immense distances by land, for the Russian fleet was almost entirely disabled.



Map to illustrate the
CRIMEAN WAR
Territory ceded by Russia to Turkey in 1856
Territory ceded by Russia to Moldavia in 1856
English Miles
0 20 40 60 80 100
200
1. French lines
2. British lines
3. French and Piedmontese lines
Sebastopol
FRENCH BASE
BRITISH BASE
Balaclava
Black Sea
Miles
0 1 2 3 4
RUSSIA
Caucasus Mts
Poti
Batum
Trebizond
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
Taganrog
R. Don
Azov
Sea of Azov
Anapa
Strait of Kerch
Kerch
Crimea
Simferopol
Bakchiserai
Eupatoria
Kalamita B.
R. Alma
Sebastopol
Balaclava
BLACK SEA
Sinope
Nikolaiev
Kherson
R. Dnieper
R. Bug
Odessa
R. Dniester
Bessarabia
Mouths of the Danube
Ismail
Dobrudja
Varna
Bosphorus
Scutari
Constantinople
Sea of Marmora
Burgas
Adrianople
Gallipoli
Dardanelles
Jassy
R. Pruth
Moldavia
R. Sereth
Galatz
Wallachia
Bucharest
Silistria
R. Danube
Balkan Mts.
OTTOMAN
Carpathian Mts.
Transylvanian Alps
AUSTRIA-HUNGARY

Soon after the seizure of Balaclava an unsuccessful attempt was made to take Sebastopol by assault (17 October, 1854), and the Russians retaliated by endeavouring to cut the line of communications between the British army and Balaclava. It was during the fighting that ensued that the famous charge of the "Light Brigade" took place. It will never be known exactly what happened, but in some way a wrong order was given. The commander of the Light Brigade believed that he was ordered to recapture some guns by charging an overwhelmingly strong Russian position. He knew it was impossible, he knew that a mistake had been made, but he led his willing men on such a charge that "all the world wondered". For a moment it almost looked as if success would be their reward, but a murderous Russian fire swept through their ranks, and hardly one-third of the Light Brigade came back alive. The French commander, unable to see the reason for the charge, remarked to an officer: "C'est magnifique, mais ce n'est pas la guerre". He was right; no general would deliberately send his men to face such odds, but the courage which faced the odds was indeed magnificent.

A few days later came the battle of Inkerman, a desperate and confused struggle in which the Allies were able to hold their ground, while the Russians left 12,000 dead upon the field.

Then began the hardest part of the whole siege—the long winter months of 1854–5, while little could be done, and while the armies were suffering the acutest misery from cold and lack of stores and provisions. The suffering was due to some extent to mismanagement and inexperience of warfare (Britain had been at peace since 1815); partly to a violent storm which wrecked nearly thirty vessels bringing

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they did the armies of the Allies. The sense of defeat impressed itself on Nicholas's mind, illness seized upon him, and on 2 March, 1855, he died, saying to his son: "I had hoped to leave you a well-ordered Empire, but it has pleased God to ordain otherwise; I can only pray for you and for Russia". He honestly believed he had done his best for his country, and his mind seemed incapable of grasping the idea of progress, of reform, of Western civilization.

Alexander II, his son, was a man of very different calibre. He has been called the "Tsar Liberator", and certainly his abolition of serfdom, together with the many reforms he carried through, give him a just claim to the title. But he was always anxious to hear both sides, keen to choose the best points of both parties; his difficulties were enormous, and he has been reproached with a lack of steadiness of purpose, for weakness and wavering in the face of danger. Men are still disputing as to whether his desire for liberal reforms was genuine, whether his weakness was the cause of the disorder and lawlessness with which he had to contend, or whether it was the disorder and violence of the progressive party which made him falter on his path.

Be this as it may, it is to Alexander II that Russia owes the most valuable reforms of the nineteenth century, and although he left much undone, he laid firmly the foundations on which all future statesmen must build.

His first task was very clear. Russia was exhausted by the war, and peace must be made. Although Palmerston, on behalf of Britain, was opposed to ending the war without inflicting further defeat on Russia, Napoleon III saw that he had nothing to gain by continuing it. Negotiations were therefore begun, and the Treaty of Paris was signed in March, 1856.

By this treaty, each of the Powers bound itself not to intervene in Turkish affairs without the consent of the other Powers; Russia gave up her claim to protect the Christian subjects of the Sultan; and the Sultan, in return, promised religious toleration to all. Greater independence was granted to the provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia, at the mouth of the Danube, which later on became the kingdom of Rumania (see p. 218). The Danube itself was declared free to all European nations, and its navigation was placed under the control of a European Commission. It was agreed that the Black Sea should be considered neutral, and that no warships of any nation, not even of Russia or Turkey, should be allowed within it. Another clause in the treaty endeavoured to put an end to privateering, by declaring that neutral ships should not be attacked, even when carrying supplies to the enemy; and that, even on an enemy's vessel, only such goods as were declared "contraband of war" should be liable to capture. This clause was very vaguely worded, and has given rise to much discussion since; diplomatists are constantly trying to reach some agreement as to the extent to which trade may be attacked during war.

After the Treaty of Paris, Alexander entered upon friendly relations with France, and having no external dangers to fear, was able to set himself to carry out some of the reforms he had so long meditated. Even Nicholas I had condemned serfdom, and Alexander had taken part in several committees appointed to consider its abolition. Almost all the more highly educated classes, and especially the literary men, were in favour of abolition. Such novels as Gogol's *Dead Souls* and Turgenieff's *Memoirs of a Huntsman* had made people realize the misery and hopelessness

of the peasant's lot, and the degrading effects of slavery.

The difficulties in the way of abolition were many. The nobles would suffer an immense loss, and the peasants themselves would lose many rights to which they had long been accustomed. They had always used the pasture and the forest of the lord, and could not understand why henceforth they should pay for their grass or their wood; they had fallen into the habit of relying on the lord in all difficulties; they were often so ignorant as to be barely fit for the independence of freemen. Moreover, many of them contended that in theory the land belonged to them, and that it was unjust to make them buy it.

Yet the change had to come if ever the peasants were to take a step forward. The order for the emancipation of the Crown serfs came in 1858, the general order of emancipation in 1861. Foremost among the Tsar's councillors who helped on the cause was Miliutin, a man previously unknown, whose genuine enthusiasm for the liberation and prosperity of the peasants brought him to public notice and the Tsar's favour.

Personal freedom was granted to every serf in Russia; the nobles were compensated to some extent for their losses; the peasants who had previously held land were allowed to purchase small holdings from the State, the purchase money being paid in instalments during the next forty-nine years. Nearly 23,000,000 of men were thus set free in 1861. Nevertheless, some mistakes were made. It was intended that each household should receive enough land to supply its own needs, but in many cases the estimated holding (varying, according to soil, from 5 to 27 acres) was too small, while in others the lords were able to offer the peasants a fourth part of the holding free, in-

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little authority save in agricultural matters; it could settle questions arising out of the cultivation of the land, and could allot the share of taxation among the households, but its authority went no further. Ten or more *Mirs*, however, were grouped into a body called a *Volost*, which had the power of administering justice for the peasants of the district.[1]

The *Zemstvo* (one for each district, and a central one for each province) was a representative body of men with certain powers of self-government; it was allowed to manage such questions as education, roads and bridges, poor relief, hospitals and medical relief, insurance, &c. Unfortunately the decisions of the Zemstvo were to be carried out by the local police, who, as a rule, had no sympathy with its policy, and thus many of the promised improvements were never realized.

Side by side with these steps towards self-government went a reorganization of justice. Formerly trials in Russia had been secret and very lengthy; every step in the proceedings was committed to writing, and thus the simplest cases might involve masses of documents, with the result that justice was frequently "sold, denied, and delayed". Alexander II made all trials public and oral; he set up magistrates similar to the English Justices of the Peace, some of whom were to be chosen by the Zemstvo, and were to administer justice according to the ancient and customary law of the country, and not according to their own caprices. Trial by jury was to be employed in criminal cases. Appeals were allowed from each court to a higher one. Since then Russian justice has had the supreme merits of cheapness and simplicity; its one great weakness is that the judges are

[1] These peasant courts, which do not appear to have been very efficient, were abolished in 1910.

not sufficiently independent, and that very many offences are dealt with directly by the police, acting under the orders of the Government, and not through the ordinary law courts.

Such were some of the wisest of Alexander's reforms. He also introduced a better system of military service, overhauled the finances of the country, encouraged railways, relaxed the Press Laws, and established a wider and freer system of education. Some of his reforms were shortlived (e.g. the relaxation of the Press Laws), while some seemed only to increase the general discontent. The free peasants were often poorer than the serfs had been, and in some districts serious risings took place among them, while the judicial reforms and local government bodies were often rendered useless by the too great power left in the hands of the police and of the nobles. The students in the universities, always the keenest and most reckless upholders of liberty in Russia, clamoured violently for far more fundamental changes, pinning their faith to revolutionary methods rather than to the slow process of reform. All this must be considered before Alexander is reproached with having gone back upon his earlier policy; there was real danger in going too fast, and Alexander knew it well. Nevertheless, all his reforms had been in the right direction, and he deserves, as has been said, eternal credit for having tried to understand the half-expressed wishes of his people, for having openly shown his confidence in them.

Two main causes contributed to make Alexander II abandon his Liberal ideas—the dissatisfaction and rebellion in Poland, and the growth of Nihilism throughout Russia.

Poland had been discontented ever since the unsuccessful revolution of 1831, and a party among the

Polish nobles still looked for a chance of recovering national independence. Alexander II warned them against indulging in "idle dreams"; but he pursued a conciliatory policy towards Poland, hoping to show what benefits might follow the Russian rule. From 1855 to 1861 Poland went rapidly forward, and a great Agricultural Society took up the question of the serfs and of the improvements which might be made in local administration. Unfortunately the Tsar was offended when he discovered that a scheme was on foot for the settlement of the land question in Poland, quite independently of his scheme for Russia. He therefore suppressed the Agricultural Society in 1861. There ensued demonstrations and rioting in the streets, and these were put down with unnecessary severity by the troops. For months the Government wavered between weakness and severity, now suppressing a riot, now permitting it. In 1862 the Tsar definitely decided on conciliation, and sent as Viceroy the Grand-Duke Constantine, who was well known for his Liberal views. By this time, however, Poland was ready for another revolution. The nobles demanded a Constitution (in place of the one they had lost in 1831), and the restoration of all the provinces which had once belonged to Poland. This was more than could possibly be granted by Russia, and the Government went back to the policy of extreme severity. For instance, on 15 January, 1863, almost every household in Warsaw was searched in the middle of the night by Russian soldiers, who carried off to prison all such youths as they suspected of having taken part in political demonstrations. After this the whole population took up arms, and the Tsar had a serious rebellion on his hands. It is impossible to follow the details of this struggle; the Poles had no regular armed troops, and they therefore retired into the

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feeling that it would fare even worse (as regards its independence) if it fell under German rule.

Alexander's other great difficulty, the growth of Nihilism, is harder to explain. The word itself (Latin *nihil* = nothing) means abolition, destruction, and Nihilism was in the beginning a belief that all customs and institutions and forms of government already existing are bad, so bad that they must be swept away, in order that an ideal society may be built up on a fresh basis. At first Nihilism was only an opinion, a theory; later on it became involved in questions of Socialism and political economy. The Nihilists wished to destroy the existing systems of work and industry; all land and wealth were to be held in common by the people. The remarkable thing about Nihilism was the hold it obtained on all classes of society. Beginning as a theory among university students, it spread all over Russia. Its motto was: "Go among the People", and its upholders carried out the motto literally. Men and women, rich and poor, students and teachers, left their work and their homes, donned the peasant dress, and went into the huts of the villages or the factories of the towns to preach their gloomy creed. Their devotion, however, gained them few converts among the peasants, whose strongest enthusiasm was generally for the Tsar and the Church. The best-known phase of Nihilism began after 1878, when the Nihilists ceased to be a political party, and became a desperate band of conspirators, seeking to carry out their policy of destruction by means of dynamite or the assassin's knife. They attacked Government officials, heads of police, or provincial governors, with absolute fearlessness, often announcing their deeds beforehand. In 1880 a mine exploded under the Winter Palace in St. Petersburg, and the Tsar owed his escape to an accidental delay.

No sentences of exile or death made any difference to the Nihilists; when one man failed, another was appointed to carry on the work of destruction, and the whole movement seemed to be less an organized protest against tyranny than a fanatical madness, all the more alarming on account of its coolness and system.

Alexander at first tried to meet the Nihilist outrages by increased severity, by abolishing or curtailing most of the reforms in local government, in justice, or in education, which he had previously granted, and by increasing the power and the activity of the secret police. During the years 1864 to 1879 Russia seemed to go backwards; her history consists to a large extent of a long list of Nihilist crimes, followed by the most relentless punishments. In foreign affairs, however, Russia was taking important steps. The many difficulties in the Balkan Peninsula, ultimately leading to war and to the Treaty of Berlin, will be discussed in a later chapter (see Chapter IX); here it may suffice to say that the defeat of Russian intentions against Constantinople helped on the growth of Nihilism, partly through a feeling of despair, partly through a deep discontent with the Government.

In the East Russia was more successful. Throughout the century the Empire of the Tsars had been extended gradually in the south-east, and during the years of reaction (1864–79) the process of extension went on more rapidly.

The territory around the Caucasus Mountains and the Caspian Sea was brought under Russian rule; repeated expeditions into the deserts of Central Asia extended the Tsar's authority as far as Merv, and roused the fears of Great Britain that an invasion of India might follow; by treaties and negotiations with China, Russia also made considerable additions to her

Siberian dominions, and obtained the port of Vladivostock, which serves as a terminus of the great Trans-Siberian Railway, and as a base for the Russian fleet in the Pacific. The importance of this extension of Empire was only gradually realized, and at the time it did not serve to dispel the sense of failure which the Balkan settlement had left in Russia.

In 1880, in consequence of the attempt at blowing up the Winter Palace, the Tsar gave over all the executive powers of Government to a Special Commission, at the head of which he placed General Loris Melikoff. A change in policy followed. Melikoff was an extremely able and ambitious man, an Armenian by birth. He was keen-sighted enough to see that repression and punishment would not remove the cause of the discontent, and he was supremely anxious that his own rule should be a success. He therefore persuaded the Tsar to allow him to try a conciliatory policy, to restore and increase the Liberal reforms of the earlier part of the reign. Prisoners were released, the wholesale arrests and banishments ceased; the severe restrictions on the press and on the universities were relaxed; the oppressive powers of the police were restrained, and the whole policy of the Government took a different direction.

The great demand, however, of the Liberal party in Russia was not only for better and more tolerant government, but also for some kind of representative institutions, some form of Parliament. Gradually Loris Melikoff succeeded in persuading the Tsar that this demand must be granted, in order that he might regain the popularity of the early years of his reign. The minister therefore worked out an elaborate scheme by which special commissions were to investigate every district of the Empire, discover the needs of the people, and draw up suggestions of reforms.

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movable will, and a narrow outlook on life, he had many of the qualities which win personal popularity, and the horror felt at his father's murder roused the loyalty and devotion of all classes in Russia. He had fallen under the influence of his old tutor, Pobedonostzeff, the head of the "Holy Synod" of the Orthodox Church, and this influence had strengthened in him the determination to win popular affection by acting as a thoroughly Russian, oldfashioned, and religious Tsar, a true "Little Father" to his people. With all his good qualities, however, he combined comparatively little intellectual ability. Bismarck, who was very scornful of his powers, once declared that he looked at every question from the standpoint of the Russian peasant. This perhaps explains why he was able to win the title of "the Peasants' Tsar", but the head of an immense Empire needs a rather wider outlook. However, the great mass of the Russian people was still essentially conservative; the Tsar's policy succeeded, the prosperity of the country increased, and gradually Nihilism died out, killed by the patriotism and religious feeling to which Alexander appealed. True, it is only a false or ignorant patriotism which refuses to learn anything from other nations, but for a time at least success seemed to follow the reactionary policy.

Alexander III's reign was marked by few external events. The Tsar on his accession had declared that he would do all in his power to maintain European peace, and on the whole he held to his intentions. His relations with the Balkan States will be described in another chapter (see p. 222); in spite of the many difficulties there he managed to avoid actual hostilities.

In Asia, the Russian advances towards Afghanistan continued, and almost brought about a war with Britain, but in the end Russian and British interests

were peaceably adjusted, and a boundary line was fixed. However, jealousy and suspicion between the two Great Powers remained, and in 1891 an alliance was made between Russia and France, which seemed to promise mutual support to the two most isolated nations in Europe, and thus to make for the maintenance of peace. The French Republic welcomed the alliance as a protection against possible danger from Germany, while it was most useful to Russia, as it enabled her to raise vast loans in France. Capital was badly needed in Russia, to build the railways, to develop the enormous mineral wealth, and to help on the various manufactures which were coming into existence. The French loans have therefore been extremely valuable in aiding the material development of Russia.

Alexander, indeed, seemed to turn his whole attention to increasing the material wealth and prosperity of his country, while he hindered and prevented intellectual or political development. He restored order, and delivered Russia, to some extent, from the terror of the Nihilists. He encouraged trade by every means in his power, strengthened the navy, reorganized the army, and linked up all parts of his Empire by carefully planned railways. He gave special attention to the condition of the peasants, and to the weak points in his father's emancipation scheme. He established Land Banks, to assist the peasants in buying their lands; he advanced money and helped them to redeem their holdings entirely from the landlords, or to obtain larger ones where such were necessary. He gave his personal interest and assistance to the districts which were ravaged by famine, by floods, or by fire, and he rearranged taxation, that it might fall less heavily on the peasants. Moreover, he appointed a commission to enquire into one of the greatest curses of the country

—drunkenness. The winter months in Russia are so intensely cold, the land is so completely buried in snow, that many kinds of work are impossible. The only form of amusement available was that which was afforded by the village spirit shop, where enormous quantities of "vodka" were consumed. Alexander III introduced new laws controlling the sale of intoxicants, and these had the result of decreasing drunkenness to a considerable extent. Another useful reform was the introduction of Factory Laws, modelled on those of Britain, to regulate the employment of women and children in the factories.

In such ways as these, and in the stricter control which he kept over the police, and the countless other officials with whom Russia is burdened, one sees Alexander's genuine care for his people's prosperity. To see the other side of the picture, one must look at the changes which he introduced in education, in local government, in religion, and in the treatment of the Press. Here one finds Alexander's ruling principle—that if good were done, it must be done in his way and in no one else's. He believed, to some extent rightly, that Nihilist opinions were due to an education only half understood; he therefore tried to hinder the education of the poor. The number of students in the higher schools and universities was limited; the sons of servants and working men were excluded from them. The students were vigorously inspected and kept under strict discipline; when they rose in protest, numbers of them were banished to Siberia. An attempt was made to check the growing interest in natural science, and professors of whom the Government disapproved were dismissed from the universities. The education of women, which had made great progress in Russia, also received a severe set-back.

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and made stringent regulations to prevent the sale of land to any but Russians. These regulations were particularly directed against the immigration of Germans into Poland. Not only did this retard the prosperity of Poland, but it incited Bismarck to a brutal policy against the Russian Poles in Prussia, many thousands of whom were torn from their homes and sent across the frontier in the depths of the winter of 1885–6.

In the Baltic Provinces it was German and Protestant influences that the Tsar wished to uproot. The people of these provinces were mainly of Slav races, while the nobles and upper classes were German. No pains were spared to set the peasants against the landlords, to transfer education into Russian hands, to extend the Orthodox Church; even the very names of the towns were changed. As the German element had always been inferior in numbers, the Russification of the Baltic Provinces was accomplished comparatively easily. Finland was a harder problem.

The Finns are a race different from any other (except the Magyars) in Europe, with a totally different language. Up to 1807, however, they had been for centuries under the rule of Sweden, and were partly Swedish, partly independent in their sympathies and customs. When they were given over to Russia by the Treaty of Tilsit (1807), Alexander I promised to leave their Constitution untouched, and to govern them, not as Emperor of Russia, but as Grand-Duke of Finland. Thus throughout the nineteenth century Finland possessed a representative assembly, the Diet, consisting of nobles, clergy, burghers, and peasants, whose consent was necessary before any legislation could be passed.

If the Tsar kept his promises, he was powerless to alter the Constitution of Finland. Although

antiquated and rather ineffective, it certainly seemed to work well. The Finns are a small nation, dwelling in a poor country, yet they are one of the most progressive communities in Europe. Religious toleration and civil freedom had long been achieved among them, and when Alexander III came to the throne, they were far in advance of the rest of Russia.

There was, however, a certain amount of jealousy among Russians, because Finland was less heavily taxed than any other part of the Empire; the Tsar, too, thought that in case of war, a semi-independent Finland might be a danger. It was decided, therefore, that Finland should be "Russified". Attempts were made to introduce the Russian language, Russian coinage, customs duties, and to bring Finland into line as a Russian province, but there was as yet no direct attack on the Constitution. (It is convenient here to continue the history of Finland, instead of deferring it till the reign of Nicholas II.)

In 1899, however, stronger measures were taken; Nicholas II issued a manifesto which abolished the legislative power of the Diet, and practically gave Finland the same autocratic form of government under which Russia suffered. The Finnish army was amalgamated with the Russian; Russian officials, police, and spies, as well as the Russian language, were forced upon the Finns; the whole Russian system of banishments, police searches, Press censorship, and illegal arrests became daily more thoroughly established. After long patience, the Finns rose. In 1904 the Russian governor, Bobrikoff, was murdered. In November, 1905, a "national strike" began. With the exception of the necessary provision shops, no business of any kind was carried on; trains, trams, schools, offices,

shops, gas-works—all stood empty and abandoned. Within six days the Russian Government gave in and the Constitution was restored. The Finns, however, thought this a good opportunity to remodel their government; they therefore granted universal suffrage, putting women on exactly the same footing as men, and included in the new Constitution such modern safeguards as Freedom of Speech, Freedom of the Press, and Freedom of Public Meeting.

Unfortunately, in 1908 the difficulties to some extent began again, because the central Government claimed the final decision in all questions which might affect the Empire as a whole. Although this sounds in many ways a reasonable demand, the Finns have considered it a covert attack on their Constitution, and have bitterly resented it. The struggle is still going on, and it is impossible to say how it will finally be settled.

This consideration of Alexander III's policy towards the provinces shows how unpopular he made himself among some classes. In 1894, when he died, the news was greeted with almost equal sorrow and hope.

Nicholas II, who succeeded his father in 1894, and is still reigning (in 1913), is a character very difficult at present to describe. He seems to belong to the gentler, undecided type of ruler, of which Alexander I and Alexander II are examples, though his acts are often as autocratic as those of Nicholas I or Alexander III. It is generally said, however, that he is a weak man who cannot stand against the influence of his ministers. Until more of the secret history of Russia comes to light, it is impossible to speak with real certainty either of the Tsar or his policy.

Nicholas II began his reign, however, with two or

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Tsar offered to set up a Consultative Chamber, with no real powers. Great dissatisfaction was expressed; a general strike ensued in St. Petersburg and on the railways; vague promises were made, but the disorders continued, until at last, in October, 1905, the Tsar consented to grant a Constitution and call a legislative assembly, the Duma, with limited powers. In the following spring the elections took place (on a system of indirect election), and on 27 April the first Duma met.

The two main parties in it were the "Cadets", or extreme Liberals, and the Octobrists, or Moderates, who based their demands on the Tsar's promises of the previous October. The Cadets had a large majority, and they demanded such extreme and far-reaching changes that the Government dissolved the Duma after two months' session. Another outbreak of mutinies, risings, and bomb outrages followed, but the Duma did not receive as much support as might have been expected. In 1907 the second Duma met. Although a little more moderate than the first, it still went far beyond what the Minister of the Interior, Stolypin, could tolerate; some of its members were accused of a plot for corrupting the army, and it also was dissolved after a few months. Stolypin saw that he could not work with such an assembly, and therefore, by an Imperial Ukase, he changed the whole system of election in such a way as to produce more Conservative representatives; the third Duma (1907–1912) worked in tolerable harmony with the Ministers, though it may easily be argued that it did not represent the people. However, some reforms were carried out, e.g. individual ownership of land became possible to the peasant, and a fuller measure of religious toleration was granted, though in practice little advance has been made.

