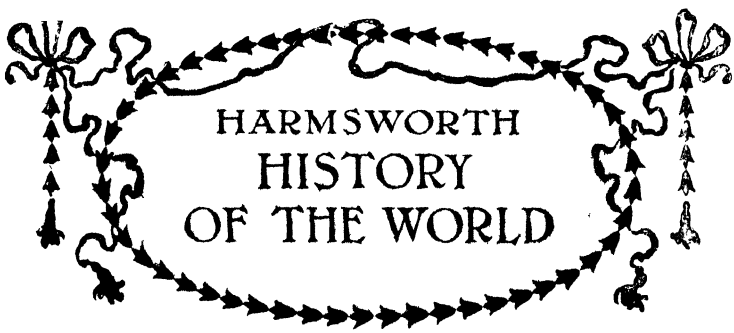
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NEW AND REVISED EDITION
IN FIFTEEN VOLUMES

VOLUME XII

THE NAPOLEONIC ERA AND THE RE-MAKING OF EUROPE

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CONTENTS OF VOLUME XII.

NAPOLEON AFTER THE PAINTING BY DELAROCHE — FRONTISPIECE

SIXTH GRAND DIVISION
EUROPE

FIFTH DIVISION—THE FRENCH REVOLUTION AND NAPOLEONIC ERA

PAGE

General Survey of the Period 4637
The Flight of the King 4649
The Revolution Triumphant 4659
Under the Reign of Terror 4667
The Conquering General of the Directory 4679
Napoleon in Portraiture 4695
France under the New Despotism 4701
Napoleon on the Battlefield in Victory and Defeat 4711
Napoleon as Emperor of the French 4725
How Trafalgar Changed the Face of the World 4735
The Awakening of Nationalism 4739
The Rising of the Nations 4753
The Settlement of Europe 4761
Great Britain and Ireland in the Napoleonic Wars 4769

SIXTH DIVISION—THE RE-MAKING OF EUROPE

General Survey of Europe since 1815 4779

EUROPE AFTER WATERLOO

The Great Powers in Concord 4791
The British Era of Reform 4797
Queen Victoria in Her Coronation Robes — Colour plate facing 4817
The Reaction in Central Europe 4825
The Restored French Monarchy 4839
The Cross and the Crescent 4849
Fall of the Bourbon Monarchy 4859
The New Revolutionary Period 4871
The Welding of the States 4881
The New Kingdom of Greece 4887
The State of Religion in Europe 4892
The Spread of Liberalism 4898

EUROPE IN REVOLUTION

The Fall of Louis Philippe 4905
Italy's Fruitless Revolt 4925
The Hungarian Rebellion 4933
Struggles of the German Duchies 4943
The Second Republic in France 4949
The Problem of the German States 4957
Reaction in Central Europe 4970

THE CONSOLIDATION OF THE POWERS

Saving the Colours — facing 4075
The United Kingdom in the Mid-Victorian Era 4975
Turkey after the Crimean War 5005
The Second Empire of France 5015
The Unification of Italy 5033
Prussia Under King William I 5051
Prussia and Austria on the Eve of War 5063
The Advance of Prussia 5069
The Prussian Ascendancy 5081
The Decline of Napoleon III 5093
The French Soldiers' Unrealised Dream of Victory — facing 5105
The Downfall of the Second French Empire 5105
The Birth of the German Empire 5125
Scandinavia in the Nineteenth Century 5153



EUROPE

FIFTH DIVISION

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION AND NAPOLEONIC ERA

The French Revolution is an event—if we may legitimately apply that term to a series of occurrences extending over five years—which forms, perhaps, the most definite epoch, the moment most pregnant of change, in European history since the fall of the Western Roman Empire; unless we except the decade following Luther's challenge to Tetzel, or the voyage of Columbus.