Further than this in the history of Russia it is impossible to go at present. It is hard to see in what direction progress is being made. Liberals are discouraged that no more has been done; it is freely said that self-government is being crushed out by the army of self-seeking officials and ministers, often in opposition to the real wishes of the Tsar.

Yet it may well be that Russia is making silent advances, in education and in material prosperity, which will in time enable her to assume the responsibility of self-government.[1]

CHAPTER IX

THE BALKAN PENINSULA

"Very false notions are entertained in England of the Turkish nation. You know much better than I do the mighty resources and native wealth which this enormous empire possesses. I am myself a daily witness of the personal qualities of the inhabitants, qualities which, if properly directed, are capable of sustaining them against a world of enemies. But the Government is radically bad, and its members, who are all alive to its defects, have neither the wisdom nor the courage to reform it. The few who have courage equal to the task know not how to reconcile reformation with the prejudices of the people. And without this nothing can be effected."

—Lord Stratford de Redcliffe.

CONSTANTINOPLE, from the fifth to the fifteenth century, was the most civilized capital in Europe—the centre of all the great trade routes, the home of art, of philosophy, and of culture, the El Dorado of the Northern Sagas, the envy of all poorer lands. A Crusader in the year 1204 describes how the Western army gazed with awe and admiration upon the wonderful city, towering over Europe and Asia, crowned with five hundred gilded domes and spires, and

[1] Cf. p. 322.

encompassed with magnificent walls, crowded with soldiers. Their hearts were chilled, he says, by the reflection that never since the beginning of the world had such an enterprise been undertaken as the siege of Constantinople.

To-day Constantinople is the least civilized, the most backward capital in Europe—backward not only in material expressions of civilization, such as a postal service, telephones, or electric light, but backward also in its ideas, its modes of life. How and why has this change come about? The shortest answer and the truest is simply—the Turk. The Macedonians have two common proverbs which express very well the general effects of Turkish rule: "The Turk never changes", and "Where the foot of the Turk has trod, the grass never grows". In 1453 the Turks, who had been gradually conquering the Balkan Peninsula for the last hundred years, completed their conquest by storming Constantinople. The influence of the conquest of Constantinople in hastening the Renaissance in Italy is well known. The fate of the Balkan Peninsula under Turkish rule is less familiar.

The Byzantine (or East Roman) Empire, which had formerly included the whole peninsula, was made up of a medley of races at least as various as those of Austria-Hungary. Constantinople was the place where East and West seemed to meet, and the meeting brought with it a great intermingling of peoples. Turks, Bulgars, Serbs, Greeks, Italians, Rumanians (or Vlachs), Albanians, Armenians, Jews, and Gypsies—these are some of the races who inhabited first the Byzantine Empire, then the Turkish Empire, down to the year 1815. The religious divisions were almost equally numerous: Mohammedans, Greek Orthodox under a Patriarch, Bulgarian Orthodox under an Exarch, Roman Catholics under the

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to convert or slaughter all the Christians. Tribute then remained, and hence the Christian subjects of the Sultan were always treated in theory as conquered people, as little better than cattle. In practice, however, the Turks must have had some good qualities as rulers, or the Turkish Empire could never have held together at all. The fact seems to be that the Sultan generally left his subjects alone as long as they were submissive, or until he was in unusually dire need of money or troops. Then he would swoop down upon them in merciless and unexpected exactions. Conditions varied very much from province to province; one group might be materially prosperous, and generally unmolested; the next might be racked by disproportionate taxation, and arbitrary administration of justice. In fact, the worst feature of the Turkish rule was the fact that it only granted privileges, and never acknowledged rights or customs. As a rule, the various races remained at peace, because their social customs and their individuality were left to them, but they had absolutely no guarantee that this would be so. When and where the Sultan pleased, when and where the individual Turkish governor pleased, he would interfere with unspeakable barbarities—and there was no redress.

When the intellectual revivals of the eighteenth century, the ideas of the French Revolution, and the nineteenth century ideal of nationality began to touch the Balkan Peninsula, they came in conflict with the unchanging nature of the Turk, with the uncomprehending Oriental character, with the unquestioned teaching of the Mohammedan religion. Then began that long series of wars and intermittent atrocities in the Near East, at which public opinion has almost ceased to be moved, so familiar have men grown with the idea that there is always "trouble in the Balkans'

The TURKISH EMPIRE 1815

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The first step in the dismemberment of the Turkish Empire was taken by the Greeks. The idea of Greek independence, and the revival of the glories that once belonged to Greece, had been fostered by Russia ever since the time of Peter the Great — partly out of sympathy with the Greek Orthodox Church, partly from a general policy of hostility to the Sultan. The increasing prosperity of the Greeks, together with a great revival of interest in Greek history and literature and language, had brought the movement to the fore, just at the time when the French Revolution came as a vast stimulus to all Europe. The first practical outcome of Greek aspirations was the founding of a secret society, the *Hetairia Philike* (or society of friends), while in Western Europe Philhellenic societies sprang up during the war.

The objects of the *Hetairia Philike*, which soon had a membership of 80,000 of the most prominent Greeks, were to expel the Turks from Europe, to revive the old Byzantine Empire, and to secure the support of Russia.

The year 1820 seemed to invite action. Ali Pasha, the clever but shifty and cruel Governor of Janina, had at last gone too far, and war had broken out between him and his nominal suzerain, the Sultan.

Simultaneously, the Greek Revolt broke out at two centres—in Moldavia-Wallachia (now Rumania) under Prince Alexander Ipsilanti, a general in the Russian army, and also in the Morea. Ipsilanti's revolt was thoroughly unsuccessful; in spite of the general Russian sympathy, the Tsar, Alexander I, refused to countenance a revolution; Ipsilanti was defeated and obliged to flee.

In the Morea the insurrection was far more the outcome of a national spirit and less dependent on Russia; it was therefore far more successful. The

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poraries on the Continent, and his death brought him renewed fame as the martyr in the cause of Greece and liberty.

In 1823 Britain, under Canning's influence, recognized the Greeks as belligerents, i.e. acknowledged them as a nation at war with the Turks, and not as a mere group of rebels. This action led Russia and Austria to reconsider the policy of ignoring the war; it would not be wise to allow Britain to intervene alone, and therefore Austria and Russia united to discuss schemes by which Greece might be protected by the European Powers. In 1825 the Tsar seemed to be on the point of declaring war on the Turks, but he died suddenly on 1 December, and his successor reversed his policy for the time (see p. 167).

Meanwhile the Sultan, Mahmud, had sought help from the most powerful of his vassals, Mehemet Ali of Egypt, who sent his son, Ibrahim Pasha, with an army and a splendid fleet to Greece. He rapidly recovered the ground that had been lost, and a new phase in the struggle began. It was now really war, and not merely alternate massacres. Everywhere the Turks advanced until they came to Missolonghi. This ill-defended city stood a siege of twelve months; at last, driven by hunger, the inhabitants abandoned the town, and endeavoured to fight their way through the Turkish lines. They were cut down with horrible slaughter by Ibrahim's troops; but the gallantry and doggedness of their defence revived men's belief in Greece once more, and money and men poured in from all over Europe. "We are fighting", said the Turks, "not with the Greeks, but with all Europe." The siege of Athens followed on that of Missolonghi, but in spite of considerable help from some British officers, the Greeks were unable to sustain the attacks,

and Athens fell into the hands of the Turks on 5 June, 1827.

Negotiations had been going on all this time. In 1826 Canning's part was made easier by a request from the Greeks that Great Britain should intervene. He was now able to show his sympathy more plainly, and to put pressure on Russia to combine with him in demanding terms from Turkey.

Thus in 1827 the Treaty of London was agreed on; Britain, France, and Russia were to urge the recognition of Greek autonomy, under the Sultan's nominal suzerainty; if the Sultan would not agree, he was to be coerced by a "peaceful blockade". The combined fleets of Britain, France, and Russia endeavoured to force Ibrahim to observe the armistice to which the Greeks had agreed, but by accident and partial misunderstanding a battle took place in Navarino Bay (1827), in which the Turkish and Egyptian fleets were wiped out. The Sultan was enraged by this defeat, and prepared for war with the three hostile Powers. By this time, however, Canning was dead; Goderich's ministry weakly admitted that the battle was an "untoward event" (as indeed it was), and backed out of all further proceedings. Russia entered into the war, and France undertook to expel Ibrahim from the Morea. In 1829 the Treaty of Adrianople obliged Turkey (*a*) to acknowledge the autonomy of Greece, under a prince to be chosen by the Great Powers; (*b*) to acknowledge the independence of Moldavia-Wallachia (see p. 215); and (*c*) to concede a number of points to Russia in connection with the navigation of the Bosphorus and Black Sea.

In 1832 the independence of Greece was more fully recognized, and the country was made an independent kingdom under a Bavarian prince, Otto I.

The kingdom thus brought into existence was small

and poor; it had less than 1,000,000 inhabitants (for Thessaly, which has a large Greek population, was not included), and it was barren and exhausted after the long and irregular war. At first Otto governed as an absolute monarch, in the midst of much discontent and disunion. In 1844, however, the parties supported by Britain and France succeeded in making the King accept a Constitution, with a responsible ministry and two Houses of Parliament. Otto II was never popular, and in 1862 the army and the people combined to effect a revolution and to dethrone him. Next year, through the influence of Britain, Prince George of Denmark was chosen King, and is still ruling; his kingdom was strengthened by the recovery of the Ionian Islands, which Britain had held since 1815, and now ceded to Greece. The history of Greece since 1863 is a record of spasmodic attempts to win back more territory from Turkey, either in Thessaly or in Macedonia. The extension of the Greek frontier in Thessaly, which was promised in the Treaty of Berlin, was only partially accomplished in 1881 by the intervention of the Powers. Crete in 1866, and again in 1910, declared its own union with Greece, but Greece has not yet been able to annex it. The kingdom has thus gained slightly in territory, and is gaining in prosperity and in population. But it is not yet satisfied. It is said that in Greek schools the children are taught, not the actual boundaries of the kingdom, but the boundaries which the patriots hope to reach one day.

Side by side with the emancipation of Greece went the building up of Servia. Servia had once been a great power with an empire stretching almost across the Balkan Peninsula. But that was in the seventh century. In 1815 the people were mainly peasants, with little wealth or commerce, little knowledge of their

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After Greece and Servia and the Moldavian-Wallacbian provinces had thus claimed and won their independence or autonomy, Turkey saw no more national uprisings for some years, and thus one must turn back to the development of Turkey itself after 1830.

Mahmud II, the Sultan, fully understood the weakness of his position at the end of the war of the Greek Independence. He saw also that his power outside Europe was seriously threatened by his far too capable vassal, Mehemet Ali. Mahmud, however, was a man of considerable strength of character and some openness of mind. He turned his attention to reforming the Government and thus strengthening his hold on his subjects; especially did he strive to put members of all religions on an equality, in order to remove the constant excuse for interference on the part of the Christian Powers. In his desire for reform the Sultan was backed up by a famous British Ambassador, Stratford Canning (Lord Stratford de Redcliffe), a man who had much sympathy with Turkey. He refused to believe that Turkey was really a "sick man", whose decease might be expected at any moment; he quite frankly denounced the Government as thoroughly bad, but he also acknowledged that it had elements of strength, and he not only encouraged Mahmud to make changes, but often obliged him, by the force of strong personality and great persistence, to carry out useful reforms; above all, he firmly opposed Russia's claim to interfere in Turkey without the co-operation of the other Powers. Stratford Canning's position was that, bad though the rule of Turkey might be, yet the dissolution of Turkey would be far worse, for it would be followed by a European war between Austria and Russia, and perhaps other Powers. With Constantinople in the hands of either Austria or

Russia, the balance of power would be entirely upset, and the whole work of the Congress of Vienna would be undone. Hence the traditional policy of British statesmen to "bolster up the sick man", even in spite of a keen demand that he should be turned out of Europe. It has often made Britain too careless of the lives and happiness of subject races within the Turkish Empire, but there has at least been a solid reason for the support given to the Turks (see p. 214). However, during the years 1831–41, the Sultan was more occupied with the question of Mehemet Ali than with that of reform. After the Egyptian army had been ejected from Greece, Mahmud II seems to have sought an opportunity to humiliate his great vassal. Mehemet Ali therefore resolved to strike the first blow. In 1831 he and his son Ibrahim advanced against Syria, going on during the next year to capture Damascus, and to march through Asia Minor till he was almost within sight of Constantinople. At the same time he claimed from the Sultan the governorship of all the provinces he had conquered. The Sultan in despair invited Russia to intervene, but the other Powers, jealous of Russia, tried to make him come to an agreement with Mehemet Ali, by granting most of his demands. Mahmud's pride was hurt, and he tried to rid himself of Mehemet Ali by making a very submissive agreement with Russia—the Treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi (1833) by which Turkey admitted the paramount influence of Russia, and gave her the exclusive right to leave or enter the Black Sea by the Dardanelles. Syria was left under Mehemet Ali's rule, but remained discontented and unsettled, its peace broken by constant insurrections. In 1839 Mahmud, having reorganized his army and his commerce, ventured to attack Syria, but within a few months he died, and

was succeeded by Abdul Mejid, a boy of sixteen. Again the five Great Powers intervened. Russia now endeavoured to act in harmony with Britain; France, however, had conceived a romantic and ill-founded admiration for Mehemet Ali, and was disposed to make favourable terms with him without the assent of the other Powers. Finally, Britain, Russia, and Austria acted together to enforce the Convention of London, entirely ignoring France. The French ministers talked of hostilities, the French nation was genuinely enraged, but in the end nothing came of their anger. The whole episode was of great diplomatic importance, it also helped to discredit the monarchy in France (see p. 29), but its practical consequences were not very great. Mehemet Ali was ousted from Syria by a combined fleet, but he was allowed to remain hereditary Pasha of Egypt. Soon afterwards he died. Mehemet was sometimes hailed as a benefactor to his nation, an enlightened despot, a disciple of Bentham; but the truth seems rather that he was "really an illiterate barbarian, courageous, cruel, astute, full of wiles, avaricious, and boundlessly ambitious". Yet his dignity, charm, quick wit, and knowledge of human nature enabled him to keep the diplomatists of Europe very ill at ease for many years.

The internal history of Turkey between 1820 and 1860 divides into two clearly marked periods—the period in which Mahmud II carried on a reforming policy of his own, and the period in which Abdul Mejid carried out the reforms which Stratford Canning practically forced upon him. Mahmud's methods were characteristic; in 1826 he wished to get rid of a barbarous and mutinous army, the Janissaries; he therefore blew up their barracks, slaughtered and exiled the survivors, and set to work to create a new

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creeds have continually existed, and still exist. Nevertheless, Canning's efforts showed the Western Powers what practical points they must insist on in their dealings with the Turks, and they have also shown the people an ideal to be aimed at.

The foreign relations of the Turkish Empire were generally peaceful during the years following 1841. In 1849 Kossuth's flight to Turkish territory (see p. 151) led to some disagreement with Austria and Russia, but Stratford Canning backed up Turkey's refusal to hand over the refugees, and peace was preserved.

In 1852, however, a more momentous quarrel arose. The Emperor Napoleon III wanted to assert the military pre-eminence of his nation; it was evident that he was seeking a war. The alleged cause of disagreement was the right of access to the Holy Places in Palestine (see p. 173); but a far more important question was the Tsar's claim to a protectorate over all the Christian subjects of the Sultan. The steps leading up to the Crimean War have been traced in dealing with the history of Russia; France, Britain, and Italy were fighting on behalf of Turkey's independence, and because they feared any extension of the power of Russia. The war began with the sinking of the Turkish fleet in the harbour of Sinope, but in the land campaign in Wallachia the Turks were successful in driving back the Russian army. With the second part of the war, the reduction of the Crimea, Turkey had little to do, and she was a more or less passive partner in the Treaty of Paris, 1856. By this treaty, however, the Powers bound themselves not to intervene in Turkish affairs, after extracting from the Sultan a vague promise of reform; the Black Sea was to be kept open to merchant ships of all nations but closed to all men-of-war.

With the end of the Crimean War a new phase began in Turkey. Stratford Canning left Constantinople in 1858, and with him disappeared all hope of genuine and thorough reforms. The process of dismemberment of the Turkish Empire began again; the feeble sparks of national spirit were fanned into fire by atrocious misgovernment, and the Western Powers took up the idea of encouraging the growth of "buffer States" to stand between Turkey and her enemies, Russia and Austria.

Rumania was the first of these new "buffer States". In 1856 the two provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia were subject only to the vague suzerainty of the Sultan, and they obtained an increase of territory from Russia; in 1858 they strengthened their position by union, and in 1866 Prince Charles of Hohenzollern became ruler of the two provinces, taking the title of King in 1881. Thus a barrier was erected between Russia and Turkey, and when the next war broke out (in 1877) Rumania had to be reckoned with.

In 1861 the Sultan Abdul Mejid died, and his successor, Abdul Aziz, was ignorant, incapable, and uninterested in reforms. The beginning of his reign was marked by fresh national risings. The Serbs in Servia, Herzegovina, Bosnia, and Montenegro were by 1862 engaged in a general revolt against the Sultan, and the dream of a revived Servian Empire once more inspired the kindred races. Montenegro and Herzegovina were badly beaten, but Servia in 1867 secured the withdrawal of Turkish troops from her territory, and practically acquired the complete independence that was formally granted in 1878.

In 1871 a new diplomatic situation was created in Europe. Count Andrassy became Minister for Foreign Affairs in Austria-Hungary, and he and Bismarck

arranged an informal "League of the Three Emperors" (Austria, Germany, and Russia), which aimed at settling the Eastern Question by peaceful means. For the time Britain seemed to be ousted from all interest in the matter, but it soon became apparent that the three allies could not long agree.

By 1875 it was evident that Turkey was again in a very disquieting position. The promises made in the Treaty of Paris had not been kept by Abdul Mejid; Abdul Aziz was even less likely to keep them. In 1875 the peoples of Herzegovina and Bosnia, burdened past endurance by the extravagance of the Sultan, rose again in revolt, and were vigorously upheld by Servia and Montenegro. The Powers protested, and the Sultan made promises; Britain seemed unwilling to take any firm stand or to attempt to coerce Turkey. Early in 1876 the Powers presented the Sultan with the "Andrassy Note"—a very definite protest against his misgovernment. The Sultan accepted the protest and made further elaborate promises. But as he could see that the Powers were daily more at variance with each other, he proceeded to do absolutely nothing; the rebellions and disturbances went on as before, and in May, 1876, the French and German Consuls at Salonika were murdered.

Once more a protest was sent—the Berlin Memorandum—and this time it was accompanied by a clear intimation that the Powers would take efficacious measures to secure their demands. Meanwhile events were moving fast in Constantinople. On 29 May a momentary revolution took place, Abdul Aziz was deposed, and his place taken by Murad V. The revolution was the work of a Liberal and patriotic party, led by Midhat Pasha, and the first of the "Young Turks". The new Turkish Government

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tinople during the winter of 1876–7, proposed terms by which the Powers were to supervise the most necessary reforms. The Sultan refused the terms, and it became evident that nothing but war would make him listen to foreign representations. Accordingly, Russia declared war in 1877, all the other Powers engaging to remain neutral. The war was welcomed in Russia, because it was ostensibly a war on behalf of Christians against Turks, and also because it offered a diversion from the outrages of the Nihilists (see p. 187).

Rumania agreed to co-operate with Russia, and at first it seemed as if the march on Constantinople would be almost unopposed. However, the Turks stubbornly defended the Shipka Pass in July, 1877, and went on to entrench themselves in Plevna, the key to the chief highroads of Bulgaria. The Turkish army, though inefficiently commanded, was largely composed of Albanians, a fierce mountain people, who make some of the best soldiers in Europe. The Russians were obliged to undertake the siege of Plevna, and it held out for four months (September–December, 1877). When Plevna was taken, however, the way south was clear, and the Russian army advanced as far as Adrianople. The Sultan now sued for peace, and in March, 1878, the Treaty of San Stefano was drawn up. Its chief principle was the creation or recognition of new national States in the Balkan Peninsula. The Sultan was obliged to recognize the independence of Rumania, Servia, and Montenegro (see p. 228), with enlarged boundaries, while an entirely new State, Bulgaria, was to extend from the Black Sea to the Ægean, and westward almost as far as the Adriatic, thus cutting off an immense slice of Turkish territory (see sketch map). Russia was to gain Bessarabia and the Dobrudja, in exchange for other territories granted to Rumania.

The BALKAN PENINSULA

English Miles

0 20 40 60 80 100 200

Boundaries before the War of 1912

Boundaries proposed by the Treaty of San Stefano, 1878

This treaty, however, was exceedingly unpopular with the other Powers. Russia stood to gain far too much; it was once more the old question of the break-up of Turkey in the interests of Russia. In defence of the other Powers, it must be urged that Russia had shown no signs of being able to govern her own territories in a liberal and tolerant spirit; there was, therefore, little to be gained by replacing Turkish by Russian influence. The "Great Bulgaria" created by the treaty was the real stumbling-block; the recent war had shown how entirely Rumania was at Russia's disposal, and it was thought that Bulgaria would be equally subservient. There had been a great educational movement among the Bulgars in the nineteenth century; they had made considerable progress; the proposed Bulgarian State corresponded to a great extent with the old Bulgarian Empire of the tenth century; the Macedonian provinces included a very large group of the Bulgarian race. Nevertheless, it seemed evident that a Great Bulgaria merely meant an enormous extension of Russian influence, for in 1878 no one could have foretold the immense and independent development of Bulgaria which has taken place. After forcible protests from Britain and Austria, Russia agreed that the treaty should be revised. Accordingly, in 1878 representatives of Russia, Germany, France, Britain, Austria, Italy, and Turkey met at the Congress of Berlin, under the presidency of Bismarck, who proceeded to play what he called the part of an "honest broker" in bringing the others to an agreement. As he had previously declared that the whole Balkan question was not worth the bones of a single Pomeranian grenadier, he could afford to be impartial.

By the revised treaty Servia, Montenegro, and Rumania again secured their independence, but Great

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he sold almost £4,000,000 worth of shares in the Suez Canal to Britain. But this could not avert the bankruptcy which was evidently hanging over him.

Britain and France, which had repeatedly granted loans to Egypt, now undertook what was called the "Dual Control" over her finances, and tried to bring some order out of the chaos. Ismail, however, objected; the two Powers then appealed to the Sultan, and Ismail was amazed to find himself deposed, and his son, Tewfik, appointed Khedive in his place (1879). The Dual Control was again set up, but in 1882 it was disturbed by an insurrection under Arabi Pasha. Arabi appears to have risen at first in protest against bad government, but he went on to show hostility to all foreigners. When the insurrection developed into a massacre, the British fleet bombarded Alexandria as a warning. The rising, however, continued; the Sultan refused to take any steps; France refused point-blank to co-operate further with Britain; Italy would have nothing to do with the matter. Britain, therefore, set to work alone to restore peace and order, and that is why Egypt to-day is under British occupation. Arabi's revolt had been crushed at Tel-el-Kebir by Sir Garnet Wolseley, but if Britain had then retired from Egypt all the work of pacification and reorganization would have had to begin afresh. France was extremely bitter about the action of Britain in this matter, but there was no serious reason why she should not have joined in the military operations, and so have maintained the Dual Control. Thus the last shreds of the Sultan's authority in Egypt had disappeared by 1882.