The French Revolution changed the social order of half the continent immediately, though its work in that field is not even yet completed. And it also caused, though it did not at once effect, a fundamental change in the political order, the gradual democratisation of governments, the ultimate control of articulate Public Opinion over State policy. But besides these permanent results it evoked that unique phenomenon, the Napoleonic Empire; and by doing so it drew the Muscovite Empire more definitely than before into the main current of Western history, so that the division into East and West, which we have hitherto observed, of necessity disappears.

Throughout the whole period of the Revolution, the militant Republic, and the Empire, France, or France impersonated by Napoleon, dominates the historic stage so completely that the subdivisions of the narrative are fixed by French events; and we have only deviated from this principle so far as to devote a separate section to the affairs of our own country.

Thus in the succeeding pages the reader will follow the story of the fall of the French Monarchy, the Terror, the Rise of Bonaparte, the Military Dictatorship, the Empire and its downfall; to be followed hereafter by the story of the European reaction, succeeded by the Nationalist reorganisation and the social and political development of popular ascendancy.

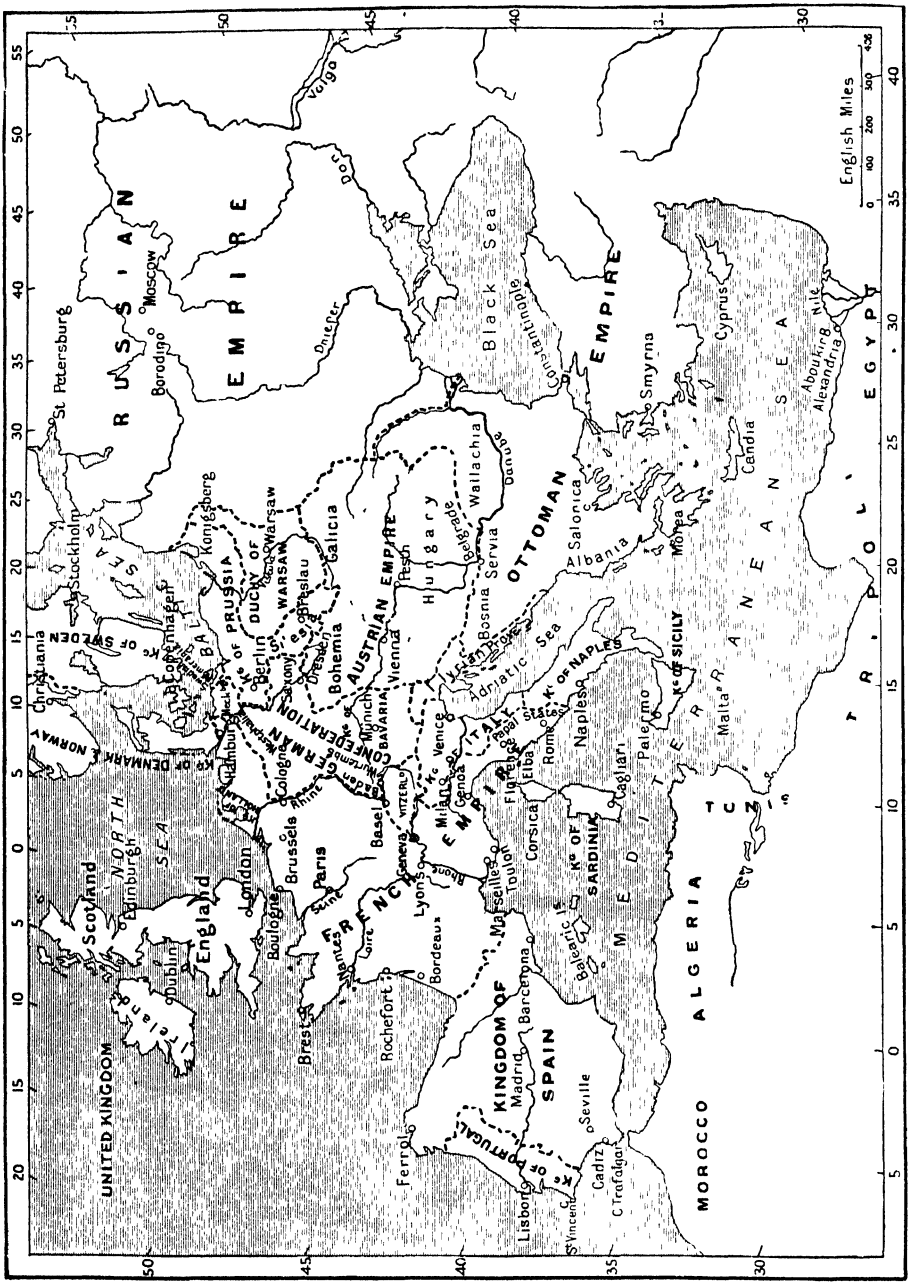
GENERAL SURVEY OF THE PERIOD
By Dr. J. Holland Rose