In 1885, by a peaceful revolution, Eastern Rumelia was united to Bulgaria, and the Sultan was obliged to accept the fact. In 1894 troubles began again in

Armenia, where the Christians were being harshly treated; Britain, France, and Russia intervened on their behalf, and the Sultan agreed to a scheme of reform. But his acceptance was immediately followed by a terrible massacre, in which 200,000 persons are said to have perished. It was tolerably clear that these massacres had either been inspired, or at least connived at, by the Turkish Government. Nothing effective was done by way of protest; the Powers could not agree as to what action should be taken. Germany by this time had come to the conclusion that the Near East did concern her, and she had been very busy in obtaining railway concessions from Turkey, and in acting in a conciliatory fashion towards the Sultan. Nothing then was done, and in 1896 the Turks went on to massacre Armenians in Constantinople itself.

In 1897 war broke out between Turkey and Greece; the Greeks were speedily and thoroughly defeated, and had to sacrifice part of their territory in Thessaly. The Powers, however, took the opportunity to remove Crete from Turkish control and put it under Prince George of Greece as High Commissioner.

The centre of trouble in the Balkan Peninsula was now Macedonia. Macedonia touches on most of the independent States of the Peninsula, and contains a mixed population of Greeks, Bulgars, Serbs, Albanians, and Rumanians. It is therefore a bone of contention among the other States. It had been given to Bulgaria by the Treaty of San Stefano, and thus Bulgaria always felt she had claim to it. Yet it had a considerable proportion of Rumanians among its population; it was the only possible province which Greece could add to her territories, and there are many Greeks in Macedonia; moreover, if Servia was to expand, the easiest way would be through Mace-

donia. Meanwhile, the Turk ruled there as everywhere else—with arbitrary oppression, with heavy taxation, with religious persecution, with corrupt justice, with periodic massacres. Besides this, the ordinary burden of Turkish rule, Macedonia has been distracted by an immigration of Serbs, Bulgars, Greeks, and Rumanians, from the independent States, each keen on proving that Macedonia ought to be annexed to his own State, each stirring up strife that made the usual confusion infinitely worse.

In 1903 the Great Powers concentrated their attention on Macedonia, and presented to the Sultan a scheme of reform, which was to be definitely carried out under joint supervision. For a time matters improved, but in 1908 a revolution in Constantinople put an end to these efforts on behalf of Macedonia.

For some years the "Young Turks" had been growing stronger. As a party they aimed at reforms, and at the re-establishment of a Liberal Constitution. No one had quite believed in their real strength, for they had lived mostly in exile, and had not squandered their resources in premature attempts. However, they gradually made many converts in the army, and the year 1908 seemed a favourable opportunity for action. There was worse trouble than usual in Albania, where the Turkish Government was making a steady effort to impose taxation. The Albanian makes a splendid soldier, but he complicates the work of government by calmly observing: "No, we do not pay taxes. We are Albanian, and do not like to". For years they had been allowed to go untaxed, in consideration of their services in the army; now the attempt to enforce taxation provoked constant risings and irregular warfare.

The revolution was carried out very easily. The "Committee of Union and Progress" had estab-

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complicated for Turkey by a rising in Albania. Meanwhile in the Balkans a situation of great gravity was arising, and Turkey, to free her hands, made peace with Italy on 18 October, 1912. The same day saw the first engagement of a more momentous war, the war of the Balkan League, which opens a new and uncertain chapter in the history of Eastern Europe.[1]

After this rapid sketch of the fortunes of the Turkish Empire, a word or two may be said of the independent States which have broken loose from Turkish rule.

Little, perhaps, need be added to what has been said of Rumania and Servia. Rumania is advancing rapidly in material prosperity, and in loyalty to its King and Queen. Servia might advance if it could put an end to the quarrels of its rival dynasties; its peasants at least are increasingly prosperous.

It is Bulgaria that has been the real surprise of the Peninsula. The Bulgarian revival may be directly traced to a history of Bulgarian Tsars and Saints, written in 1782, which revived the national memories. The nation seemed to awake from a long sleep, just in time to feel the impulse of the French Revolution. Ever since, the Bulgars have been enthusiasts for education; a schoolmaster is considered as essentially a patriot; even in the villages that have been raided by the Turks, it is said that the first building to be rebuilt is the school. In 1870 the Bulgarian Church, which had always wavered between the Pope at Rome and the Patriarch at Constantinople, became inde-

[1] The war of the Balkan League against Turkey during the winter of 1912–3 has profoundly modified the situation described in this chapter. Servia, Montenegro, Bulgaria, and Greece have enlarged their territories at the expense of Turkey, but it is as yet too soon to describe the final settlement (1914).

pendent of both under an Exarch of its own. In 1878 Bulgaria became an almost independent principality, but neither Russia nor any of the other Powers realized how much this principality would develop. Almost all writers agree in calling the Bulgars steady, laborious, well-balanced, thrifty, reserved, manly, and tenacious. They are essentially an agricultural race, not brilliantly clever, but with a sane practical judgment which made Lord Salisbury say that Bulgaria "seemed to have leaped into the world ready armed with all the panoply of mature political wisdom". The Bulgars are pre-eminently a people capable of understanding and working a constitutional government.

Russia was thoroughly deceived in Bulgaria. When Prince Alexander of Battenberg was first accepted as Prince of Bulgaria, he was entirely under Russian influence, but he gradually took up a more independent position, and after a short and successful war with Servia in 1885, he bade fair to become a popular national hero. Russia was alarmed, and an exciting episode followed. Some of Alexander's officers were inspired by Russia to seize the Prince in the middle of the night, force him with threats of death to abdicate his throne, and finally carry him off. The great Bulgarian Minister, Stambuloff, roused the Bulgars to bring him back, but he was now too much inclined to be submissive to Russia, and as he found this policy would be very unpopular, he abdicated voluntarily.

Prince Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, who succeeded him, has been generally popular, and has taken up a more and more independent position towards Russia, until, in 1908, Bulgaria was able to declare herself an entirely independent kingdom.

The smallest of the Balkan States, Montenegro,

claims to have been independent through the centuries, never having been conquered by the Turks. It is a tiny principality among the mountains, inhabited by a race of hardy warriors, whose resources are few, but whose wants are fewer. In the constant struggle with the Turks, which lasted down to 1876, Montenegro developed an absolutist military government. The Prince was unlimited in his power; he was the head of the army, and every man was a warrior; he was also the fountain of justice, there were no lawyers in Montenegro, and every case came directly before the Prince for settlement. In 1876 Montenegro entered upon her final war with Turkey, and obtained considerable success. By the Treaty of Berlin her boundaries were considerably enlarged, and she gained access to the sea, at Antivari, though the port that she most covets, Cattaro, still remains to Austria.

Since then Montenegro has steadily progressed in its own way, and in 1906 the Prince so far modified the form of government as to call a Parliament. In 1910 he took the title of King.

Though Gladstone's opinion, "that the traditions of Montenegro exceed in glory those of Marathon and Thermopylæ and all the war traditions of the world", may seem exaggerated, yet it is certain that Montenegro's dogged fight against such long odds has gained her universal sympathy.

The conclusion of the whole Balkan question, so far as it is possible to see, seems to be that the "buffer States" may well grow so strong as to be an impassable barrier to Russian or Austrian ambitions.[1]

[1] Obviously the course of the Great War has falsified some of the conclusions suggested in this chapter, though the facts recorded remain true (1919).

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and inclined to despise trade; the most vigorous elements in the nation, the Jews and the Saracens, had been expelled for religious reasons; the wealth of the Indies served only to increase this lack of commercial enterprise. When the supply of precious metals was partially exhausted, and when Britain was mistress of the seas, Spain sank to a very low level among the nations of Europe.

As regards government, Spain had possessed, in the thirteenth century, a Parliamentary system very like that of England under Edward I. Each small kingdom—Aragon, Castile, Leon, and the rest—had its Cortes, or Parliament, consisting of four Estates (the nobility, the knights, the clergy, and the representatives of the towns); but these had gradually died out, like the States-General in France. By the sixteenth century Charles V, or Philip II, issued decrees which became law just as if they had been passed by the Cortes, and the people submitted without protest.

The War of the Spanish Succession (1700–13) had still further weakened Spain, and its final result was to put a French Bourbon Prince (Philip V) on the throne of Spain. The eighteenth century is one long record of bad government, leaving the country in an almost medieval condition. The King and his favourites monopolized power, and those favourites were generally ecclesiastics. Much of the wealth of the nation was in the hands of the Church. The Cortes still met occasionally, but their business was merely formal.

Such confusion, such incapacity attracted Napoleon's attention, and in 1808 he took advantage of a quarrel between Charles IV and his son Ferdinand to place his own brother Joseph on the throne of Spain. This insult roused the Spanish spirit, and the resistancé to Napoleon, though the most successful part in it

was played by Wellington, marks a new beginning in Spanish history.

While the war went on, the various provinces appointed small councils, or Juntas, to carry on local government. Constitutional ideas were slowly spreading; a central Junta was established, and to it was entrusted the task of ruling Spain. Energetic men came to the fore, now that the corrupt royal influence was removed. English officers in Spain were amazed at the number of brilliant men who sat in the new central Cortes which the Junta had established. A bold step was taken when the Junta gave the colonies a right to send representatives to both the Cortes and Junta at home—the very point on which Britain had gone to war with her American colonies.

In September, 1810, the Cortes met, elected by a complicated system which did not very satisfactorily represent the people. The Liberals were the strongest party, and they began at once to draw up a Constitution for the government of Spain when the French should have been ejected. In March, 1812, it was ready. Many of its provisions were borrowed directly from the French Constitution of 1791, and it was even more unworkable than that of the revolutionists. It entirely rejected the old institutions of Spain, ignored the clergy and the nobles, and made the Sovereign a mere figurehead. It forbade re-election of members, who only sat for two years, so that none of them would ever gain any experience. It excluded the King's ministers from attending the Parliamentary debates, unless sent for, and thus they could neither explain their plans to the House nor listen to criticisms upon them. In one point, however, the Spaniards, even the most advanced, could not follow France. They were essentially a religious nation, and therefore one clause of the Constitution stated

that "the religion of the Spanish nation is and always will be the Apostolic Church of Rome, the only true Church; the nation protects it by just laws and forbids the exercise of any other religion".

Taken altogether, this Constitution would have been a very poor form of government and would have led to endless confusion. But any reforms seemed better than the old state of things, any Parliament better than none, and so this Constitution became to Spain what Magna Charta was to England centuries before. In any time of oppression or of discontent, there arose an outcry for "the Constitution of 1812". It had not, however, a long trial.

In December, 1813, Ferdinand VII was restored to his throne, after Napoleon's armies had been driven out of Spain by Wellington. The Cortes had made one condition—that he should accept the Constitution of 1812, and Ferdinand had given a reluctant consent. However, he was at first immensely popular, and the Constitution "generally odious to the people". He therefore lost no time in abolishing both the Constitution and the Cortes.

Then followed a gloomy period of reaction, in which Ferdinand's character was plainly displayed; he was a surly incapable man, with a low cunning and a cynical distrust even of his unworthy favourites. Not exactly cruel, he yet took an inhuman delight in banishing his enemies or his discarded ministers, in imprisoning them or reducing them to beggary. The Inquisition was restored, all the convents and monasteries received their wealth again; all Liberals, of whatever profession, were persecuted; only two newspapers were allowed to be published in Madrid; and foreign books were seized, as far as possible, at the frontier. Trade was almost destroyed, the seaports were deserted, brigands infested the roads and hid among the

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and the troops mustered behind the Pyrenees soon numbered 100,000. Britain objected to any interference with Spain, and was specially anxious that the country should not again be overrun by French soldiers. The chief members of the Holy Alliance, however—Russia, Austria, and Prussia—supported France, and in April, 1823, Louis XVIII declared war, saying: "Let Ferdinand VII be free to give to his peoples institutions which they cannot hold but from him". Spain was in too miserable a condition to offer any real resistance, and by 23 May the French armies, under the Duke of Angouléme, were at Madrid; by September Ferdinand surrendered at Cadiz, and the war was over. The French general had behaved with great moderation and sound sense during the whole affair, and when he made terms with the King, he tried to persuade him to grant a Charter and to govern his people on some reasonable principles. But Ferdinand was essentially unreasonable; although Angouléme had apparently delivered him from revolution, he would take no advice, and as soon as he was liberated he began a new "reign of terror", punishing with great brutality all who had taken part in the late troubles, and making his government as despotic as ever.

Canning had not thought it necessary to go to war on this question—indeed, Britain could have done nothing against the Holy Alliance—but he did what he could to mark his disapproval. "I determined", he said in a famous phrase, "that if France had Spain, it should not be Spain with the Indies." He therefore declared that he would not allow France to help Spain in recovering her revolted colonies in South America, and he encouraged those colonies by giving them definite recognition in the name of Britain (1824). In another grandiloquent phrase he declared:

"I called the New World into existence to redress the balance of the Old". The subsequent history of the South American States has hardly justified Canning's claim, but at least he showed that statesmen must henceforth look outside Europe in considering the balance of power.

From 1823–8 Spain was partially occupied by French troops, but the occupation made little or no difference to the Government. Ferdinand and his minister Calomarde continued to rule as they pleased, and took great pains to deny "the absurd principle that the people has a right to change the established form of government". However, few of the Spaniards were well enough educated to demand anything better, though a small but enthusiastic minority still worked on. The French Revolution of 1830 produced a new outburst of Liberal activities in Spain, but it was ruthlessly suppressed by the King, and the persecution of suspected persons was redoubled. Nothing further of any note occurred until the question of the succession to the throne became pressing.

It had long been thought that the King's brother, Don Carlos, would certainly succeed him, as Ferdinand had no children; he was an honest, straightforward man, with very decided opinions in favour of the Church and of absolute Monarchy; he would probably have been a far better and more popular king than his brother, but he would have abolished even all semblance of Parliamentary government.

But in 1829 Ferdinand married again; his new wife, Maria Christina, was a clever and determined woman, and when in 1830 a daughter, Isabel, was born to her, Christina made up her mind that that daughter should inherit the crown of Spain.

There was one difficulty in the way. Women had

always been able to succeed to the throne in Spain until, in 1713, Philip V had issued a decree that the French Salic Law (which forbade women to reign) should henceforth have force in Spain. In 1789 the older law was re-established, quite legally, and with all the necessary forms, but the Pragmatic Sanction, as it was called, was never published. In March, 1830, before the birth of his daughter, Ferdinand published the Pragmatic Sanction, and left the crown by will to his eldest child, whether son or daughter. Don Carlos opposed him quite openly and frankly, and declared that by "Divine Right" he himself ought to be King on his brother's death. Henceforth Spain was divided into two parties—the Carlists and the Christinos. The Carlists believed in absolute Monarchy and in Divine Right; they argued that the "Pragmatic Sanction" was illegal. The Christinos maintained the legality of the Pragmatic Sanction, and many of them also advocated a Constitution.

The King called together a Cortes—chosen on the old system—to recognize the rights of the little Princess Isabel; Don Carlos retired to Portugal, as he could not take the oath to the heir apparent.

In 1833 Ferdinand died, and his widow Christina was left as Regent.

The Carlists immediately prepared for war, and the Queen-Regent tried to strengthen her position by making some concessions to the Liberals. On the advice of her minister, Martinez de la Rosa, she published a Royal Statute, which was a Constitution rather like the Charter of Louis XVIII. It provided that a general Cortes should meet, but should not be responsible for the government of ministers; the election of members was entrusted to holders of a high property qualification, and even when elected the members had very little power. However, anything

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the north and north-east of Spain, and the war was marked by great barbarity. Both sides shot all their prisoners without delay, until at last the Duke of Wellington, who was following the course of the war with great interest, intervened, and the British envoy, Elliot, contrived, in 1835, to negotiate a treaty which was intended to put an end to these wholesale murders. Such was the war which devastated Spain for five years.

Britain, France, and Portugal allied with Spain to support Queen Christina, though it was only in Portugal (see p. 247) and by sea that Britain took any immediate part in the war. A British legion of volunteers was raised, which did good service in relieving Bilbao, a seaport which the Carlists had foolishly decided to attack, and where Zumalacarregui was killed, or, as report said, poisoned.

In the midst of the war (1836) the Progressives among the soldiers surprised the Queen in her country home, La Granja, and made her promise to restore the Constitution of 1812, and to appoint a Progressive Ministry. In the following year the Cortes met and revised the Constitution, making it rather more workable; but henceforth the two parties were even more sharply divided, the Moderates demanding the Statute of 1834, and the Progressives holding to the Constitution of 1837.

At last the war drew to a close. The Basques were tired of fighting, and they saw no chance of succeeding in the siege policy which the Carlists were adopting. Don Carlos would make no promises of pardon to his enemies; he grew more bigoted and superstitious every day, and offered public prayers for the extermination of all unbelievers, as he called the Liberals. Queen Christina had at last found a successful general, Espartero, a stern but magnificent

soldier; a British squadron had co-operated with the Christinos at Bilbao.

Everything seemed to point to peace, and when Espartero, to whom the negotiations had been entrusted, promised to do his best to preserve the liberties and local institutions of the Basques, his terms were accepted. In September, 1839, the Carlists laid down their arms; many of them passed immediately into the royal army. In the south of Spain fighting went on till 1840. Don Carlos renounced his rights in favour of his son, and fled, first to France, then to Trieste, where he died in 1855.

Only a year after the end of the Carlist War (October, 1840) Queen Christina, who was struggling with many personal difficulties and quarrels, made up her mind to abdicate. She retired to France, and the successful general, Espartero, became Regent for the next three years; in 1843 Prim and Narvaez, Espartero's rivals, revolted, declared Queen Isabel to be of age, and drove the Regent out of the country. The young Queen was only thirteen years of age, and her reign is one long scene of confusion. It is useless to try and follow the party jealousies of this time; a few of the landmarks in the reign must, however, be indicated.

In 1845 another Constitution was set up, very like the Royal Statute of 1834; it was of little use, however, for none of its provisions was kept. The Queen—or her minister for the moment, frequently a general—governed as she pleased, without making any notable changes or stirring up any very violent opposition. The financial system was improved, and, on the whole, the country enjoyed more prosperity.

In 1846 the "Spanish Marriages" question, which had been agitating Europe for some years, was finally settled. Queen Christina had been received hospit-

ably in France, and Louis Philippe had done all he could to secure her triumphant return to Madrid in 1844. She wished to show her gratitude by marrying her two daughters, Isabel and Louisa, to two of his sons. This arrangement was vigorously opposed by Britain, because it seemed to threaten once again that Spain and France would be united. Eventually, in spite of opposition, Isabel married her cousin, the Duke of Cadiz, and Louisa married the Duke of Montpensier, son of Louis Philippe. This, however, still left a strong chance that the two thrones might one day be united, and Louisa's marriage was very unpopular, both at home and abroad.

The year of revolutions, 1848, passed comparatively quietly in Spain. General Narvaez was in power, as chief minister and military Dictator; he declared that Spain already had a Liberal Government, and most of the people were prepared to believe him. Riots occurred in several places, but were promptly suppressed. By refusing the advice of a mischief-making British Ambassador and finally by expelling him from Spain, Narvaez gained a popularity which carried him and Spain safely through the dangerous months. The Revolution, however, was only delayed. After 1848 the Government became more absolutist than ever.

In 1851 a Concordat was made with the Popé, without the consent of the Cortes; its effect was to give more power to the Church, especially in education, which was to be entirely under ecclesiastical control; the censorship of the Press was made stricter.

In 1852 the ministers made an unlucky attempt to reform the Constitution, by bringing it into conformity with practice; e.g. the Constitution declared that the Cortes should pass all taxes; in practice the

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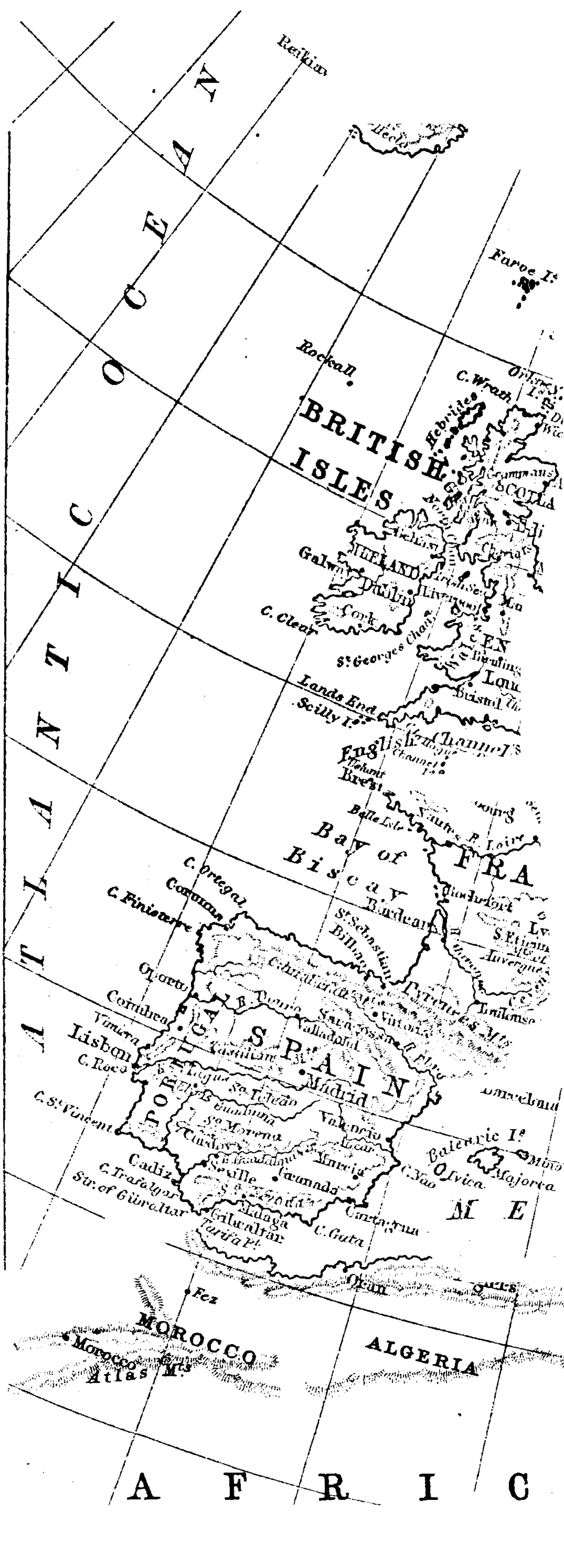
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Atlas Mts
ALGERIA
PORTUGAL
SPAIN
FRANCE
AFRICA
NORTH SEA
ATLANTIC OCEAN
MEDITERRANEAN

EUROPE
IN 1912

English Miles

0 100 200 300 400 500

35 40 45

55 50 35 30

Mouths of the Nile

Port Said

Suez Canal

Cyprus

Larnaca

Damascus

Konieh

Angora

Taurus Mts

Adalia

Smyrna

Sea of Azov

Crimea

Sevastopol

Sea of Marmora

Constantinople

Sinope

Batoum

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Kars

Erivan

Teheran

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Kura R.

Caucasus Mts

Elburz Mts

Mt Demavend

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Aral Sea

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Orenburg

Samara

Simbirsk

Saratov

Volsk

Tambov

Voronetz

Orel

Kursk

Kharkov

Poltava

Ekaterinoslav

Taganrog

Rostov

Nicolaiev

Kazan

Yaroslav

Vologda

Kostroma

Vladimir

Nizhni Novgorod

Moscow

Tula

Viatka

Perm

Yarensk

Omega

R. Dwina

R. Volga

R. Don

R. Ural

R. Kama

R. Oka

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R. Euphrates

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he had many good and kingly qualities, Amadeus was from the first unpopular in Spain, partly because he was a foreigner and partly because of the part his father had taken against the Pope. He tried to govern as a Parliamentary king, but he could hardly secure a majority, or keep a ministry together.