HISTORY: FROM THE REVOLUTION TO THE HUNDRED DAYS
By Arthur D. Innes, M.A.

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND
By H. W. C. Davis, M.A.

HOW TRAFALGAR CHANGED THE FACE OF THE WORLD
By Sir John Knox Laughton





MAP TO ILLUSTRATE THE FIFTH DIVISION OF EUROPE

The fifth division of Europe differs from preceding divisions of our History in the fact that the territorial interests cease to be localised, for with the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Era the whole continent comes up for general treatment In the four divisions of Europe with which we have dealt a distinction was maintained betwee i the eastern and western nations, but now, and to the end of the Grand Division, European history is treated as a whole, the point of view is chronological rather than geographical The map shows the disposition of the countries of Europe during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Era, with the history of which this division of our work is concerned.

THE FRENCH



REVOLUTION & NAPOLEONIC ERA

GENERAL SURVEY OF THE PERIOD

By Dr. J. Holland Rose

IT used to be the fashion, in the generation which was dominated by the personality of Thomas Carlyle, to dwell in rhapsodic strains on the cataclysmic character of the French Revolution. Similes of the explosive order were worked very hard, the result being that the average reader, who too often confuses similes with arguments, came to regard that great event as an outcome of the workings of the *kosmos* no less inevitable and terrible than the periodic quakings and rendings of the earth's crust, to which it seemed to have some hidden relation.

History as a Science

But times have changed. The volcanic or earthquake similes have worked themselves out. After all, they explain nothing. They do not show why the revolution broke out in France and during the reign of Louis XVI., still less why it ran the course which it did, only to be followed by the ascendancy of Napoleon. The present age is nothing if not scientific. History is now recognised as a science, and not as one of the inferior domains of literature, to which Dr. Johnson contemptuously assigned it. Historians seek to attract not so much by glowing descriptions as by presenting illuminating explanations of the course of events, especially those which affect the progress of the species.

They strive to bring their narratives down from the misty heights of tragedy to the lower levels whereon men act, not as demigods, but as fallible creatures, where the action ceases to be epic in order to be human. What their story loses in picturesqueness it partly regains in philosophic interest. If the historian of to-day fails to dazzle the imagination, he at least ought to seek to enlighten the understanding. Viewed from this standpoint, which may be termed philosophical or evolutionary, the French Revolution will be regarded, not as an appalling explosion, but as the greatest and most terrible of all the many movements of modern times which have aimed at the emancipation of mankind from outworn usages.

Reasons for the French Revolution

There were many reasons why the outbreak should have occurred first in France of all European lands. We cannot imagine a great revolution taking place in England in the year 1789, firstly, because feudalism and monarchy never had been so deeply planted and so rigidly developed here as they had been in France, and, secondly, because the champions of political freedom had won nearly all that they strove for in the political revolution of 1688.

France Under its Absolute Monarchy

The century that elapsed after that event was essentially conservative, and though Britons had many grievances both against George III. and the landed aristocracy, yet there was no talk of dethroning the king and expropriating the landlords even at the close of that most disastrous War of American Independence. The apathy of our people in the years 1780-1789 was equally surprising and distressing to professed reformers like Charles James Fox.

In France everything was different. There were three forces that had long been repressing the growth of the nation. The first of these was the royal power, which, in theory at least, was as absolute under Louis XVI. as under Louis XIV., *le grand*

monarque, who said, with perfect truth "L'Etat c'est moi" A second and far more burdensome influence was that exerted by feudal customs from which all the life had gone. Defensible as many of these had been in the Middle Ages, when the barons were expected to protect their peasants in return for the dues and services which they exacted, nothing could be urged in their defence in an age when the great lords neither defended the realm at their own charges, nor fulfilled the duties of landlords, but were occupied mainly in acting as courtiers at Versailles and Paris

Imminence of National Bankruptcy

The third of these untoward influences resulted largely from the extravagance of the monarchs and the almost complete immunity of the nobles and titled clergy from taxation, it was the imminence of national bankruptcy All the great powers were in difficulties as a result of the many wars of that generation, and Great Britain especially suffered severely from the American War of Independence, but after its close she had the good fortune to gain a statesman, William Pitt the younger, whose careful husbanding of the nation's resources soon brought her back to prosperity.

At the same time, in France the extravagant policy of Calonne plunged that nation deeper in the mire and led to those conflicts between the king and the old juridical bodies, the Parlements, from which there seemed to be no escape save by the summoning of the States-General in May, 1789 This last step furnished a humiliating proof of the helplessness of King Louis XVI in face of a difficult but by no means hopeless situation In theory an absolute monarch, he had not the political foresight, the insight into men, or the needed firmness of will, to carry through by royal decree that most necessary of reforms, the subjection of the privileged orders to the national taxation Nowhere else in the world was there the same financial need, and nowhere did a great state drift so helplessly as France after the American War of Independence. Her participation in that struggle was in reality a serious political blunder. While dealing a deadly blow at England, she stored up for herself a day of reckoning. Her soldiers, after helping those of Washington to found a free commonwealth, became missionaries of democracy when, on their return to France, they found the old abuses rampant, the higher ranks of the service more than ever closed to commoners, and the pay of the rank and file falling hopelessly in arrears

France's Day of Reckoning

The importance of this source of discontent has probably been underrated Writers have descanted on the revolutionary forces let loose by Voltaire and Rousseau, and it is true that the cultured classes, which had laughed at the mordant ironies of the philosopher of Ferney and had accepted the new social gospel proclaimed by the Genevese seer, thenceforth for the most part allied themselves with the critics and assailants of the old order of things both in Church and State But the influence of these writers and of the whole cohort of the Encyclopædists did not extend very far. The workmen of the towns and the whole mass of the peasantry were not moved by such writings, for the simple reason that they could not read

But they were aroused by the stories told by the many thousands of French troops who now knew what liberty was, and looked on the old grievances with eyes which had been enlightened There indeed was an influence which worked like leaven through the whole of the army and permeated large parts of the industrial population The hitherto unavailing efforts of the *intelligenzia* to overthrow the autocracy and bureaucracy in Russia furnish an instructive commentary on the beginnings of the French Revolution.

Beginnings of the Revolution

They show that the well-educated classes alone cannot bring about a great political change The débacle can begin only when the masses are set in motion, and when the soldiery refuse to act for the throne against their fellow citizens Mazzini has finely said that a revolution is the passing of an idea into actuality, but to this terse and suggestive statement we must add the proviso that the brain which conceives the idea must have full control over the nerves and muscles of the body. That controlling power which produced the events of 1789 emanated very largely from the troops that fought for the cause of freedom in the New World

Now, a brief comparison of the condition of France with that of the other great powers will show them to have been free from the chief influences which made for the overthrow of the French monarchy.