Carlist intrigues and risings disturbed the country; Isabel had strengthened the party of the old royal family by abdicating in favour of her young son Alfonso. Amadeus could not endure the unpopularity, the difficulties, and the isolation of his throne. Early in 1873 he abdicated and left Spain. His failure was due to no fault of his own; Spain was not yet ready for reforms, and in any case would have been unwilling to accept them from a stranger.

For two years Spain tried the experiment of a Republic headed by a President; the Government was no improvement on former experiments, and another Carlist insurrection ravaged the north-east. On 31 December, 1874, the army once more took matters into its own hands and proclaimed Alfonso XII King of Spain.

With the reign of Alfonso XII a new chapter began in the history of Spain. The King was a better man than the country had known for generations—brave, simple, generous, with a real love for Spain, a real desire to help his people. He devoted much care to the army, and was always ready for a post of danger. When earthquakes and floods devastated Southern Spain, the King himself visited the ruined towns, and distributed the relief funds; when his ministers would not allow him to run the risk of visiting a district stricken by cholera, he secretly left the palace with one attendant and took the next train to it. Yet with all his good points,

Alfonso was unattractive and unpopular; he was insignificant in appearance, and his foreign education, though it made him a more capable King, alienated his people's sympathies. However, he made Spain respect the monarchy once again, though he could not make the people love their King; his work was wise and useful, and his widow and little son profited by it.

The chief events of his reign may be summed up briefly. A Constitution was agreed on, similar to that of 1869, but only tax payers were to have votes, and the King chose his ministers without regard to party majorities. An agreement was finally made with the Pope, who was greatly averse from allowing religious toleration in Spain. Roman Catholicism was to be the national religion, supported by the Government and the nation; other religions were to be tolerated, but were not allowed to hold any public ceremonies.

The second Carlist war was brought to an end in 1876, and after some difficulty the semi-independent Basque provinces were brought under the same laws as the rest of Spain; they were treated tactfully, however, and still continue to assess and collect their own taxes—which they do far more economically than the other parts of Spain.

A rebellion in Cuba gave much trouble, but was eventually put down; a movement began for the gradual abolition of slavery in the Spanish colonies.

The chief minister during this reign was Canovas, a man of no fine qualities, sceptical, cynical, and essentially dishonest; it was a fixed part of his policy to deceive the people into believing that they had a real share in the government, whereas in practice they had none. He did good work for Spain, however, by reconciling the Church and the oldfashioned con-

servative elements, and by helping the king to establish his throne securely. But in spite of reforms and improvements the Queen, Maria Christina, had a difficult task before her when she became Regent. Alfonso XIII, the present King, was born in 1886, shortly after the death of his father (November, 1885). During his minority his mother ruled Spain with the utmost courage, tact, and ability.

The Queen began her Regency with the support of all parties, and indeed the line which divides the older parties has become very faint in Spain. Manhood suffrage was again introduced in 1890, though the elections are still corrupt and do not express the real feelings of the majority; the old Republican party survived in small groups (particularly in Barcelona), which allied themselves with the Socialists, and have several times worked up serious Labour movements; in 1909, at the time of the Portuguese Revolution, there was much disturbance in Spain, which often took the form of attacks on monasteries. The two chief ministers during the Regency were Sagasta and Canovas, who held office in turn; Canovas was assassinated in 1897. There were several slight risings, and considerable discontent in the army, but on the whole the Queen-Regent was able to keep peace at home. Prosperity increased, the financial system was improved, Spanish trade, especially in wines, became far more flourishing.

In the colonies, however, Spain was unfortunate. Cuba, the largest of the West Indian Islands, had been badly governed for years. Now its inhabitants —largely half-castes and negroes—were clamouring for self-government; the United States encouraged them. In the Philippine Islands (Pacific Ocean) matters were even worse. The government had fallen into the hands of the Church, and the friars

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age in 1904, and married Princess Ena of Battenberg, Queen Victoria's grandchild, in 1906), but it is very doubtful whether Spain can ever grow rich enough to be great under modern conditions, and whether the temperament of her people will ever lead to any very great progress on modern lines.

The history of Portugal may be very briefly sketched side by side with that of Spain.

Its early stages in the nineteenth century are closely bound up with the Peninsular War. In 1807 Napoleon's general, Junot, invaded Portugal, and the King, John VI, fled with his family to the most important of the Portuguese colonies, Brazil. He appeared to have abandoned his own country, and from 1808 to 1820 the decisive voice in Portuguese affairs was that of Wellington or Beresford. After 1815 Beresford retained his authority, amid considerable discontent; the country was jealous of British rule and wanted its own King back again. In 1820 there was a revolution in Portugal (coinciding with the revolutions in Spain and the Two Sicilies), and a Constitution was drawn up and adopted, on the same lines as the Spanish Constitution. John VI now returned to Europe, leaving his son Pedro as ruler in Brazil; in 1822 Pedro made himself Emperor of Brazil and declared the new Empire independent of Portugal. Soon after Portugal gave up its Constitution and went back to absolutism again. In 1826 John VI died, leaving two sons, Pedro I of Brazil, the elder, and Dom Miguel, the younger. Pedro took up the position of King, and granted another Constitution, modelled on British lines. But he did not wish to abandon Brazil, and therefore resigned the Portuguese throne to his daughter, Donna Maria, a child seven years of age; he tried to reconcile his

brother, Dom Miguel, to this, by promising to marry Donna Maria to him when she was older.

Miguel, however, opposed Donna Maria's claim, and managed to make himself King in 1828. During the desultory war between the two claimants, Britain, under the influence of Canning, took the side of Donna Maria; partly because her party stood for constitutionalism, while her uncle, Dom Miguel, was determined to be an absolutist King, partly because Britain was bound by treaty obligations to help Portugal.

Miguel's reign lasted amidst many disturbances from 1828–34. It was marked by cruelty and injustice, arbitrary dealings and corruption, disorder and frequent hostilities. At last Pedro came back from Brazil to fight his daughter's cause, and Miguel was finally driven out of the country in 1834.

Maria's reign was turbulent and unsettled; the disorder in Spain affected Portugal, the Carlist wars increased the feeling of uncertainty, and little or nothing was done to make the general condition of the country more prosperous.

In 1852 the Constitution was revised and made more Liberal; this seems to have given general satisfaction, for Maria's successor, Pedro V, had a quiet and uneventful reign (1853–61). Portugal seems to have felt the general development of Europe very little; her prosperity did not increase rapidly, her finances were always in a desperate condition, her Constitution was of little use to her, for the administration was always inefficient and corrupt. During the reigns of Louis I (1861–89) and Carlos I (1889–1908) party feeling was growing stronger than ever before; the Socialist party greatly increased their strength, and the Republicans became insistent in their opposition to the royal family. Carlos I irritated public opinion by arbitrarily altering the Con-

stitution, with no show of even consulting Parliament. In 1908 he had become so unpopular that he was assassinated in the streets of Lisbon, together with the Crown Prince.

His second son, Manuel II, succeeded him, but he was a mere boy, unable to take any decided line of his own. Eventually in 1910 the long-expected Revolution took place; King Manuel and the royal family were obliged to take refuge in England, and Portugal became a Republic. One cannot say that matters were thereby improved. Corruption had firm hold upon all the possible ministers and officials; they seemed to consider Government posts as expressly intended to provide them with salaries, and to exist for no other purpose. The Portuguese Republic is in a very uncertain position; burdened with an immense national debt, torn by violent party feeling, harassed by Royalist risings, laden with unequal taxation, and provided with a most inadequate educational system, it is doubtful whether the Republic can last long. Royalist feeling does not seem very strong at present, but it is possible that if the Republican ministries cannot gain the confidence of the people, a second revolution may take place, which will restore King Manuel to his throne.

CHAPTER XI

THE SMALLER COUNTRIES OF EUROPE

AFTER dealing with the countries which have most directly affected European politics as a whole, there remain some smaller States which have had the good luck to remain neutral during the nineteenth century.

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finally to the loss of the two duchies (see p. 106). Thus Denmark again suffered a great reduction in territory. Christian IX (1863–1906) began his reign with another revision of the Constitution, which gave the franchise to all men having a low property qualification, but in reality he ruled as a despotic king until about 1894; he preserved the forms of parliamentary government, but in practice he always got his own way, especially with regard to the army and the budget. During his reign, however, public opinion developed enormously in the direction of Liberalism and Socialism, and the King was obliged to give way; the franchise has now been extended to all men over thirty years of age, and women are allowed to take part in municipal affairs. Education has been compulsory since 1814, and is extremely well organized; old-age pensions have been granted, and agricultural enterprise has been encouraged and developed, until it is in an exceptionally flourishing condition. Indeed, Denmark, which has so little external history during the nineteenth century, has developed extremely rapidly in all social matters, and is now one of the most advanced States in Europe, although it is very small, and in some ways very simple in its manner of life. Frederick VIII succeeded his father in 1906, and was himself succeeded by his son Christian X in 1912.

In Iceland the century was marked by increasing prosperity. Free trade was established in 1854, and twenty years later home rule was granted, the King of Denmark, represented by a minister for Iceland, sharing the legislative power with the Althing.

When Norway was ceded to Sweden in 1814, by the Treaty of Kiel, the Norwegians made vigorous protests and refused to be annexed. They drew up a Constitution for themselves at Eidsvold, and chose

a Danish prince, Christian, as their king. A short war followed between Norway and Sweden, in which Norway was partially successful, but King Christian resigned his throne, and the Norwegians were obliged to agree to a personal union with Sweden. They declared, however, that the union "was not accomplished by force of arms, but by free conviction"; that they would retain the Constitution drawn up at Eidsvold, and that the King of Sweden should be King of Norway, not by the Treaty of Kiel, but by the free choice of the Norwegian people. It was to be a personal union such as that which bound Austria and Hungary together, and not in any sense a union of Parliaments. There were, however, to be common ministers of war and foreign affairs, which could not well be managed separately.

Such was the Norwegian idea of the union. Unfortunately Sweden and the Swedish king could not acquiesce in it. They insisted on treating Norway as a subject kingdom, and most of the disputes between the two countries, which ended in their separation in 1905, may be traced to this difference of opinion. Moreover, the two countries were essentially unlike in many ways. Sweden was aristocratic in its ideas and in its government, Norway was democratic—or rather, Norway claimed, rightly enough, that her really old and famous families were now to be found among the peasants, and that the few remaining nobles were quite modern families, created by Danish influence.

Charles XIII of Sweden died in 1818, and was succeeded by an adopted heir, Bernadotte, a famous French marshal, who took the name of Charles XIV. He was generally opposed to changes, and devoted his energies to encouraging the trade and prosperity of his two kingdoms; thus, though the influence of

the revolution of 1830 was very deeply felt in Norway, it brought no outward changes with it, save the admission of peasant deputies to the Norwegian Parliament or *Storthing*. In 1838 Norway regained a privilege which was very dear to her—the right to carry her national flag on all her merchant shipping; this apparently trivial matter was typical of the Norwegian desire for independence; it crops up again and again in all the disputes between the two countries.

The reign of Oscar I (1844–59) brought with it no serious changes; the Revolution of 1848 passed by without really affecting either Norway or Sweden. The Swedish Diet was like a medieval Parliament, composed of four estates, the nobles, the clergy, the cities, and the peasantry. As these four classes all sat separately, and very seldom agreed, the King was able to play off one against another, and so to gain his own way. Charles XV (1859–72) was, however, obliged to consent to a more modern Parliament, consisting of only two Houses. This Constitution, drawn up in 1866, gave votes to only about 8 per cent of the population, nevertheless it remained in force until 1909, when manhood suffrage was introduced.

During the reign of Oscar II (1872–1907) the friction between Norway and Sweden increased. The Norwegian Parliament could pass bills without the King's consent, if they passed them three times, with intervals of three years between the votes. Thus they could in the long run get their own way, but the delay was very vexatious, and roused feeling against the King. The King, on his side, was irritated when his veto was thus set on one side. The most serious grievance, however, was the fact that the Ministers chosen by the King were invariably Swedes, and that

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In literature, Swedish and Norwegian names, such as that of Ibsen, have a world-wide fame; as seamen and explorers the Scandinavian races have a renown at least as great as that of their ancestors, the Northmen, though the fame of such men as Nansen and Amundsen, or Sven Hedin, is pleasanter and more peaceful than that of the original Danes. It is perhaps entirely safe to predict that many of the great enterprises and very many of the new ideas of the future will be the work of Scandinavia.

Another union of two small States, effected by the Congress of Vienna, was that of Holland and Belgium.

It was effected, like that of Norway and Sweden, in defiance of racial and social differences between the two peoples. It has been explained before (p. 11) why the union was not likely to prove permanent or peaceful. William I of Orange, who was made King of Holland and Belgium in 1815, was a foreigner to the Belgians; he spoke Dutch, while they spoke Flemish or Walloon, or very often French; he was a Protestant, a Calvinist, while they were generally zealous Roman Catholics; he lived in Holland, the Government was carried on entirely on Dutch lines, and almost all the public officials were Dutch. Belgium had the larger population, but had only equal representation with the Dutch; the Belgians were full of French ideas of government, and disliked the extensive powers that were left to the King; moreover, advanced though they were in some respects, they heartily disliked religious toleration, which the Dutch were determined to protect. As a matter of fact, the union would have increased the prosperity of Belgium; Belgian manufactures, combined with Dutch foreign trade, would rapidly have increased the wealth of

both countries. But the union was dead against both the national and the religious sentiment of Belgium, and therefore was doomed to failure. In 1830, when the news of the second French Revolution reached Brussels, a rising took place in the city, which aimed at creating a separate Belgian administration, while retaining a personal union with Holland. Holland, however, dealt weakly and rather foolishly with the crisis, and so irritated the Belgians that in November, 1830, a National Assembly decided in favour of (*a*) the independence of Belgium; (*b*) a constitutional hereditary monarchy; (*c*) the perpetual exclusion of the House of Orange.

A Conference in London proclaimed that the union of the two countries was dissolved, and in 1831 Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, Queen Victoria's uncle, was elected King. The Dutch refused to agree to this, and invaded Belgium; Leopold, however, was upheld by France, and the combined French and British fleets obliged Holland to give up Antwerp, which had been retained in defiance of treaties. The independence and neutrality of Belgium were first definitely guaranteed by the Great Powers in the Treaty of London, 1839. A similar treaty was entered upon by Britain, France, and Germany in 1870.

Since the separation the history of Belgium has been uneventful, though its constitutional development is interesting. King Leopold was both wise and tactful, and steadily maintained his position as constitutional King. As the Constitution had been modelled on British lines, and before the Reform Act of 1832, the franchise was high, and comparatively few persons had votes. This gave dissatisfaction to the Liberals, but in 1848 a measure of electoral reform was passed which lowered the franchise, and thus Belgium weathered the storms of 1848 without further disturbances. In 1865 Leopold I died, and was succeeded by his son, Leopold II, under whom the same peaceful and orderly course was pursued. The war of 1870 was a matter of some

alarm to Belgium, which feared she might become again the battlefield of Europe. With the support of Britain, however, she maintained the neutrality of her territory.

Since 1870 internal affairs have occupied most of the attention of Belgium. There has been a determined "Flemish movement", chiefly with the intention of encouraging the Flemish language and customs, and discouraging mere imitation of France. The result has been to create a more friendly feeling towards France.

There has been great trouble over the question of religious education in schools. At present the State has not taken any very definite stand in the matter, but has left it to small districts to settle, according to their own wishes. There has also been a great development of Socialist opinion, and much social legislation has been passed, dealing with such questions as old-age pensions, the conditions of labour, married women's property, and educational problems. The franchise has been lowered more than once, and manhood suffrage is now the rule; a curious system gives an extra vote to men who by age, support of a family, wealth or education, show themselves to be rather more responsible persons than the average "man in the street".

The best-known question in relation to modern Belgium is the administration of the Congo Free State, in Central and Western Africa. This was an independent State, administered by a "Congo Association", of which the King of the Belgians was the head. The king's position was purely personal; the Congo State was not a Belgian territory or colony, and the Parliament had no responsibility whatever for it, but Leopold II happened to be at the head of the company or association which administered it. The chief industry of the Congo Free

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personal rule, and in 1848 a new Constitution lowered the franchise very considerably, and made the ministers responsible to the States-General, thus greatly diminishing the King's power.

Under William III (1849-90) public opinion was greatly excited over the question of religious education in schools. Some of the Liberal party wanted to abolish it altogether; the more conservative Protestants wished to retain it in their own hands, while the Roman Catholics (of whom there was a group in the south) insisted on being allowed to teach religion in their own schools. The difficulty was settled on the whole peacefully in 1889; each denomination that had built schools and was recognized by the law was allowed to maintain its own teaching and to obtain State grants; there were also free State schools with no religious teaching.

The lowering of the franchise has been another burning question; in 1887, and again in 1896, the number of voters was very much extended, but manhood suffrage has not been granted yet.

In 1890 William III died, and his daughter, Wilhelmina, who was only a child, became Queen of Holland (or of the Netherlands). She married Prince Henry of Mecklenburg. Holland is a wealthy, prosperous country, owing much of its wealth to foreign trade and its extensive colonial possessions, chiefly in the East Indies. As a rule, it plays no part in the mutual jealousies and diplomacy of the Great Powers, but occasionally it seems to fear annexation by or interference from Germany.

Its neutral position has, however, caused it to be chosen for the seat of the Court of International Arbitration, better known as the Hague Tribunal, which endeavours to settle international questions without recourse to war. (See p. 304.)

The main features in the history of Switzerland during the nineteenth century have been sketched in dealing with its Constitution, and need not be more than briefly indicated here.

It divides, very roughly speaking, into about four main periods, which are generally marked only by their constitutional interests.

(*a*) From 1815–30 Switzerland was a very loose Federation of Cantons, with little or no central power; the central Diet sat alternately at Berne, Zurich, and Lucerne, and almost all the cantons felt the reaction which was so general throughout Europe.

(*b*) From 1830–47 Liberal ideas were gradually making their way, and preparing for a new Constitution.

(*c*) During the year 1847 the seven Roman Catholic cantons, which were alike opposed to Liberalism and to the strengthening of the Federal Government, formed a league to protect their own ideas. The Diet ordered this league (or Sonderbund) to disband; the Sonderbund refused, and for a few weeks war was waged between it and the other cantons. The Protestant and Liberal cantons were, however, successful, the Sonderbund was dissolved, the Jesuits were expelled from Switzerland, and the Constitution of 1848 was accepted.

(*d*) The fourth period, 1848 to the present day, is mainly concerned with the working of this Constitution, and is more fully described in Chapter XII. During this period Switzerland has made steady progress in education, and in general prosperity. The rapid extension of railways, often under the greatest difficulties, has opened up all parts of the country, while the tunnelling of the St. Gothard and the Simplon Passes has made Switzerland a highway for the trade of Northern and Southern Europe.

The neutrality of Switzerland, which is guaranteed by the Great Powers, has made it the secure home of many movements; innumerable international conferences take place on Swiss soil, and it has also played a great part in the development of the Peace movement, which has found its permanent home at the Hague.

In conclusion, it may be noted how these smaller countries show just the same problems of nationality as have torn the larger States. In Norway and Sweden, in Holland and Belgium, the difficulty has been settled by separation, in Switzerland the solution has been Federalism, but in each case the principle is the same — racial feeling must be respected if stable government is desired.

CHAPTER XII

THE CONSTITUTIONS OF EUROPE

"For forms of government let fools contest,
Whate'er is best administered, is best." —*Pope.*

No Englishman could be expected to believe the lines quoted above. For centuries Englishmen have fought and struggled, not only for good government, but for self-government. We believe that experience, political wisdom, and a feeling of responsibility can be acquired in some degree by all men, and we believe that it is better to attain these qualities gradually than to be governed even by an ideally wise and cautious sovereign. Therefore, in considering the various Constitutions of Europe, an Englishman is apt to class them as good or bad according to the amount of self-government which they permit. It would,

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wished to restore the Monarchy, or to set up any other form of government, no laws could prevent it from doing so; one generation cannot have power to make laws which shall bind future generations for ever. If, however, such a change should be made in France it would be a revolutionary, and not a constitutional change.

But the idea of a rigid Constitution has been very useful at times. In Britain things change slowly, our Constitution is the work of centuries, and institutions have been respected because they were old and well tried. After the French Revolution, changes came so thick and fast that some countries were in danger of forgetting their past history, and of changing their Governments every few years. The idea of a rigid Constitution, which cannot be altered or upset, has helped to prevent too frequent changes, and has given a feeling of greater security to peoples who have seen only too many revolutions.

This distinction between flexible and rigid Constitutions is also closely connected with the manner in which the Constitution has been obtained. During the nineteenth century a Constitution might be granted by a monarch (*constitution octroyée*), or it might be constructed by a National and Constituent Assembly gathered together for that purpose. If the Constitution had been granted by the monarch (e.g. in Spain and in the Two Sicilies in 1820, or in Piedmont in 1848), the question arose, Could the Constitution thus granted be revoked? Was the promise binding on the monarch, or could he not change his mind, as an Assembly could? Ferdinand of Spain and Ferdinand of the Two Sicilies both held that what they had given they could take away; the Tsar, Nicholas II, seems still to hold this opinion. On the other hand, Charles Albert, having once granted

a Constitution—the "*Statuto*"—to his kingdom, both he and his son, Victor Emmanuel, entirely refused to be coerced by Austria into withdrawing it; Frederick William IV of Prussia so strongly objected to being bound by such a promise, which he thought would clash with his Divine Right, that he refused to allow "a sheet of paper to come between him and God".

With such a practical difficulty to solve, it is easy to see why the National Assemblies fostered the idea that a Constitution once given was both irrevocable and unchangeable; they had been cheated so often that they clung to any safeguard, even though illogical.

Such are the reasons for the greatest difference between the British and many of the European Constitutions. As to the rights and privileges thus granted, they differ in almost every case, but in general, the Constitutions granted or drawn up during the nineteenth century were copies either of the British Constitution or of one of the French revolutionary Constitutions; sometimes a combination of the two would be arrived at, and there were always important modifications to suit the social conditions and historical past of each nation.

After this general and preliminary sketch, we may turn to examine each State separately, and notice the most important feature of its Constitution. The table on p. 320 may be useful in showing at a glance the main differences.

FRANCE

The French Constitution, as it stands at present, dates from the years immediately following the Franco-German War. It is very slight—a mere skeleton of the absolutely essential laws. Unlike most earlier French Constitutions, it has no place for theories or

general principles; nothing more is heard of the "Rights of Man". This is probably due to the fact that it was regarded as a compromise which would not last. The constitutional laws—three in number—were passed during the year 1875 (see p. 51); they do not form a regular Constitution, but are, as it were, the minimum amount of legislation which seemed safe during that very critical year. The Government was vested in a President, a Senate, and a Chamber of Deputies, which correspond roughly to the British King, Lords, and Commons. The three parts are linked together, as in Britain, by a Cabinet, which controls the actions of the President, and in turn is controlled by the Lower House. The Senate, which is elected by a special body of electors in each department, can generally only revise and modify the measures sent up from the Chamber of Deputies, though in theory it has equal powers of legislation; it cannot introduce financial bills, though it may modify them; in practice, too, it has no control over the ministers, and therefore can have little real power. Its consent is necessary for the dissolution of the Lower House, and it may, on occasion, act as a High Court of Justice; e.g. it tried and condemned General Boulanger.

The Chamber of Deputies is elected by manhood suffrage; every man over twenty-one years of age, who is not disqualified by crime or in some other way, has a right to vote. The Chamber consists of 576 members, who are elected for four years; each *arrondissement*, or electoral district, returns one member; the French colonies also send a few members. Its powers and work are very similar to those of the House of Commons, but there are two notable differences. The French Deputies appear unable to carry on an exciting debate in an orderly fashion; they

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or extreme Conservatives; in the Centre, the moderate Liberals; on the left, the more extreme Liberals, Radicals, or Socialists; between these three there may be lesser divisions, unable definitely to join any of the groups.

This arrangement is found in almost all the Parliaments of Europe, and it explains the difficulty of working Cabinet Government in combination with a Group system; it is almost impossible to tell from day to day whether the Centre will be more in sympathy with the Left or the Right, whether the Left Centre will join the Extreme Left or the Centre. It is because of this arrangement that European parties are often known merely as Right or Left; the one advantage of the system is that it ought to give a man a chance of being rather more honest than the two-party system; if he cannot genuinely agree with either side, he can often find a moderate Group with which to work. But in practice the Group system is very unsatisfactory.

The third component part of the French Government, the President, has a somewhat difficult position. Like the King in Britain he is at the head of the Government, but all his acts depend on the advice of his ministers. It has been said that he neither reigns nor governs. In many ways he appears to be a purely ornamental personage, a substitute for a king. Yet he often exercises an important influence; he is elected for seven years, and therefore does not change so often as the Cabinets, which seldom sit as long as two years; his tact and judgment are often of the utmost value in the framing of a new Cabinet, or in relations with foreign powers.

Such are the more noteworthy features of the Central Government of France. Local government is still in its infancy. Each department is subdivided again into

arrondissements, *cantons*, and *communes*; of these the communes, each presided over by a mayor, are the most important. They possess fairly wide powers in local business, and the communal councils are elected by manhood suffrage; their actions, however, are closely supervised by the Central Government, and they have practically no authority in financial matters. It is largely owing to this weakness in local government that the French people as a whole take so little active part in politics; the great majority of them are willing and anxious to be ruled by anyone who will give them peace and order. However, this spirit is gradually strengthening the Republic; year by year the fear of another revolution grows less; year by year the Royalists and the Bonapartists grow fewer. When at last all Frenchmen are Republicans, only divided on questions of policy, the way will be open for a regular two- or three-party system, with a properly organized Opposition ready to take office when the Government is defeated. Then Parliamentary Government in France may have a real chance of success.

ITALY

In Italy a similar system is in working, though Italy is a Kingdom instead of a Republic. The Italian Constitution is based on the "Statuto" of 1848, granted by Charles Albert, and loyally upheld by Victor Emmanuel throughout his many difficulties. This Constitution, originally granted for Charles Albert's kingdom only, was extended without formal modification to the whole of Italy. It has, however, been supplemented and overgrown by custom, with the result that Italy is now more "constitutional" than her Constitution; e.g. the powers of the

King, as fixed by the Statuto, have been considerably lessened by custom.

The Government consists of a King, Senate, and Chamber of Deputies; the real responsibility lies with the Cabinet and the party groups, of which, as in France, there are several.

The King is an hereditary monarch, whose crown can descend in the male line only; he is at the head of the Government, but generally acts only on the advice of his ministers. His influence is said to be strong in foreign affairs, and he has some real powers in dealing with the Cabinet. Owing to the number of small groups in existence, it is generally very uncertain who may be the next Prime Minister, and the King has a wide choice; he may also permit or refuse to allow a dissolution of Parliament.

The Senate is a somewhat aristocratic body, nominated by the King; its members are chosen from different important classes of society, and represent the higher officials, education, wealth, commerce, and other interests; the Senate has the privilege of accepting or rejecting any new member. The powers of the Senate are slight; it can initiate legislation to be submitted to the Lower House, but it can hardly delay or modify the legislation already approved by the Deputies; new members are often created in large batches to bring the Senate more into harmony with the party feeling of the nation, and thus its importance is not great. It may in certain cases act as a High Court of Justice.

The Chamber of Deputies, which bears the real responsibility of Government, consists of 508 members, elected on a limited franchise. Since 1882 the qualification for a vote has been educational; no voter can be registered who has not passed a simple examination in reading and writing, and the ordinary

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only too often is reinforced by unscrupulous corruption.

While the Chamber of Deputies, however, is largely occupied with local quarrels, local government proper is very weak. When the various provinces were united to form a new Italy, the predominant feeling was the need for unity; the provincial divisions, therefore, were broken up, and the work of administration was centralized as far as possible. In details the system is very like that of France, and suffers from the same weakness. This centralization was necessary at the time, but it has serious defects, in that it supplies little or no education in political and administrative work to the rank and file of the people. In one point only the old divisions have survived—there are five Supreme Courts of Appeal (or Courts of Cassation), which sit in Rome, Turin, Florence, Naples, and Palermo. The result of this is that justice, as administered by the judges, may differ in different parts of Italy. It is unfortunate that the one case in which local privileges have been respected should be the highly important matter of justice and law. The respect for the law would be enormously increased if the Court at Rome were to become a final Court of Appeal for the whole nation.

The one great difficulty in the reconstruction of Italy has been the position of the Papacy. Cavour's idea was to have "a free Church in a free State"; the Pope's claim was that he must be actually sovereign within his own dominions, i.e. Rome and the surrounding province. The question has been compromised by allowing the Pope to live almost like a sovereign prince within the Vatican, with all the privileges necessary to make him entirely free in dealing with Church questions both in Italy and abroad. The Popes, however, have so far refused

to accept the compromise, returned the yearly revenue granted them by the State, and professed to remain within the Vatican as prisoners. They have refused to recognize the Kings of Italy, and have forbidden faithful Roman Catholics to take any part in parliamentary or political business. Although these orders have not been strictly followed, yet a large number of Italians have abstained from political action, and thus the Papal policy has had an unfortunate influence in modern Italy.

GERMANY

The Government of Germany is a Federal Empire.[1] Federalism generally means the union, for certain purposes, of a number of States which are for other purposes considered as separate and independent. Thus the United States of America are treated by foreign powers as one State, although among themselves each State has certain very independent powers, and the laws and institutions of New York may differ very materially from those of Virginia or California. The object of a Federal Government is generally to obtain strength and protection against outsiders, while leaving the rights and independence of smaller States or nations untouched. It will readily be seen how the idea of Federalism grew up in America during the American War of Independence.

Germany had long been accustomed to some form of Federalism. Under the Holy Roman Empire more than 300 separate States, large and small, had been united in name by the Empire, though in practice they were almost entirely independent. Napoleon had suppressed many of the smaller States and combined them with others, but in 1815, at the Congress of Vienna, Stein's desire for a real Federal Union

[1] Cf. p. 322.

was put aside, and Metternich's influence (see p. 90) gave Germany a useless Federal Diet; in this all the States were represented, though, as a matter of fact, they were alternately at the mercy of Prussia or Austria.

The history of Bismarck (Chapter V) shows how Prussia became the predominant force in Germany, and thus one is not surprised to find that the German Constitution, as drawn up in 1871, really depends on Prussian superiority.

In 1866–7, after the successful war against Austria, Prussia formed a union with all the States north of the river Main, under the name of the North German Confederation. A Constitution was agreed upon, by which the Prussian King was to be the President, with two legislative chambers—the *Bundesrath*, or Council copied from the old Federal Diet, containing representatives of each State, and the *Reichstag*, or Lower House, elected from all the States by manhood suffrage. Bavaria, Würtemberg, Baden, and Hesse stood outside this arrangement until after the Franco-German War, when, in 1871, the "German Empire" was declared at Versailles (see p. 114), and a Constitution was drafted, on the model of the North German Confederation. The King of Prussia is always to be the German Emperor; the affairs of the Empire (which include all the more important questions) are to be settled by the Bundesrath and the Reichstag; the one responsible minister of the Empire is the Chancellor. Beneath this Imperial Constitution each State was to keep or to change its own constitution as it pleased; some of these constitutions dated back to the years 1815–20, some of them had been framed under the influence of the Revolution of 1848. Here it must suffice to sketch very briefly the working of the Imperial Constitution, and then to glance hastily

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votes of the ten or twelve representatives of his State. Prussia controls twenty votes, and can easily obtain a majority in most cases. The powers of the Bundesrath are very extensive, and, moreover, they are real powers. Its consent is necessary to all legislation; in fact, it generally prepares and drafts new laws, and sends them down to the Reichstag for discussion; it controls finance, makes regulations, declares war or peace, sends members to explain its policy in the Reichstag, and may act as a Court of Justice, to interpret the Constitution, or to settle disputes between two States. Its debates are kept strictly private, and thus the outside world never knows, for example, how much opposition is offered to Prussian policy, nor what disputes go on between the States.

The Bundesrath takes the place, to a large extent, of the Cabinet in other countries, but its executive work is not so heavy, as each State has its own departments and its own ministers, who are merely controlled and supervised by the Bundesrath.

The Emperor has a peculiar position; he is both Emperor of Germany and King of Prussia; as Emperor of Germany his main function is to act for the Bundesrath, to be the head, the president of the Imperial Government. As Emperor he carries great weight in military, naval, and foreign affairs; as King of Prussia he has even greater powers, and may use them in the Empire by means of his twenty delegates in the Bundesrath.

It is, however, useless to consider the Emperor apart from the Chancellor, and the explanation of the Chancellor's position is simply—Bismarck. In drawing up the Constitution, Bismarck would not hear of having an Imperial Cabinet; he felt equal to any emergency, and thought it mere waste of time to persuade other people that his policy was good; he

knew it himself, and that was all that mattered. Hence the Chancellor is the only responsible Imperial Minister, he has no colleagues, though part of his work may be done by subordinates, and he is responsible only to his Imperial master, and not to the Bundesrath or to the Reichstag. It is obvious, then, that the government of the German Empire rests mainly with two men, the Emperor and the Chancellor, and the division of power between them depends more on their respective personalities than on the Constitution.

Bismarck held all the reins of power within his own hands; he was able as Chancellor to dominate the Emperor William; as head of the Prussian Cabinet, he could control the policy of Prussia; as leader of the Prussian delegates in the Bundesrath he could overawe or influence that all-important council; as Chancellor he had a right to appear and to speak in the Reichstag, and he seems to have used this right alternately to bully and to persuade. Such was Bismarck's actual position; by the Constitution his powers did not appear so entirely overwhelming, but by using his iron will and his enormous prestige, Bismarck was able to make for himself an office of unlimited possibilities. The story of his fall has been told elsewhere (see p. 126); although the Chancellor was all-powerful, his power depended entirely on the Emperor's goodwill, and in 1890 the young Emperor, William II, was able to dismiss his veteran minister. Since that time the direction of policy has lain within the hands of the Emperor; the chancellorship lost much of its old importance, and for the time the Chancellor ceased to be at the head of the Prussian ministry. This change in the balance of power between Emperor and Chancellor has had some important results. William II, the present

Emperor, is a strong and determined character, with a conviction that he rules by Divine Right, and that he must personally make his power felt throughout Germany. The French Revolution he once declared to be "an unmitigated crime against God and man", hence his antagonism to both Liberals and Socialists is entirely unveiled. Yet his policy has roused such hostility in the Reichstag on more than one occasion that he has been obliged to give way; all the unpopularity of his acts falls on him personally, rather than on his ministers. There has been, of late years, a determined attempt to make the Emperor act only with the consent or on the advice of his Chancellor, but the attempt has met with only intermittent success. On the whole, the Emperor has been able to enforce his own policy, because the Reichstag is broken up into so many small groups; sometimes there are as many as twelve or fifteen parties or subdivisions of parties.

In 1912 a general election ended in a large increase of Socialist members, and it remains to be seen what influence they may be able to exercise on the development of the Imperial Constitution.

The secret of the Emperor's power is that he stands for union and for strength in military and foreign affairs. The Socialist party is opposed to war, and puts economic problems in the first place; the serious question before it is whether, if the control of the Government passes to the Reichstag, the Empire will be either better governed or more united.

A similar question is that of the Constitution of Prussia. Prussia retains her old constitution, consisting of the King and an Upper and a Lower House. The Lower House is elected by a peculiar indirect suffrage, so divided into classes ás to give the least power to the greatest numbers; the voting is done

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1861 and 1867; it confides the government to the Emperor and two Houses of Parliament, and can only be changed by a two-thirds majority of both Houses. The powers of the Emperor are very great; the Cabinet is responsible only to him, and not to the Parliament; he has a veto on all legislation, and he uses it. Although the ministers are thus comparatively unimportant, the various officials are all-powerful; perhaps in no country except Russia are the ordinary citizens so much dominated and supervised by the police; the Press in theory is free, but practically the newspapers are very much at the mercy of the Government.

The Parliament consists of an Upper and a Lower House; the Upper House mainly includes hereditary members, but there are also life-members, nominated by the Emperor. The Lower House is elected by manhood suffrage, which was granted in 1907 after much agitation; the constituencies were arranged as far as possible according to race; i.e. Austria was subdivided, for election purposes, into groups of Poles, Germans, Czechs, Slovenes, Italians, &c. The result has been to lessen racial jealousy, and to-day parties in Austria tend to divide on economic questions, such as Socialism, rather than on race lines.

The Lower House has very much the same powers as the House of Commons in Britain, but with some restrictions:—(*a*) the questions of foreign relations, the army, and finance are ultimately reserved for the Federal Government; (*b*) certain local questions are left to be settled by the local Diets, which survive in all the Austrian provinces; (*c*) as the Cabinet is not responsible to Parliament, and as the Lower House is divided into several groups, the Emperor is almost always able to enforce his policy, in spite of hostility. The Austrian members of the Federal

Assembly are nominated by the two Austrian Houses of Parliament from among themselves.

The Hungarian Constitution is much older. It may perhaps be dated from the Golden Bull of 1222 (the Hungarian Magna Charta), by which the King was bound to observe the laws and rights of Hungary, while his subjects were given a legal right to rebel if the King disregarded his obligation. In 1848 the ancient Constitution was reformed and modified, but on the whole it remains in form much as it was throughout the Middle Ages. The Government lies in the hands of the King (*N.B.*—the Emperor's correct title is Emperor of Austria *and* King of Hungary, not Emperor of Austria-Hungary) and of two Houses of Parliament, the Table of Magnates and the Table of Deputies. The Table of Magnates consists of nobles, who have always played a very leading part in Hungary, and of life-members; the nobles, if they prefer it, may sit for election in the Lower House. The Deputies, of whom there are 453, are elected for five years, on a limited franchise, which, however, includes every man above twenty-four who can speak Magyar, and pays a small tax annually. Forty of these members sit for Croatia, which has been granted special privileges under a special minister, the Ban of Croatia, and retains a local Diet;[1] they are allowed to speak the Croatian language (which, however, many of them do not know), and they only attend the House when Croatian matters are under discussion. The Hungarian Parliament differs from the Austrian in that the Cabinet is really responsible to the Table of Deputies and not to the King; moreover, the Hungarians are not divided into groups. This is partly due to the fact that, as the elections are managed at present, only Magyars

[1] The Croatian Constitution was suspended in April, 1912.

can get into Parliament, and they are too much afraid of finding their power undermined by Slavs, Croats, Poles, or Rumanians to risk splitting among themselves, either into two great parties or into groups, although on some questions there are party divisions. The Hungarian Parliament is also unchecked by local Diets, save in Croatia. Local government in Hungary is being modernized, and is losing much of its ancient connection with the representative system.

The Federal Constitution, which in some respects is superior to those of both Austria and Hungary, may be briefly explained. The Emperor and King retains the position which he gained by the Pragmatic Sanction, but has been given certain powers with regard to Austria-Hungary considered jointly. He must be crowned twice, at Vienna and at Budapest; he controls the joint army, and must give his consent to any joint legislation. Almost all executive work, such as the collection of taxes, or the raising of recruits for the army, is left to Austria and Hungary separately; there are Federal ministers for Foreign Affairs, for War, and for Finance, but, with the exception of the Minister for Foreign Affairs, much of their work is merely supervision.

The Federal Assembly consists of 60 Austrian and 60 Hungarian delegates, who meet alternately at Vienna and Budapest, and use both the German and the Magyar language in all their communications and records. The "Delegations" meet and debate separately, and only occasionally vote together in case of a deadlock. In this Assembly, although the numbers are equal, the Hungarians generally have the advantage, because, as has been seen, they act as one party, and are not subdivided into racial groups. The powers of the Federal

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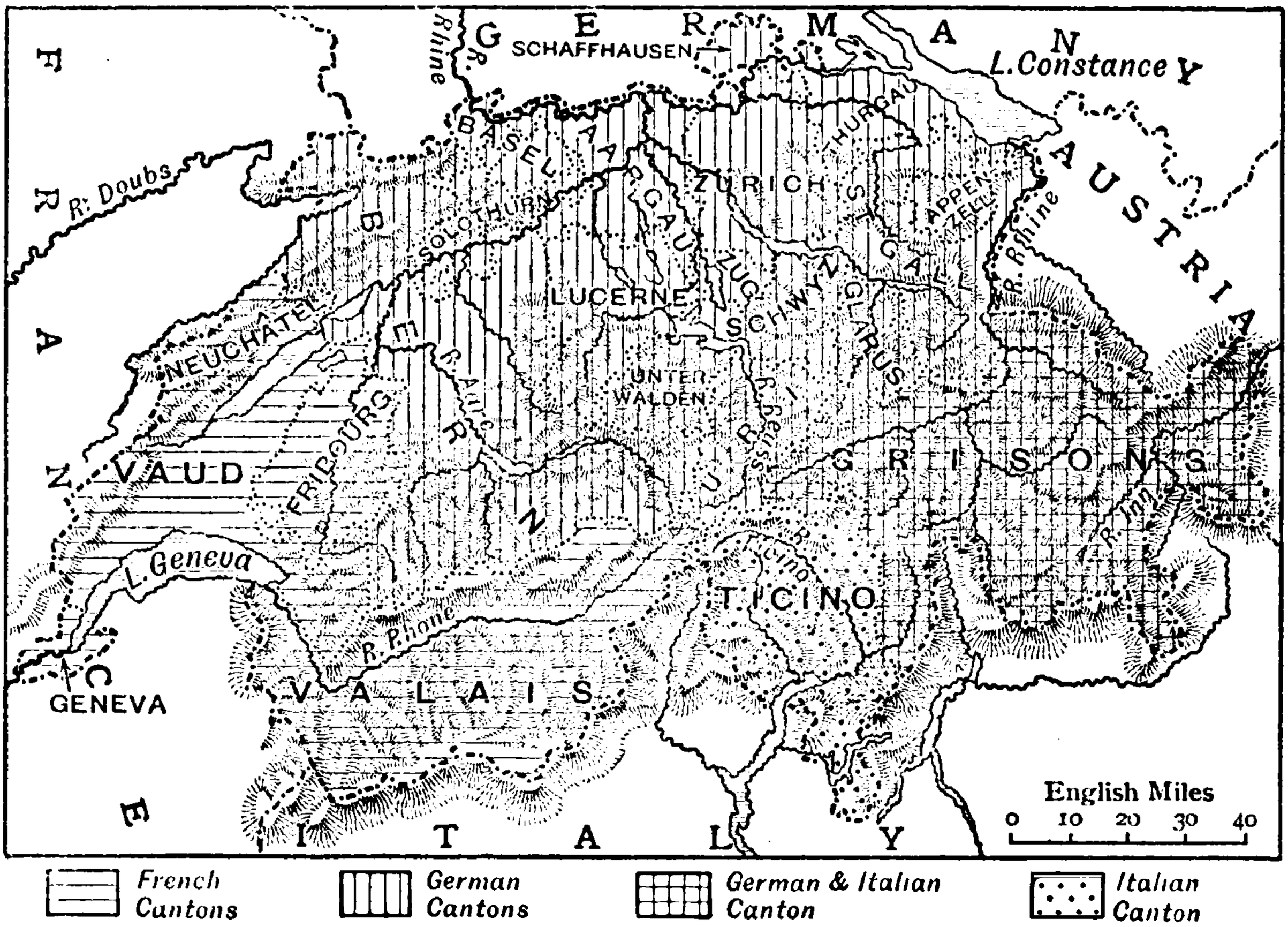
Switzerland, though the subsequent history has been different.

Geographically, Switzerland is the centre of Europe—the land of the highest mountains and therefore of the most important watersheds. Putting it as simply as possible, Switzerland may be said to consist of three great river valleys—the Rhine, the Rhone, and



the Ticino, with intervening mountains. Up those valleys penetrated French, German, and Italian families; up those valleys spread the influence and rule of France, Germany or Austria, and Lombardy. The valleys developed separately, and formed cantons, or tiny independent States; under long pressure from Austria (cf. the legend of William Tell) the cantons formed leagues among themselves, and thus retained their independence. The present Constitution—a Federal Republic—is due to two causes: the strong local feeling of the cantons, and the danger

from without, which forced them into union. In 1815 the present boundaries of Switzerland were fixed, and the twenty-two cantons were united in a loose federation. The existing Confederation is due to the Constitution of 1848, which has, however, been much modified.

The cantons, out of which the Confederation was built up, were severed from each other both by racial and religious feeling. French Switzerland is mainly Protestant (Calvinist), while German Switzerland is to a large extent Roman Catholic; the Italian cantons are mainly Roman Catholic. Hence the cantons have insisted on retaining as much independence as possible. Each has its own assembly, elected generally by manhood suffrage; in these assemblies are discussed all questions which are not specially reserved to the Confederation; the administration of almost all laws, federal or cantonal, is left to the cantons. The assemblies differ in the different cantons; the most interesting are the *Landsgemeinde*, or general meetings of all the citizens for legislative purposes. These appear to be genuine survivals of the Teutonic custom described by Tacitus in the *Germania*, which has given way everywhere else in Europe to a system of representation. The meeting of the Landsgemeinde is a most picturesque sight; on a great meadow near the Lake of Lucerne meet together all the citizens of the canton of Uri; there, shut in by their protecting mountains, they stand and listen to the proposed legislation (very carefully prepared) for the following year, and accept or reject it as seems good to them. Most of the cantons have accepted some form of representation, and this mass meeting of the citizens only takes place in three or four of them.

The central government, however, is becoming

more powerful than the cantonal assemblies. It consists of a legislative Federal Assembly, of an executive Federal Council, and of a judicial Federal Tribunal.

The Federal Assembly[1] consists of two houses: (*a*) the National Council, elected by direct manhood suffrage from 52 electoral districts, returning in all 147 members; (*b*) the Council of States, elected by the cantons, each canton sending two members. The two houses are supposed to have equal and identical powers; as a matter of fact the National Council is the more important, and it is considered very little honour to be elected to the Council of States. The Federal Council takes the place of a Cabinet in other constitutions; there is no president of the Swiss Republic, but a President or Chairman presides over the meetings of the Federal Council. This Council consists of seven members, chosen from among the Federal Assembly, without regard to party; each of the seven is at the head of a department (e.g. War, or Foreign Affairs), and they are chosen for their

[1] FEDERAL ASSEMBLY

NATIONAL COUNCIL (147 members, from 52 electoral districts)

COUNCIL OF STATES (44 members, 2 from each canton)

FEDERAL COUNCIL

7 members, from the Federal Assembly, acting as Ministers of—

(*a*) Foreign Affairs.
(*b*) Interior.
(*c*) Justice and Police.
(*d*) War.
(*e*) Finance.
(*f*) Industry and Agriculture.
(*g*) Post-office and Railways.

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laws, or amendments to the Constitution, which must be discussed by the Assembly, and decided upon by Referendum to the whole people. If, for instance, 50,000 citizens wish for some amendment to the Constitution, they may draw up their amendment and have it referred to the people even though the Assembly may disapprove.

Experience seems to show that the Referendum has been valuable in Switzerland as a means of securing the rejection of unpopular legislation. Its main weakness, however, is that the people are too apt to reject a complicated measure which they do not understand, but which might nevertheless be beneficial. The Initiative, on the other hand, seems to be neither very useful nor necessary in Switzerland.

It will be seen how these two institutions tend to lessen party feeling; if every important Bill has to go back to the people for confirmation, it is of no use to talk about the iniquities of the Government; nor is it of much avail to make attractive promises at election times, since 50,000 electors can always initiate any legislation they please. The general result is that the electors tend to elect men of the best business capacity and known worth, feeling confident that if they do not always agree with them, they will have another chance of expressing their views. Thus the "will of the people", as far as men are concerned, seems to be more thoroughly consulted in Switzerland than anywhere else in the world.

The other countries of Europe may be more briefly dismissed, as their Constitutions either conform to the type of those already described, or have not yet fully developed.

SPAIN

Spain is a Constitutional Monarchy, with the usual Cabinet and two-chamber system; the ministers are responsible to the Cortes (or Parliament), which is elected by manhood suffrage. Although the majority of Spaniards hardly realize their political power, party feeling runs very high, as between the Clericals, Liberals, and Socialists, and there is much corruption in public life.

PORTUGAL

Portugal, which was a constitutional monarchy, is at present under a very insecure Republican Government; Royalist agitation, however, continues at intervals, and the Republic is undermined by corruption.

NORWAY

Norway, united by a personal union with Sweden in 1814, in 1905 broke loose, and chose as King of Norway Prince Charles of Denmark. The King retains considerable executive powers; he can also veto a law two or three times, but eventually has to give way. He is advised by a Council of Ministers. The work of legislation is carried on by the *Storthing*, consisting of an Upper House, the *Lagthing*, and a Lower House, the *Odelsthing*. The Lower House is elected (since 1907) by all citizens, men ahd women, who have paid taxes on a small income (from £16 to £22); a married woman is qualified if her husband is a taxpayer.

SWEDEN

Sweden has a Constitutional King, who retains very extensive powers; he can absolutely veto a law, and he can initiate new legislation. He is advised by a

Cabinet which he appoints, but which is responsible to Parliament. The Riksdag (or Parliament) consists of two Houses, of which the Lower is elected by manhood suffrage.

RUSSIA

Russia has a Government which has already been described in Chapter VIII. The Tsar is an autocratic monarch, bound only by one or two ancient and "fundamental" laws of Russia; he is advised by a Council, which he appoints and dismisses; legislation is discussed by the Duma, a national assembly elected by very indirect and disproportionate methods. The Tsar has stated that he will not legislate without the consent of the Duma, but it must be noticed that this limitation is self-imposed. The privileges which the Tsar has given he believes that he may revoke at any time.[1]

TURKEY

The Government of Turkey needs a word or two of explanation. Up to 1909 the Sultan of Turkey was a theocratic absolute monarch; i.e. he was absolute in all temporal affairs, and in spiritual matters he was regarded as the successor of the Prophet, Mohammed, and therefore as head of the Mohammedan religion. In 1909, however, the absolute power of the Sultan gave way to a Constitution, established by the "Young Turks". This leaves his spiritual position untouched. The responsibility for the government of Turkey now rests with a Ministry and a Representative Assembly, but it is extremely difficult to discover what the Assembly represents, and the Ministries appear to be thoroughly inefficient (see p. 225).

[1] A Revolution in Russia began in March, 1917, but as yet no settlement has been reached (1919).

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between flexible and rigid Constitutions, it will be seen that in most States the Constitution is capable of alteration, by more or less complicated methods; that in general it is not considered possible to revoke a Constitution, though it might conceivably be done by the Tsar, the Sultan, or the King of Montenegro; that in general it is easier to change the Constitution of a Unitary than of a Federal State; e.g. it would be far more difficult to change the Constitution of the German Empire, or of Austria-Hungary, than that of Spain or Italy. There is, moreover, always the possibility that revolution may entirely overturn existing Constitutions, as it has recently done in Turkey and in Portugal.

CHAPTER XIII

SOME TENDENCIES OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

"The man who does not know what has been thought by those who have gone before him is sure to set an undue value upon his own ideas."
—*Mark Pattison.*

"I make no claim to have said all that might be said; but to have said so much as will lay the foundations, whereon if any man will build up a statelier edifice, he shall not find me grudge him aught, but rather shall have my thanks."
—*Grotius.*

A KNOWLEDGE of history does not only involve learning what men have done; it is often more important and far more difficult to know what men have thought. To understand all is to pardon all, says the proverb. and certainly the best way of learning to agree or to live peaceably with our opponents is to try to understand what they really think and mean.

Therefore we must make some attempt to tackle the very difficult question of what men thought and

what they aimed at during the nineteenth century; what influences moved them, what men or books inspired them, what was their attitude towards the great systems and institutions which they found in existence or helped to create.

Difficult though it may be, the various influences which tended to make Modern Europe may yet be distinguished in some degree from the general historical causes which had been working for centuries. Among the dominant influences at work from 1815 onwards may be named the French Revolution, the career and ideas of Napoleon, and the example, consciously or unconsciously followed, of Britain.

First one must place the French Revolution—with its larger view of the possibilities of human life, with its insistence on the rights of the individual, with its shattering of ancient bonds, its belief in mankind, its tradition of violence and bloodshed. To it all men looked back—some, like William II of Germany, or the Tsar Alexander I, as to an "unmitigated crime", whose repetition must be prevented at all costs; some as to the birth of liberty and equality; some as to a violent and terrible way of achieving a good end; some, like Mazzini, as to a movement based on a wrong conception, on an assertion of the Rights of Man apart from the Duties of Man. But in any case the Revolution gave the impulse, whence came both the reactionary policy of the years 1815–48, and the great democratic movements which were felt throughout Europe in 1820, in 1830, in 1848, and to some extent in 1871. Nor, indeed, does the influence of the Revolution cease here. It dies only when its work is done, and in Turkey, in Russia, in Persia, in India, or in China its work is still going on, happily with decreasing violence, but with no less striking results.

Side by side with the influence of the Revolution went the lasting work of Napoleon Bonaparte. It was the anti-national policy of Napoleon that laid the spark to the train which was to fire the nationalist movements in Europe. The spark might burst to a blaze at once, as in Spain or in Russia, it might smoulder for years, as in Italy or in Prussia, it may be smouldering still, but in each case Napoleon's hand lighted a train that was to release forces of which he had no idea. His nephew, Napoleon III, lived to see and feel the power of that spirit of nationality, which he alternately encouraged and defied. The whole history of the nineteenth century is mainly occupied in tracing its working.

The third great influence, that of Britain, may perhaps be connected with the two previous ones. Britain had been able to hold out against Napoleon; she had money, and liberty, and had had no Revolution. So one might sum up the British position as it appeared to Continental nations. What might Europe not learn from England? Moreover, though English liberty was largely a matter of tradition and conservatism rather than of new ideas, yet England provided the man whose ideas were to give a real basis, a principle for reform.

While France talked about the Rights of Man, and Napoleon constructed a remarkably efficient code, Jeremy Bentham was led on by his desire for reasonable and scientific legislation to the conclusion that lies at the bottom of all theories of self-government —that no laws can be good or durable unless they have the consent and active goodwill of the whole body of citizens. Bentham's desire to deal with the practical problems of crime and poverty in Britain brought him gradually to believe that the only logical qualification for a vote was the capacity to feel the

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Britain was slow, indeed, but the very fact that any progress was made was largely due to Bentham, and thus one is justified in counting him as one of the great influences which have gone to the remaking of Europe.

Very closely connected with the work of the French Revolution and of Bentham is the influence of the Romantic Revival in literature. Romanticism, or Naturalism as it is sometimes called, often seems to consist of very contradictory tendencies, but its main inspiration was the desire to get back to Nature, to the simple unspoiled individual, untouched by modern civilization.

Through many years of the eighteenth century Wesley had preached that religion was concerned, not so much with churches and institutions and theology, as with the working faith of the individual; Napoleon had opened up careers to talent, giving "the tools to him who can use them", breaking down distinctions of class and birth; Wilberforce and Howard and Burns had preached the doctrine that "a man's a man for a' that"—whether he were a ploughman, or a prisoner, or a slave. So in literature Wordsworth had shown how the real subjects of poetry, the things really worth thinking about, were the joys and griefs, the hopes and troubles of individual men and women, regardless of their position or importance in life.

Wordsworth is typical of a literary movement which was going on all over Europe in the early nineteenth century — a movement which drew its inspiration very largely from Rousseau, and which did much to win men's sympathy for the struggle for individual rights and liberties. Cruelty, inhumanity, negligence or injustice were most successfully combated by imaginative work, which made it possible for outsiders

to realize what suffering really meant to individual sufferers. A good and familiar example of the way in which literature thus helped on the cause of progress lies in the novels of Charles Dickens, which made men see for themselves the social evils and cruelties going on around them. Another less-known example is the work of Turgenieff, the Russian novelist, who described the miserable lot of the serfs. Romanticism had, however, another and perhaps a more prominent aspect. The same desire which led Wordsworth to look for the natural man in the Cumberland dalesmen, which made Rousseau glorify the noble savage running wild in the woods, led others to look back into history in search of simpler, nobler heroes, and more primitive emotions. This looking backward had two rather contradictory results.

On the one hand, it created a keen interest in mediæval history and legend, a firm conviction that no period of the world's history could be scorned, that no phase of human nature was unworthy of study. It will easily be seen how this developed into a reaction against the destructive tendencies of the French Revolution. The Monarchy, the Church, the Middle Ages could not be swept away by ardent reformers as if they were mere heaps of debris. They had in them elements of truth—above all, touches of colour and picturesqueness; hence many of the Romantics looked backward rather than forward. Especially, in France, they turned away from both the Revolution and the Empire, and were ardent champions of the old ideas of monarchy and divine right. Such men as Victor Hugo, Chateaubriand, Dumas, or Michelet (though to some extent the apostles of freedom and innovation) yet deliberately looked back to former ages and sought to revive elements of thought and life which had long been ignored or despised. Per-

haps it may be said that in great writers this reaction led to a wider and more complete view of life, while in the lesser men it was apt to degenerate into a mere fruitless glorification of the past.

On the other hand, Romanticism also showed a wonderful power of arousing national feeling, even among nations where that feeling seemed long since dead. Byron and Scott set the example of dwelling on the past glories of obscure or passive peoples; Byron, by his intense faith in the future of Greece and of Italy, deserves to be counted among the makers of modern Europe; Scott's unceasing interest in legend and folk-song showed how the memories of the past might be revived, how the cause of liberty and national independence had had its heroes centuries before.

Generally one may say that the literary came before the political revival, though occasionally both seem to have gone forward side by side. Thus in Germany the great national literature came before the uprising of the German nation. Goethe, and Schiller, and Lessing worked out the German ideal long before Bismarck. Heine and "Young Germany" adopted the ideas of the Revolution long before Germany was ready for a political or social revolution. The creation of the German Empire in 1871 had been preceded by an immense increase of interest in the Holy Roman Empire of the Middle Ages. German historians had worked side by side with Bismarck for the union of Germany. So, too, in the history of Austria-Hungary it has been shown how much of the nationalist feeling was due to historians and journalists; in Bohemia, in Illyria or Croatia, in Hungary or in Poland, a literary revival was the herald, often the cause of a political renaissance.

In Italy, thought and literature were a generation

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Socialism and Internationalism. By two means, the pressure of economic problems, and the growing desire for permanent peace, the international tendency has been strengthened. As the demand for national independence grew stronger, so grew up the need for some curb to international jealousies. This has been created, first, by an increasing realization that the economic interests of nations are not necessarily antagonistic, and that economic problems are much the same all the world over; secondly, by an immense growth of international relations, of international law, and an extension of the principle of Arbitration, leading up to the establishment of the Hague Conference.

To take the economic problems first. Some of the causes of the growth of Socialism have been dealt with in an earlier chapter, but they may be summarized again here.

The general result of the French Revolution was to place the individual face to face with the world, and leave him to fight his way as best he could. The motto of the early nineteenth century was *laissez-faire*—let economic laws work themselves out freely, and we will abide by the consequences. The method suited a Napoleon well enough; it suited, too, the commercial genius. But it worked disastrously with the ordinary man. When the old guild system was abolished, or decayed, the individual workman could make no fair bargain with his employer, and his wages fell to starvation point. Children of five or six worked for incredibly long hours in the factories; women were obliged to accept work for which they were physically unfit. Each generation that grew up under these conditions was likely to be weaklier and less efficient than the last. It was facts such as these which led, first, to the state regulation of

trade and industry, through such legislation as the Factory Acts, and secondly, to the various Socialist schemes, of which Louis Blanc's "Organization of Labour" is perhaps the best known. The idea underlying them all is that as individuals cannot be trusted to carry on industries without inflicting hardships and injustice on their workpeople, the whole organization of labour should be carried on by the State. It is important to remember that this is the fundamental theory of Socialism; individual Socialists differ amazingly in their ideas, and in the means they are willing to adopt in order to carry out their ideas. But the one point on which they all agree is that the State must undertake "the management of those economic instruments, such as land and industrial capital, that cannot be safely left in the hands of individuals".[1] The object of Socialism, too, almost all Socialists would agree to express in the formula of Bentham and John Stuart Mill, "the greatest good of the greatest number". It is easy to see how Socialism grew up out of the endeavour to improve the conditions of the poor; it is very much less easy to see whether it would really solve the difficulties with which it would have to grapple. But it is impossible to write the history of the nineteenth century without some attempt to explain what Socialism stands for.

Some account has been given of the practical French Socialism, working generally by experiments (see p. 26). The greatest theorist of the cause was, however, Karl Marx, a German.

In his book, *Capital*, Marx brushed away all the vagueness and uncertainty of earlier Socialists. He made many mistakes, even in the opinion of his own followers, but he explained absolutely clearly what he

[1] Ramsay Macdonald.

meant, and his book became a creed, accepted by Socialist working men all over Europe. He taught that wage earners must combine against the capitalists, with whom they must have an undying warfare; he showed how capital had grown, and how it might be taken over by the State; he taught that history ought always to be interpreted by economic motives. Although modern Socialists have parted company with Marx on many points, to him belongs the responsibility for the immense extension of the Socialist movement in Europe. As has been said, economic problems are the same in different countries, and it is claimed by Socialists that they are teaching men to forget national jealousies; even in Austria-Hungary, it is probable that the questions of the future will be economic rather than racial. Thus one may rank Socialism as one of the causes of the strong international tendency which has already been mentioned.

It must not, however, be supposed that Socialism alone has concerned itself with the improvement of social conditions. Socialism has its own special theory of the means by which changes should be carried out, but meantime the necessary work is being done by men of all parties. Napoleon III had a serious and practical interest in social and economic questions, and made many real improvements. Bismarck framed a "State Socialism" of his own, which is said to have immensely improved the conditions of life in Germany. Indeed, one of the most striking tendencies of modern Europe is the way in which social experiments are tried and passed on from one country to another.

Legislation to prevent the many abuses of the factory system has spread into almost every civilized State; education, health, and sanitation occupy an ever-increasing share of the legislators' attention;

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making Europe a group or family of nations, under the presidency or direction of France. The idea of the medieval Empire seemed to have attracted him. But the day of a dominant Empire was over. International relations have been systematized by other means. The Holy Alliance was an attempt to provide a substitute for war and insurrections; for the time the Congresses controlled European affairs. Napoleon III tried to assume the position of European arbiter, but he failed lamentably. The Congress of Berlin in 1878, and later Congresses, though they have served a useful purpose, and have averted wars, have not been conspicuously successful in solving some of the problems presented to them. Moreover, a Congress was only an occasional and voluntary gathering of the Powers, and could not be appealed to when difficulties first arose. Something more systematic was needed.

There had long been a feeling that Arbitration could settle many of the quarrels which had hitherto been fought out. But in order that Arbitration should become general, two or three preliminaries were essential. There must be an International Code of Law, to which all civilized nations would agree; there must be a fixed and impartial method of choosing the arbiters or judges; and there must be a general undertaking to abide by the award of the arbiters.

The first condition was perhaps the easiest to fulfil. Sailors and merchants have always felt the need for international law, and in some form or other it has almost always existed. During the seventeenth century much was written on the subject, and the idea of international law developed rapidly. Sometimes generally accepted rules were incorporated in treaties, such as the rules concerning neutral ships and neutral goods which were embodied in the Treaty of Paris

(see p. 179); sometimes a reasonable rule was simply tacitly accepted, and upheld by the lawyers. Doubtful cases were settled by arbitration, one of the most famous being the quarrel of Britain and the United States over the cruiser *Alabama*. Questions, too, of boundaries or fishing rights were referred to arbitration, and peaceably solved. Treaties were made between various States binding them to accept arbitration in all cases save those affecting national honour or existence. Chile and Argentina have now gone a step further, and have unconditionally undertaken to submit any dispute arising between them to arbitration. It has been suggested that Britain and the United States should make a similar undertaking; if such a treaty could be concluded it would be a great step towards securing the peace of the world.

In spite of the more frequent recourse to arbitration, the expenditure of European States on their armies and navies increased rapidly, and became an immense permanent burden on their finances.

In 1898, Nicholas II surprised Europe by asking for a conference to discuss the possibility of a general limitation of armaments. In 1899 the first "Hague Conference" met for this purpose. The Russian representatives called upon all nations to unite in securing so great a benefit; the French representative expressed his conviction that the object of civilization was "more and more to abolish the struggle for life between men, and to put in its stead an accord between them for the struggle against the unrelenting forces of matter". But the German spokesman declared that expenditure on the army and navy was a patriotic duty and satisfaction, and not a crushing burden; no one knew exactly what steps could be taken then and there, and the Conference broke up,

apparently a failure. Two good results, however, followed. The Conference agreed to appoint a permanent Court of Arbitration, the Hague Tribunal, to sit at the Hague. Appeals to this Court are optional, but its help is always available. One of the most notable cases which have been referred to it was the mistaken attack, during the Russo-Japanese war, made by part of the Russian fleet upon some British fishing boats. The attack was proved to be a mistake, and peace was maintained. The second valuable result was that the Conference agreed to meet again, and the second meeting, in 1907, found it far better prepared with practical ideas.

The Conference now includes most of the organized sovereign States in the world, and undoubtedly it has a great work before it. If it can in the future secure peace, or even a considerable lessening of war and the horrors of war, it will deserve to be ranked as the greatest development of the age.[1]

Another force which ought to work for peace is the increased knowledge of economic conditions throughout the world. It was partly the love of peace that inspired the Free Trade policy of Bright and Cobden, while more modern writers have tried, somewhat unconvincingly, to show that war among civilized nations is impossible owing to their close economic interdependence. But that time is not yet. It has been said that the characteristic work of the nineteenth century was "the revelation of the potent force of nationality". Is it, perhaps, unduly idealistic to hope that the twentieth century may be marked by its recognition of a world-wide community of interests which shall make for peace?

[1] The "League of Nations", established by the Peace Treaty of 1919, will, it is hoped, prove a much stronger safe-guard of peace than the Hague Conference could be.

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Such history as this is barely forgotten; a word to an old man, a little patience in listening to reminiscences, a question here and there, will bring it all back to us as living facts, as things which actually happened to real men and women.

The changes, too, are still going on. A new minister in Russia, the next Duma that meets, might make history almost as fast as the assemblies of the French Revolution. Norway, Denmark, Switzerland may make experiments in democratic government which will leave the "Mother of Parliaments" far behind. And all these changes are utterly unintelligible until one has learned something of the history of yesterday which merges into the politics of to-day. I have tried to suggest the questions that we may ask of the past, the expectations with which we may look to the future. In a word, I have tried to make the newspaper intelligible.

Note.—Perhaps this *Conclusion* may be left as it stood in 1913, since the time has not yet come in which to write a brief story of the Great War. But every reader will be only too keenly aware that within the five years 1914–19 he has himself lived through almost more "history" than is contained in the whole of this book, and will need the less urging to look backward as well as forward.

September, 1919.

APPENDICES

A. GENEALOGICAL TABLES.

B. EUROPEAN RULERS DURING THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

C. GLOSSARY OF SOME POLITICAL AND OTHER TERMS USED IN THIS BOOK.

D. BIBLIOGRAPHY.

E. SUMMARY OF FORMS OF GOVERNMENT IN EUROPE.

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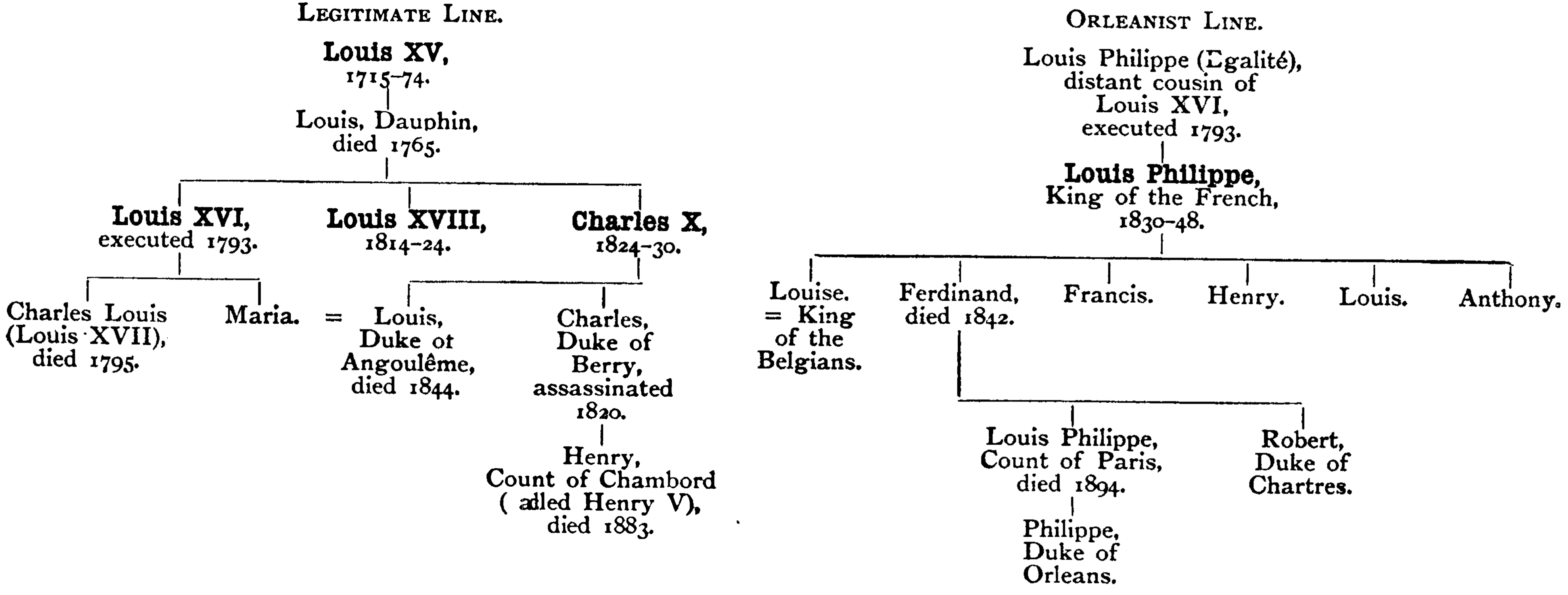
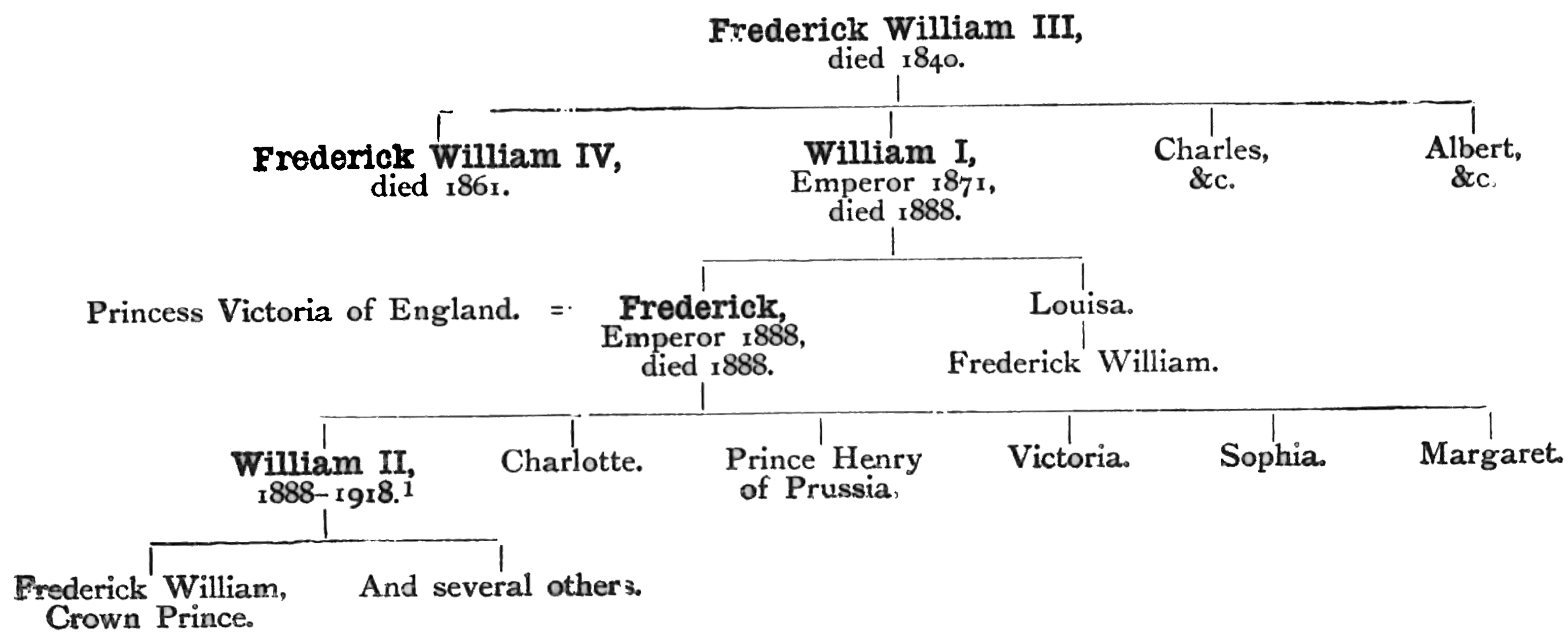


HOUSE OF HOHENZOLLERN



[1] Abdicated.

HOUSE OF SAVOY

Victor Amadeus III,
King of Sardinia,
1773–96.

Charles Emmanuel IV, 1796–1802.	Victor Emmanuel I, 1802–21.	Charles Felix, 1821–31.

Charles Emmanuel
(cousin of Charles Emmanuel IV).
|
Charles Albert,
1831–49.
|
Victor Emmanuel II,
1849–78
(King of Italy 1861).
|
Humbert I,
1878–1900.
|
Victor Emmanuel III,
1900–

APPENDIX B

EUROPEAN RULERS DURING THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

France

1814–1824. Louis XVIII.
1824–1830. Charles X.
1830–1848. Louis Philippe.

Second French Republic, 1848–1852.

President: Prince Louis Napoleon.

Second French Empire, 1852–1870.

Emperor of the French: Prince Louis Napoleon, as Napoleon III.

Third French Republic, 1870—to present day.

Presidents:

1871–1873. Thiers.
1873–1879. MacMahon.
1879–1887. Grévy.
1887–1894. Carnot.
1894–1895. Casimir-Périer
1895–1899. Faure.
1899–1906. Loubet.
1906–1913. Fallières.
1913– Poincaré.

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DENMARK

1808–1839.	Frederick VI (King also of Norway till 1814).
1839–1848.	Christian VIII.
1848–1863.	Frederick VII.
1863–1906.	Christian IX.
1906–1912.	Frederick VIII.
1912–	Christian X.

SPAIN

1813–1833.	Ferdinand VII.
1833–1868.	Isabella II.
1868–1870.	Provisional Government.
1870–1873.	Amadeo I.
1873–1874.	Republic.
1874–1885.	Alfonso XII.
1885–1886.	Queen Maria.
1886–	Alfonso XIII.

PORTUGAL

1816–1826.	John.
1826.	Pedro IV (abdicated).
1826–1828.	Maria II.
1828–1833.	Dom Miguel.
1833–1853.	Maria II (restored).
1853–1861.	Pedro V.
1861–1889.	Luis I.
1889–1908.	Dom Carlos.
1908–1910.	Manuel II.
1910–	Republic established.

RUSSIA

1801–1825.	Alexander I.
1825–1855.	Nicholas I.
1855–1881.	Alexander II.
1881–1894.	Alexander III.
1894–1917[1].	Nicholas II.

TURKEY

1808–1839.	Mahmud II.
1839–1861.	Abdul Mejid.
1861–1876.	Abdul Aziz.
1876.	Murad V.
1876–1908.	Abdul Hamid II.
1909–1918.	Mohammed V.
1918–	Mohammed VI.

[1] Revolution in Russia

APPENDIX C

GLOSSARY OF SOME POLITICAL AND OTHER TERMS USED IN THIS BOOK[1]

Budget. A statement of the probable revenue and expenditure for the coming year, presented by a Chancellor of the Exchequer or finance minister to a Lower House of Parliament.

Bundesrath. The German Federal Council, consisting of delegates from each of the separate States of the German Empire.

Clerical. In politics, a partisan of the rule, supremacy, or strong influence of the clergy.

Commune. (*a*) The Government on communalistic principles established in Paris by insurrection for a short time in 1871.

(*b*) A local division in France and elsewhere for administrative purposes.

Concordat. An agreement. Generally an agreement between Church and State, and especially between the See of Rome and a secular government relative to matters that concern both.

Constituent Assembly. An assembly which has power to frame a Constitution.

Constitution. The system or body of fundamental principles according to which a nation or state is constituted and governed.

Duma. The Russian Representative Assembly or Parliament. Also used for local assemblies, generally municipal.

Encyclical. A letter or circular issued by the Pope.

Executive. That part of the Government which is especially concerned with carrying out laws, decrees, and judicial sentences.

Federation. The formation of a political unity out of a number of separate states, provinces, or colonies, in such a way that each retains the management of its own affairs.

Franchise. The right or privilege of voting at public elections, especially for members of the legislature.

Indemnity. A sum paid by way of compensation for loss or damage.

Initiative. The right of a citizen or certain number of citizens to originate legislation, e.g. in Switzerland and in some of the United States of America.

Inquisition. An ecclesiastical tribunal formerly used by the Roman Catholic Church for the suppression of heresy and punishment of heretics.

[1] The definitions are generally taken from the *New English Dictionary*.

Legislature. The body of persons invested with the power of making the laws of a country or State; generally the two Houses of Parliament.

Mir. The Russian village community.

Plebiscite. A direct vote of the whole of the electors of a State to decide a question of public importance (see Referendum). The word Plebiscite seems to be used for a vote taken in extraordinary circumstances, while a Referendum is part of the ordinary machinery of government. The words are, however, often used as interchangeable.

Porte. Generally the "Sublime Porte". The Turkish Government or ministry.

Proportional Representation. An attempt to secure, by a different arrangement of votes, that minorities within given districts shall obtain some representatives.

Referendum. A vote of the whole body of electors, generally on legislation submitted to them for approval.

Reichstag. The Representative body of the Legislature of the German Empire, elected by manhood suffrage for the whole Empire.

Salic Law. An ancient law prevalent in France and some other countries which forbade women to succeed to the throne.

Self-government. A government in which laws are made by or with the consent of the majority of the people.

States-General. A name for a Representative Assembly; used in France before the Revolution; still survives in Holland as the name for the Dutch Parliament.

Suffrage. Originally a vote or voice. Generally used for the possession of a vote; e.g. universal suffrage = the possession of a vote by every citizen.

Temporal Power (*gen.*). The power of the Pope to rule persons and territories as sovereign, as well as in his capacity of ecclesiastical superior. One can also distinguish the temporal and spiritual power of the Sultan.

Ukase. An order issued by the Tsar of Russia which had the force of law.

Veto. The right possessed by some monarchs in Europe of preventing the passing of a law. The veto may be (*a*) final; (*b*) lasting only for one or two sessions of Parliament.

Volost. A Russian division composed of ten or more Mirs, grouped together for judicial purposes.

Zemstvo. A representative local body in Russia.

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APPENDIX E. SUMMARY OF

	Form of Government.	Head of Government.	Executive.
GREAT BRITAIN.	Constitutional Monarchy.	King.	Cabinet.
FRANCE.	Republic.	President of the French Republic.	Cabinet.
GERMAN EMPIRE.[1]	Federal Empire.	Emperor.	Chancellor.
ITALY.	Constitutional Monarchy.	King.	Cabinet.
AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.[1]	Dual Monarchy (Constitutional).	Emperor of Austria, and King of Hungary.	Cabinet in Austria. Cabinet in Hungary. Joint ministry for Austria-Hungary.
RUSSIA.[1]	Autocracy, ? Limited by grant of Duma.	Tsar of all the Russias.	Council.
SWITZERLAND.	Federal Republic.	No President.	Federal Council (Seven Ministers).
NORWAY.	Constitutional Monarchy.	King.	Council.
SWEDEN.	Constitutional Monarchy.	King.	Cabinet.
DENMARK.	Constitutional Monarchy.	King.	Cabinet.
SPAIN.	Constitutional Monarchy.	King.	Cabinet.
PORTUGAL.	Republic.	President	Cabinet.
TURKEY.	Constitutional and Theocratic Monarchy.	Sultan.	Cabinet.
RUMANIA.	Constitutional Monarchy.	King.	Council of Ministers.
BULGARIA.	Constitutional Monarchy.	King.	Cabinet.
SERVIA.	Constitutional Monarchy.	King.	Cabinet.
MONTENEGRO.	Constitutional Monarchy.	King.	Council.
GREECE.	Constitutional Monarchy.	King of the Hellenes.	Cabinet.
BELGIUM.	Constitutional Monarchy.	King.	Cabinet.
HOLLAND.	Constitutional Monarchy.	King (or Queen).	Cabinet.
MONACO. SAN MARINO. ANDORRA.	Tiny semi-independent States.	—	—

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Note.—The entries under Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Russia have been left as in 1914 in order to correspond with the account of the Constitutions given in Chapter XII. Actually (1919) Germany is now a Republic; German-Austria is a Republic; a new Republic, Czecho-Slovakia, has been formed from Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, and Slovakia; Poland has been recognized as an independent State; Russia has as yet no settled Government.

The other entries have been revised where necessary.

INDEX

Abdul Aziz, Sultan of Turkey, 215, 216.
— Hamid II, Sultan of Turkey, 217, 218, 221, 222, 223, 225.
— Mejid, Sultan of Turkey, 212, 214, 215, 216.
Abyssinia, 87.
Academy of Sciences, Hungarian, 144.
Adrianople, 169, 218.
— Treaty of (1829), 207.
Adriatic Sea, 141, 159, 218.
Ægean Sea, 218.
Afghanistan, 190.
Africa, 62, 129, 256.
Agram, 140, 142, 148.
Agricultural Society in Poland, 184.
Aix-la-Chapelle, Congress of, 14.
Alabama dispute, 303.
Albania, Albanians, 200, 218, 223–6.
Albert I, King of the Belgians, 257.
Alexander I, Prince of Bulgaria, 227.
— — Emperor of Russia, 7, 12–4, 17, 138, 166–8, 189, 194, 196, 204–6, 233, 291.
— II, Emperor of Russia, 105, 178–89, 193, 196.
— III, Emperor of Russia, 189–96.
— I, King of Servia, 209.
Alexandria, 222.
Alfonso XII, King of Spain, 242–4.
— XIII, King of Spain, 244–6.
Algeria, 19, 62.
Algiers, the Dey of, 19.
Ali, Pasha of Janina, 201, 204.
Alma, 174.
Alps, 9, 70, 77, 133.
Alsace-Lorraine, 9, 11, 47, 60, 114, 119, 127.
Amadeus I, King of Spain, 241–2.
America, 5, 25, 144, 151, 229, 245, 257, 271.
— South, 57, 67, 70, 73, 233–5.
Amundsen, Captain, 254.
Andrassy, Count, 157, 215, 216.
Angoulême, Duke of, 18, 234.
Annam, 38.
Antivari, 228.
Antwerp, 255.
Apennines, 73.
Arabia, 201.
Arabi Pasha, 222.
Arad, 151, 152.
Aragon, 230.
Arbitration, Court of International. *See* Hague Conference.
Arc de Triomphe, 25, 47.
Arenenburg Castle, 23.
Argentina, 303.
Armenia, 200, 201, 223, 225.
Asia, 133, 162, 166, 187, 190, 197, 199.
Asia Minor, 201, 211, 225.
Aspromonte, 83.
"Associations for Worship", 60.
"Associations Law", 58, 59.
Athens, 206, 207.
Atlantic Ocean, 55, 70.
Augsburg, 23.
Augustenberg, the Duke of, 106.
Austria, 3, 8, 9, 11, 13, 14, 24, 34, 37, 39–41, 61, 64, 66, 69, 70, 72, 74–7, 83, 86–8, 90, 93, 94, 97–100, 102, 103, 105–10, 128, 129, 132–62, 174, 177, 206, 210, 212, 214–6, 220, 228, 233, 234, 251, 263, 272, 277–82, 301.
— -Hungary, 132–62, 200, 209, 215, 221, 225, 277–81, 290, 296, 300.

Austro-Hungarian War (1849), 149–52, 305.

Babeuf, 28.
Bach, 154, 155.
"Bach's Hussars", 154.
Baden, 89, 92, 109, 272, 277.
Balaclava, 174, 176.
Balkan League, War of the, 306.
— Peninsula, 128, 139, 158–9, 169, 172, 187, 199–228.
— States, 172, 190, 218, 223, 224, 226–8.
Baltic provinces, 171, 193, 194, 197.
— Sea, 162.
Banks, Land, 191.
Barbarossa, the Emperor Frederick, 88.
Barcelona, 244.
Basques, the, 237–9, 243.
Battenberg, Prince Alexander of. *See* Alexander I, Prince of Bulgaria.
— Princess Ena of, 246.
Batthyany, Count, 147, 152, 153.
Bavaria, 7, 89, 92, 94, 109, 113, 114, 272, 277.
Bazaine, General, 44, 46, 112.
Belfort, 46, 47, 114, 115.
Belgium, 10, 11, 12, 55, 110, 254–7, 260, 289.
Belgrade, 141.
Benedetti, 40, 111, 112.
Bentham, Jeremy, 212, 292–4, 299.
Beresford, Viscount, 246.
Berlin, 42, 92, 96, 99, 112, 125, 128.
— the Congress of, 86, 128, 159, 220, 302.
— Memorandum, 216.
— the Treaty of, 128, 187, 208, 221, 228.
Bernadotte, Marshal, 251.
Berne, 259.
Berry, the Duke of, 18.
Bessarabia, 10, 218, 221.
Biarritz, 107.
Bible in Spain, 293, note.
Bilbao, 238, 239.
Bill of Rights, 5.
Bismarck, Otto von, 39–41, 45, 47, 60, 61, 83, 86, (quoted) 88, 91–7, 99–129, 155, 185, 190, 194, 215, 220, 272, 274–5, 296, 297, 300.
Bittenfeld, General von, 108.
Black Sea, 162, 179, 207, 211, 214, 218.
Blanc, Louis, 26–9, 31, 299.
Bobrikoff, General, 195.
Bohemia, 108, 132, 135, 142, 147, 153, 154, 296.
Bologna, 78.
"Bomba", 64, 71.
Bonaparte, Jerome, King of Westphalia, 9, 89.
— Joseph, King of Spain, 230, 233.
— Louis, King of Holland, 22.
Bonapartes, the, 22, 25, 51, 76.
Bonapartists, 17, 18, 22, 25, 267.
Bordeaux, 45, 46, 48.
Borrow, George, 293.
Bosnia, 159, 215, 216, 221, 225.
Bosphorus, 207.
Boulanger, General, 54, 264.
Boulogne, 25.
Bourbaki, General, 47.
Bourbons of France, 15, 21, 50, 51, 54, 230.
— of Naples, 10, 71.
Brandenburg, 91, 97.
— Count of, 97.
Brazil, 246, 247.
Brescia, 152.
Bright, John, 304.
Britain, 1–5, 8, 10, 13, 14, 20, 23, 26, 29, 35, 37, 38, 41, 59, 61, 62, 75, 76, 86, 88, 92, 93, 101, 106, 107, 111, 120, 125, 129, 130, 132, 134, 145, 147, 151, 163, 169, 173–8, 185, 187, 190, 199, 206–8, 211–4, 216, 217, 220, 222, 223, 230, 231, 232, 234, 238, 240, 247, 256–7, 262, 266, 278, 289, 291–4, 303.
Broglie, the Duke de, 53.
Browning, Elizabeth Barrett, (quoted) 7, 65.
Brussels, 255.
Budapest, 140, 144, 147, 148, 150, 280.
Bulgaria, 209, 218, 220, 221, 223, 225, 226–7, 297.
"Bulgarian Atrocities", 217.
Bulgars, 200, 220, 223, 224, 226–7.
Bundesrath, 272, 273–4, 275.
Burma, 61.
Burns, Robert, 294.

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Civita Vecchia, 73, 84.
Clarke, Butler, (quoted) 229.
Clerical party, Clericalism, 37, 38, 40, 52, 53, 57, 58, 75, 77, 116, 122, 123, 241, 269, 287.
Clotilde of Savoy (daughter of Victor Emmanuel II), 76.
Cobden, Richard, 304.
Cochin-China, 38, 61.
Code Napoléon, 118.
Combes, Émile, 59.
Commons, House of, 264, 265, 278.
Commonwealth in England, 157.
Commune, 49–50.
Communists, 49.
Como, Lake, 77.
"Compromise" of 1867, 156, 157–8, 277.
Concordat of Napoleon I, 52.
— — 1851, the Spanish, 240.
Concorde, Place de la, 47.
Congo, 62, 256–7.
"Congresses, the Age of", 13.
— European, 13, 14, 37, 38, 75, 76, 128, 138, 166, 302.
Consalvi, Cardinal, 8.
Conservatism, Conservatives, 95, 96, 108, 116, 124, 126, 198, 258, 266, 292.
Constance, Lake, 23.
Constantine, Viceroy of Poland, 184.
— brother of Alexander I of Russia, 168, 170.
Constantinople, 1, 159, 163, 169, 187, 199, 200, 205, 210, 211, 215–8, 223–6.
Constitutional Government, 5, 6, 13, 15, 289–90.
— — in Austria, 147, 153–60, 277–81.
— — — Belgium, 255, 289.
— — — Britain, 5, 16, 261–3, 289.
— — — Croatia, 161, 279.
— — — Denmark, 106, 249–50.
— — — Finland, 167, 194–6.
— — — France, 16–7, 21–2, 33, 36, 54, 263–7.
— — — Germany, 90–2, 95–9, 110, 115, 143, 271–7.
— — — Hungary, 134–5, 143, 146, 147, 150, 156, 157, 277, 279–80.
— — — Italy, 68, 69, 267–71.
— — — Norway, 250–1, 287.
Constitutional Government in Poland, 167, 170–1, 184.
— — — Portugal, 246–8, 287.
— — — Russia, 168, 197–9, 288.
— — — Spain, 111, 230–6, 238–41, 243, 287.
— — — Sweden, 252–3, 287–8.
— — — Switzerland, 259, 281–6.
— — — Turkey, 217, 221, 224–6, 288.
Constitutions, flexible and rigid, 5, 54, 261, 262, 289, 290.
Convention, the French National, 3.
Cortes, the Spanish, 230–3, 236–8, 240, 241, 287.
Cossacks, 189.
Council, the Swiss National, 284.
— of States, the Swiss, 284.
County Congregations of Hungary, 134, 143, 146, 156.
Crete, 173, 208, 223.
Crimea, 174, 214.
Crimean War, 37, 75, 102, 155, 172, 173–9, 214–5.
Crispi, 87.
Croatia, Croats, 133, 136, 141, 142, 148–51, 153, 154, 161, 279, 280, 296.
Crusaders, 199–200.
Cuba, 243, 244, 245.
Cumberland, 295.
Customs Union. *See* Zollverein.
Custozza, the first battle of, 70, 71, 147, 149.
— the second battle of, 83.
Czechs, 135, 136, 142, 153, 154, 157, 160, 278.

Dalmatia, 9, 11, 133, 137, 141.
Damascus, 211.
Dante, 66.
Danube, the river, 133, 144, 158, 159, 169, 174, 179.
Dardanelles, 172, 211.
Dead Souls, 179.
Deák, Francis, 143, 145–8, 150, 153, 156, 157.
Debreczin, 150.
December 2, Coup d'état of, 36.
"Delegations" of Austria-Hungary, 158, 159, 280–1.
Demerara, 10.

Denmark, 7, 11, 41, 100, 106, 107, 208, 249–50, 297, 306.
— Prince Charles of. *See* Haakon VII, King of Norway.
— Prince George of. *See* George I, King of Greece.
Deputies, French Chamber of, 20, 58, 264–6.
— Italian Chamber of, 268–9, 270.
— Table of, 279.
Devil's Island, 57.
Dickens, Charles, 295.
Diet, at Frankfort, 97, 99, 100, 102, 108, 138, 272.
— the Hungarian, 134–6, 143–8, 150, 151, 154.
— the Swedish, 252.
— the Swiss Central, 259.
Diploma, the October, 155–6.
Directory, The, 3.
Disraeli, Benjamin, 61, 105, 217.
Dobrudja, 218–21.
Draga, Queen of Servia, 209.
Drake, Francis, 229.
Drave, the river, 149.
Dreyfus, Captain, 56–8.
"Dual Control", the, 222.
— Monarchy, 132, 136, 158, 159.
Duma, the Russian, 198, 288, 306.
Dumas, Alexandre, 295.

East, the Near, 129, 202, 223.
"Eastern Question", 128, 139, 159, 173, 216.
East Mark, 133.
Edward I, King of England, 230.
Egypt, 61, 173, 201, 206, 212, 221–2.
Eidsvold, 250, 251.
Elba, 8, 12, 15, 16.
Elliot, 238.
Emperor of Austria, 278, 279, 280, 281.
Ems, 111.
England. *See* Britain.
"Entente Cordiale", 61.
Eötvos, 147.
Espartero, General, 238–9, 241.
Estates-General of Prussia, 95, 96.
Eugénie, the Empress, 37, 40, 45, 75.
Exarch of the Bulgarian Church, 200, 227.

Factory Laws, 192, 299, 300.
Falloux, Loi, 35.
Fashoda incident, 61.
Faure, President, 56.
Favre, Jules, 39, 45, 47.
Federal Assembly of Austria-Hungary, 278, 280–1.
— — — Switzerland, 284, 285, 286.
— Council of Switzerland, 284, 285.
— Parliament, 108.
Federalism, 260, 271–2, 280–1, 282–6, 290.
Ferdinand of Austria, Holy Roman Emperor and King of Hungary, 134.
— I, Emperor of Austria, 137, 139, 142, 147, 148, 149, 153.
— I, King of Bulgaria, 225, 227.
— I, King of the Two Sicilies, 10, 14, 262.
— II, King of the Two Sicilies, 64, 68, 70, 71, 74, 78.
— VII, King of Spain, 10, 14, 18, 232–6, 262.
— of Spain (son of Charles IV), 230.
Ferry, Jules, 53, 54, 61.
Finland, Finns, 10, 12, 162, 167, 193–6.
"Flemish Movement", 256.
Florence, 65, 83, 270.
Fourier, 28.
France, 3, 4, 8, 9, 11–63, 66, 72, 75–8, 80, 85, 89–91, 93, 95, 103, 107, 110–5, 128–30, 163, 164, 169, 170, 172–4, 179, 185, 191, 207, 208, 212, 214, 220, 222, 223, 230, 231, 233, 234, 238–41, 255, 256, 261–7, 269, 270, 282, 293, 295, 302.
— Anatole, 57.
Francis I, Emperor of Austria, 7, 12, 136–9, 143.
— Duke of Modena, 66. [80.
— II, King of the Two Sicilies, 79,
— Joseph, Emperor of Austria, 77, 103, 106, 109, 132, 149, 150, 157, 160, 161, 162, 172, 305.
Franco-Prussian War, 11, 40–8, 60, 84, 111–5, 129, 241, 263, 272.
Frankfort, 48, 90, 100, 104, 106, 109, 115, 172.
— National Parliament at, 97–9, 100, 143.

Frederick VI, King of Denmark, 249.
— VII, King of Denmark, 249–50.
— VIII, King of Denmark, 250.
— the Great, King of Prussia, 88, 91, 94, 99.
— III, German Emperor, 42, 60, 106, 108, 109, 112, 125–6.
— Charles of Prussia, 42, 46, 108, 112.
— William I, King of Prussia, 88.
— — III, King of Prussia, 12, 91, 93.
— — IV, King of Prussia, 94–100, 102–4, 172, 263.
Free Trade, 38, 120, 304.
Friedland, the Battle of, 89.

Gaeta, 72, 80, 81.
Gaj, Louis, 141, 148.
Galicia, 9, 11, 132, 135.
Gambetta, Léon, 45, 46, 48, 50, 52, 53, 113.
Garibaldi, Anita, 73, 74.
— Joseph, 35, 41, 63, 64, 67, 69, 70, 72–4, 76–81, 83–5, 87, 156, 269, 305.
Gastein, the Convention of, 107.
Gaul, 1.
Geneva, 10.
Genoa, 10.
George V, King of England, 305.
— I, King of Greece, 208.
German Confederation, 90, 94, 98, 106, 108, 109, 113.
— Emperor, 272–6.
— Empire, 34, 47, 114–6, 118, 119, 123, 126, 128, 143, 271–3, 275, 276, 290, 296.
Germania, 283.
Germany, 1–3, 9, 11, 14, 17, 23, 34, 39, 40, 42, 57, 60–3, 83, 86, 88–130, 133, 137, 138, 143, 158, 167, 172, 191, 216, 220, 223, 258, 271–7, 281, 282, 296, 300.
— South, 95, 97, 109–11, 113, 121, 133, 138.
Gioberti, 297.
Gladstone, William Ewart, 71, 74, 78, 217, 228, 289.
Goderich ministry, 207.
Gödöllö, the Battle of, 150.
Goethe, 89, 296.
Gogol, 179.
Golden Bull of 1222, 279.
Gorgei, General, 150–1, 152, 305.
Gottingen, 92.
Gravelotte, Battle of, 44, 112.
Great Germany party, 98.
Greece, Greeks, 92, 169, 200, 204–8, 210, 221, 223, 224, 296.
— Prince George of, 223.
Greek Church. *See* Orthodox Church.
— Independence, 24, 67, 167, 204–7, 209, 210.
Grévy, Jules, 53.
Grotius (quoted), 290.
"Group System", 265–6, 268.
Guarantees, Law of, 85.
Guizot, 29, 30, (quoted) 48.
Gustavus V, King of Sweden, 253.
Gypsies, 200.

Haakon VII, King of Norway, 253, 287.
Hague Conference or Tribunal, 197, 258, 260, 298, 303–4.
Ham, the Castle of, 26.
Hanover, 108, 109.
Hapsburgs, the, 137, 140, 142, 152, 153, 155.
Hardenberg, 92.
Havlicek, 142.
Haynau, General, 151–2.
Heine, Heinrich, 296.
Heligoland, 10.
Herzegovina, 159, 215, 216, 221, 225.
Hesse, 109, 272.
— Darmstadt, 109.
"Hetairia Philike", 204.
History of Ten Years, 26.
Hohenzollern, Prince Charles of. *See* Charles I, King of Rumania.
— Prince Leopold of, 111, 241.
Hohenzollerns, the, 111.
Holland, 3, 10–2, 22, 137, 254, 255, 257, 258, 260, 289.
Holstein, 100, 107, 108, 109, 250.
Holy Alliance, the, 13, 138, 167, 233, 234, 302.
"Holy Places", 173, 214.
— Roman Emperor, 63, 134, 136.
— — Empire, 2, 9, 88, 134, 271, 296, 302.

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Liberalism, Liberals, 14, 29, 30, 34, 58, 91–5, 97, 99, 103, 104, 110, 113, 116, 121, 122, 125, 137, 143, 146–9, 154, 156, 167, 183, 184, 188, 189, 197–9, 216, 217, 224, 225, 229, 231, 232, 235, 237, 238, 241, 247, 249, 250, 255, 258, 259, 266, 276, 287.
Liberation, the War of, 90, 91.
Light Brigade, 176, 305.
Lisbon, 248.
Lissa, 83.
Little Germany party, 98.
Loire, the river, 46.
Lombardy, 9, 37, 66, 69, 70, 74, 77, 86, 103, 137, 147, 282, 301.
London, 25, 33, 35, 83, 104, 152, 255, 305.
— Convention or Treaty of (1827), 207, 212.
Lords, House of, 261, 264.
Loubet, President, 56.
Louis XIV, King of France, 2, 3.
— XVI, King of France, 16.
— XVII (the Dauphin), 16.
— XVIII, King of France, 9, 13, 16–9, 234, 236.
— I, King of Portugal, 247.
— Napoleon, Prince. *See* Napoleon III.
— Philippe, King of the French, 21, 22, 24, 25, 29, 30, 48, 240.
Louisa of Spain, sister of Isabel II, 240.
Lucca, 65.
Lucerne, 259, 283.
Lunéville, 44.
Luther, Martin, 88.
Lutherans, 171.
Luxemburg Palace, 31.
Lyons, 27, 45, 56.

Macdonald, Ramsay (quoted), 299.
Macedonia, Macedonians, 200, 208, 209, 220, 221, 223–4, 225.
MacMahon, Marshal, 44, 50, 51, 53, 112.
Madame Royale (Duchess of Angoulême), 16.
Madrid, 232, 234, 237, 240.
Magenta, the Battle of, 77, 155.
Maggiore, Lake, 77.
Magnates, Table of, 279.
Magyars, 133, 135, 136, 142, 143, 145, 146, 148, 150, 157, 160, 161, 194, 279–80.
Mahmud II, Sultan of Turkey, 206, 207, 210–3.
Main, the river, 272.
Malakoff, 177.
Malta, 10.
Manchuria, 197.
Manila Bay, 245.
Manin, Daniel, 69, 72.
Manuel II, King of Portugal, 248.
Manzoni, 297.
Marathon, 228.
Marchand, Captain, 61.
Marches, the, 80.
March Laws, 153, 156, 157.
Maria II, Queen of Portugal, 246–7.
— Christina, Queen Regent of Spain (1833–43), 235–40.
— Christina, Queen Regent of Spain (1885–1904), 244.
— Theresa, Empress, 135.
Marie Antoinette, 16.
— Louise of Austria (wife of Napoleon I), 23, 65.
Marsala, 79.
Marseilles, 17.
Martinez de la Rosa, 236.
Marx, Karl, 39, 299–300.
Maximilian of Austria (Emperor of Mexico), 38.
"May Laws", 121–3.
Mazzini, Joseph, 35, 67, 72, 73, 79, 87, 291, 297, 305.
Mecklenburg, Prince Henry of, 258.
Mehemet Ali, of Egypt, 201, 206, 210, 211, 212, 221.
Melikoff, General Loris, 188–9.
Memoirs of a Huntsman, 179.
Menshikoff, General, 174.
Mentana, 84.
Meredith, George (quoted), 63.
Merv, 187.
Messina, 71.
Metternich, 8, 13, 14, 29, 69, 87, 90, 91, 92, 125, 128, 137–9, 146, 147, 154, 167, 205, 233, 272.
Metz, 42, 44, 46, 49, 112, 114.
Mexico, the Latin Empire in, 38.
Michelet, 295.
Middle Ages, 2, 63, 162, 279, 281, 295, 296.

Midhat Pasha, 216, 217.
Miguel of Portugal, 246–7.
Milan, 37, 66, 69, 70, 140.
Miliutin, 180.
Mill, John Stuart, 299.
Minna von Barnhelm, 89.
"Mir", the, 181–2.
Mirrors, Gallery of, 114.
Missolonghi, 205, 206.
Modena, 65, 77, 78.
Moderate party, 237, 238.
Mohammed, 201, 288.
— V, Sultan of Turkey, 225.
Mohammedanism, Mohammedans, 200–2, 213, 223, 288.
Moldavia, 169, 174, 179, 204, 207, 210, 215.
Molé, 30.
Moltke, Marshal, 41, 42, 45, 107, 109, 111, 112.
Monarchists in France, 35, 48, 50, 55.
Monarchy, 17–9, 21, 22, 25, 29, 31, 33, 48, 87, 93, 95, 96, 101, 151, 229, 235, 236, 249, 255, 262, 269, 287, 289, 295.
Mongol races, 162.
Montenegro, 141, 209, 215, 216, 218, 220, 227–8, 289, 290.
Montesquieu, 15.
Monte Video, 67, 72.
Montpensier, the Duke of, 240.
Mont Valérien, Battle of, 47.
Monza, 85.
Moral aud Civil Primacy of the Italians, 297.
Moravia, 132, 149, 152.
Morea, 204, 205, 207.
Morocco, 130, 201.
Moscow, 166, 171.
Murad V, Sultan of Turkey, 216, 217.
Murat, Joachim, King of Naples, 9.

Nagysarlo, the Battle of, 150.
Nansen, Dr., 254. [270.
Naples, 14, 64, 71, 72, 80, 81, 167,
Napoleon I, Emperor of the French, 1, 3, 4, 6–10, 12, 15–8, 21–5, 32, 46, 52, 54, 65, 89, 90, 135, 141, 166, 168, 229, 230, 232, 246, 249, 271, 291, 292, 294, 297, 298, 301, 302.
Napoleon III, Emperor of the French, 12, (quoted) 15, 22, 23, 25, 26, 32–45, 48, 54, 75–80, 83, 84, 101, 103, 107–13, 155, 156, 173, 178, 214, 292, 300, 302, 305.
— the Prince Imperial, 48, 51.
— Louis (brother of Napoleon III), 22.
Napoleonic Empire, 12, 15, 33, 37, 39, 40, 41, 45, 295.
Narvaez, General, 239, 240.
Nassau, 109.
National Assembly of Prussia, 96, 97.
— Convention of South Germany, 97.
— Guard, 19, 20, 30, 49.
Nationality, National Spirit, 3, 6, 24, 67, 69, 74, 87, 95–6, 107, 110, 113, 134–6, 138–45, 148–9, 153, 154, 158–61, 184–5, 201–9, 215, 218, 226, 252–3, 292, 296–8, 304.
Navarino, the Battle of, 19, 169, 207.
Navy League, 130.
Netherlands, 9, 13, 137, 258.
Neufchâtel, 10.
New York, 76, 271.
Nice, 63, 70, 76, 78, 79, 81.
Nicholas I, Emperor of Russia, 100, 102, 151, 152, 165, 168–74, 177–9, 189, 196, 214.
— II, Emperor of Russia, 195–9, 262, 303.
Nightingale, Florence, 177.
Nihilism, Nihilists, 183, 186, 187, 189–92, 218.
Nile, the river, 61.
North German Confederation, 109, 110, 272.
— Italian Kingdom. *See* Piedmont.
Norway, 10, 11, 249, 250–4, 260, 287, 306.
Notre Dame, 49.
Novara, the Battle of, 70, 97.

Obrenovich, Milosh, 209.
"Octobrists", 198.
Odelsthing, 287.
O'Donnell, 233, 241.
"Old Believers", 171.
"Old Catholics", 121.

Ollivier, Emile, 39.
Olmutz, Conference of, 100, 101, 154.
Opposition, Parliamentary, 265, 267.
Orange, House of, 254, 255.
— Prince of, 10.
Ordinances of 1830, 19, 20.
Organization of Labour, 27, 28, 299.
Orleans, the Duchess of, 30.
Orthodox Church, the Bulgarian, 200, 226.
— — — Greek, 139, 158, 161, 163, 167, 169, 171, 173, 185, 190, 194, 200, 204.
Oscar I, King of Sweden and Norway, 252.
— II, King of Sweden and Norway, 252–3.
Otto I, Holy Roman Emperor, 133.
— — King of Greece, 207, 208.
Oudinot, General, 35, 73.

Pacific Ocean, 55, 129, 188, 244.
Palacky, 142.
Palais Bourbon, 265.
— Royale, 30.
Palermo, 71, 79, 270.
Palestine, 173, 214.
Palmerston, Lord, 29, 78, 178, 293.
Panama Canal, 26, 55.
Panslavism, 142.
Papacy, 53, 59, 63, 65, 72, 80, 82–5, 87, 270–1.
Papal States, the, 29, 69, 76, 84.
Paris, 4, 16, 17, 19, 20, 25, 27, 30–3, 37, 38, 40, 42, 44–50, 56, 57, 59, 60, 95, 96, 112–5, 170, 172.
— the Archbishop of, 49.
— the Congress of, 75, 155.
— the Count of, 30, 48, 50.
— the Second Peace of, 17.
— Siege of, 45–8, 113–5, 305.
— the Treaty of (1856), 178–9, 213, 214, 216, 302.
Parliament, the Austrian, 278–9.
— the Hungarian, 279–80.
Parma, 65, 77.
Paskievich, 151.
Patent, the February, 155–9.
Patriarch of the Orthodox Church, 163, 200, 205, 226.
Pattison, Mark (quoted), 290.
Pedro IV, King of Portugal (Pedro I, Emperor of Brazil), 246–7.
— V, King of Portugal, 247.
Pellico, Silvio, 297.
Peninsular War, 229, 231, 246.
Persia, 291.
Pesth Gazette, 145.
Peter the Great, 163, 204.
Petition of Right, 5.
Philip II, King of Spain, 230.
— V, King of Spain, 230, 236.
Philippine Islands, 244–5.
Piedmont, 10, 12, 66, 68, 70, 71, 74, 75–8, 80, 81, 262.
Pilo, Rosalino, 79.
Pitt, William (the younger), 4.
Pius IX, Pio Nono, 29, 35, 37, 67–70, 72–5, 80, 84, 86, 123.
— X, 59, 60, 86.
Plevna, 218.
Plombières, the Treaty of, 37, 75.
Pobedonostzeff, 190.
Poland, 9, 10, 12, 13, 29, 38, 105, 140, 167, 170, 171, 183–6, 193–4, 197, 296.
Poles in Austria-Hungary, 135–6, 142, 160, 278, 280.
Polignac, Prince, 19.
Pomerania, Swedish, 9.
Pope, the, 8, 37, 50, 52, 65, 67, 82, 84, 85, 86, 121, 163, 201, 226, 240, 242, 243, 270–1.
Pope, Alexander (quoted), 260.
Portugal, 10, 236, 238, 246–8, 287, 290.
Posen, 9.
Powers, the European, 4, 12, 14, 138, 173, 179, 185, 233, 257, 258, 260.
— and the Eastern Question, 201, 205–8, 210–2, 214–8, 220, 222–4, 227.
"Pragmatic Sanction", 135, 142, 280.
— — of 1830, 236.
Prague, 140, 142, 147, 149, 152.
— the Treaty of, 109.
Prater, 7.
President of the French Republic, 264, 266.
Press, freedom of the, 16, 20, 35, 92, 106, 124, 139, 183, 193, 195–6, 240, 278.

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220, 221, 223, 227, 234, 278, 288, 291, 292, 297, 306.
Russo-Japanese War, 62, 197, 304.
Ruthenians, 160.

Saarbrücken, Battle of, 44.
Sadowa, the Battle of. *See* Königgrätz.
Sagasta, 244.
Sahara Desert, 62.
Salic Law, 16, 236.
Salisbury, Lord, 227.
Salonika, 216, 225.
San Stefano, the Treaty of, 128, 218, 220, 223.
Santiago de Cuba, 245.
Saracens, 230.
Sardinia, 12, 66.
Savoy, 17, 66, 76, 78.
Saxe-Coburg, Prince Ferdinand of. *See* Ferdinand I, King of Bulgaria.
— Prince Leopold of. *See* Leopold I, King of the Belgians.
Saxony, 9, 94.
— Crown Prince of, 44.
Scandinavia, 249–54.
Schiller, 89, 296.
Schleswig, 107, 108, 250.
Schleswig-Holstein Question, 38, 100, 106–9, 250.
Schönhausen, 91, 92, 95.
Schwarzenberg, 99, 100, 149, 150, 153.
Scotland, 132.
Scott, Sir Walter, 296.
Scutari, 177.
Sebastopol, 174–7.
Sedan, Battle of, 45, 49, 112.
Seine, the, 20.
Senate, the French, 264.
— — Italian, 268.
Separation, Act of, 59.
Septennate Law, 51.
Serbs, 136, 141, 142, 200, 209, 215, 223, 224.
Serfdom, 164–5, 178–81.
Serrano, General, 241.
Servia, 159, 169, 208–10, 215–8, 220, 223, 226, 227.
Seven Years' War, 88.
Shipka Pass, 218.
Siam, 61.
Siberia, 166, 171, 188, 192.
Sicilies, the Kingdom of the Two, 64, 65, 74, 79, 137, 246, 262.
Sicily, 10, 14, 64, 68, 71, 78, 79, 83.
Silistria, 174.
Simplon Pass, 259.
Sinope, 174, 214.
Slav Races, 135–6, 141, 142, 148, 149, 159, 160, 162, 194, 280.
Slavonia, 141.
Slovaks, 135, 142, 148, 153, 160.
Slovenes, 136, 278.
Social Democrats. *See* Socialism.
Socialism, Socialists, 27, 28, 31, 32, 56, 57, 116, 120, 122–7, 186, 244, 247, 250, 256, 266, 276–8, 287, 298–300.
Solferino, the Battle of, 77.
Sonderbund, 259.
South Seas, 129.
Spain, 1, 3, 10, 11, 13, 18, 35, 40, 111, 167, 229–46, 247, 262, 287, 290, 292, 293.
"Spanish Marriages", the, 29, 239–40.
— Succession, War of the, 230.
Spicheren, Battle of, 44.
St. Cloud, 20.
— Gothard Pass, 259.
— Helena, 4, 10, 16, 25, 301.
— Peter's, 85.
— Petersburg, 104, 168, 171, 186, 198.
— Simon, 28.
Staël, Madame de, 89.
Stambuloff, 227.
States-General of France, 230.
— — Holland, 257–8.
"Statuto", the Piedmontese, 263, 267, 268.
Stein, Baron von, 89, 138, 271.
Steinmetz, 42, 112.
Stolypin, 198.
Storthing, 252, 287.
Strafford, Earl of, 93.
Strasburg, 25, 42, 46, 114.
Stratford de Redcliffe, Lord. *See* Canning, Stratford.
Strossmayer, Bishop, 141.
Stundists, 193.
Suez Canal, 55, 221, 222.
Sultan, the, 129, 139, 173, 179, 201,

202, 204, 207, 209, 211, 215, 222, 288, 290.
Sven Hedin, 254.
Sweden, 10, 11, 194, 249, 250–4, 260, 287, 288.
Swiss Confederation, 10, 12, 29, 259, 283.
Switzerland, 10, 23, 25, 70, 259–60, 281–6, 306.
Syria, 201, 211, 212.
Szechenyi, Count, 143–4, 146–8.

Tacitus, 283.
Talleyrand, 8, 13.
Tangier, 76.
Tartars, 162.
Tel-el-Kebir, 222.
Tell, William, 282.
Temple, the, 16.
Temporal power, 53, 65, 82, 84, 86.
"Ten Points." *See* March Laws.
Tewfik Pasha, Khedive of Egypt, 222.
Theiss, the river, 150.
Thermopylæ, 228.
Thessaly, 208, 221, 223.
Thiers, 38, 39, (quoted) 48, 50, 114–5.
"Thousand", Garibaldi's, 79–81.
Three Emperors, League of, 215–6.
Thun, 102.
Ticino, the river, 282.
Tilsit, Treaty of, 166, 194.
Tobacco Riots, 69.
Tocqueville, De (quoted), 1.
Tours, 46.
Trans-Siberian Railway, 188, 197.
Trieste, 239.
Triple Alliance, 86, 129.
Tripoli, 87 (note), 226.
Triumvirs, 72.
Trochu, General, 45.
Troppau, the Congress of, 14.
Tsar of Russia, 288, 290.
Tuileries, the, 25, 30, 49.
Tunis, 61, 62, 86, 129.
Turgenieff, 179, 295.
Turin, 66, 76, 81, 83, 151, 270.
Turkey, 10, 37, 87 (note), 151, 169, 172–4, 179, 185, 201, 207–21, 223–6, 290, 291.
Turkish Empire, 200–2, 204, 211, 213–5, 226.
Turkomans, 162.
Tuscany, 65, 76–8, 82.
Tyrol, the Austrian, 9, 132, 147.

Umbria, 76, 80.
"Union and Progress", Committee of, 224, 225.
"United Greeks", 171.
"United Italy", Society of, 71.
United Kingdom, the, 5.
United States of America, 55, 244, 245, 261, 271, 303.
Unkiar-Skelessi, Treaty of, 211.
Uri, 283.

Valais, 10.
Vatican, the, 59, 84, 270, 271.
Vendôme Column, 25.
Venetia, 9, 66, 77, 81, 83, 84, 107, 109, 157, 269.
Venice, 69, 71–3, 137, 140.
Verona, the Congress of, 14.
Versailles, 45, 47, 49, 113, 114, 272.
Victor Emmanuel II, King of Italy, 37, 71, 74, 76–85, 87, 114, 241, 263, 267.
— — III, King of Italy, 59, 86.
Victoria, Queen, 24, 60, 78, 246, 255.
Vienna, 7, 10, 12, 66, 69, 97, 109, 140, 142, 143, 146–9, 152, 280.
— the Congress of, 4, 6–10, 12, 34, 90, 137, 167, 170, 211, 249, 254, 271.
Világos, 151.
Villafranca, Armistice of, 77, 103.
Virginia, 271.
Vittoria, 63.
Vlachs, 200.
"Volost", 182.
Vosges Mountains, 44.

Wacht am Rhein, 95.
Waldeck-Rousseau, 50.
Wallachia, 169, 174, 179, 204, 207, 210, 214, 215.
Warsaw, 170, 184.
Waterloo, the Battle of, 1, 4, 8, 12.
Weimar, 92.
Weissenburg, Battle of, 44.
Wellington, the Duke of, 4, 8, 17, 32, 231–3, 238, 246.
Wesley, John, 294.

Westphalia, Kingdom of, 9, 11, 89.
White Sea, 162.
White Terror, the, 17.
Wilberforce, William, 10, 294.
Wilhelmina, Queen of Holland, 258.
William I, King of Holland and Belgium, 254, 257.
— II, King of Holland, 257.
— III, King of Holland, 258.
— I, King of Prussia and German Emperor, 40, 45, 47, 60, 103–6, 108, 110–4, 125, 126, 275.
— II, King of Prussia and German Emperor, 126–8, 130, 275–6, 291.
— the Silent, 11.
Windischgrätz, Count, 147, 149, 150.
Winter Palace, 186, 188.
Witte, Count (quoted), 162.
Wolseley, Sir Garnet, 222.
Wordsworth, William, 294, 295.
Workshops, National, 31, 32.
Wörth, Battle of, 44, 112.
Würtemberg, 7, 89, 109, 272, 277.

"Young Germany", 296, 297.
"Young Turks", 216, 217, 224, 225, 288.

"Zemstvo", 182, 189.
Zola, 57.
Zollverein, 94.
Zululand, 51.
Zumalacarregui, 237, 238.
Zurich, 259.

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