Nowhere else, except in England, had the national consciousness been so vividly aroused, in no land, except Spain, was the monarchy so all-pervading an institution Germany and Italy were merely geographical names, devoid of any political significance, in those picturesque mosaics there was little cohesion and no life. Russia was too barbarous, and Spain too torpid to struggle for popular liberty In Great Britain the forces of the time might have tended towards revolution but for the timely reforms of the Whigs and Pitt Further, none of these powers suffered from that concentration of wealth at the capital which left the country districts denuded, and drew to Paris hunger-stricken throngs of peasants in the hope of picking up crumbs from the table of Dives

The great thinker, Montesquieu, as far back as the year 1748 had seen whereto this was tending when he penned this damning indictment of the policy of Louis XIV and Louis XV. "Monarchy is destroyed when the prince, directing everything to himself, brings the country to the capital, the capital to his court, and the court to his own person" Add to the foregoing considerations these last that this centralised monarchy was now in the hands of a sovereign wholly incompetent to bear the weight of responsibility, and that in France, far more than in any other land, the body politic had been infected by the virus of democracy—and the reasons of the political outbreak which occurred in France in 1789 will be intelligible

A Weak King on the French Throne

The reader who peruses the stories of misgovernment, class favouritism, and gross stupidity in the handling of finance, will perhaps wonder why the outbreak did not come sooner—say, during the reign of Louis XV, a far worse ruler than Louis XVI We may reply that reasons partly material and partly personal brought the doom on the head of the more innocent monarch The financial strain of the American War led to the financial troubles which caused the convocation of the States-General, and the summer of 1788 was marked by a prolonged drought which ended in a violent hailstorm The winter of 1788-1789 was also among the severest ever known, the result being that the elections for the States-General were held amid scenes of want and excitement. Nevertheless matters might have gone smoothly had the king and his chief Minister, Necker, possessed foresight, initiative, and firmness. They lacked these qualities, and the result was an irritating indecision and vacillation on the burning question of the constitution of the States-General. For details the reader must consult the general narrative Here we may note that Louis was at one with his subjects on the financial and other practical reforms which were so urgently needed, but he resented the step taken by the Tiers Etat, or Commons, of declaring themselves to be the National Assembly of France Thereafter he gave ear to his queen and to the other reactionary advisers who led him to attempt the feeble coup d'état of July 13th-14th

The Queen's Evil Influence in Politics

Thus we may say that the final causes of the popular outbreak, by which Paris successfully defied the monarchy, are traceable to the incompetence of the king and to the spasmodic and ill-advised interference of Marie Antoinette in political affairs That unfortunate queen had the charm and spirit of her mother, Maria Theresa, but none of her tact and sagacity In 1774 she induced Louis XVI to dismiss the great reforming Minister, Turgot, because his economies injured a court favourite, and her behaviour in matters political was generally the outcome of sentiment and passion

Dumont, the friend of Mirabeau and Bentham, went so far as to ascribe the French Revolution solely to the failings of the king and queen This is defective reasoning To attribute a great and complex event to a single cause, and that a small one, is irrational But we may admit that those failings gave the final tilt to events which resulted from other and weightier causes

To attempt to divide up into periods a great movement like that of the French Revolution, which possesses an inner unity amid all its external diversities, is a somewhat futile task Even at the time of the first defiance of the royal power by the Tiers Etat in the latter half of June there was seen the stern insistence on the sovereignty of the people which rendered compromise difficult, if not impossible. The capture of the Bastille by the Parisian populace on July 14th led to scenes of violence both in the capital and the

The Bastille Captured by the Populace

provinces, which showed the weakness of the governing power and the strength of the anarchic forces now coming to a head Nothing is more remarkable than the ease with which feudalism and the absolute monarchy were then struck down

The Reign of Terror Begins

The abolition of agrarian abuses and feudal privileges was decided in a single sitting of the National Assembly on August 10th, 1789 The prerogatives of the old monarchy went by the board in the debates on the royal veto and the outlines of the future constitution A few irritating occurrences at Versailles, and the secret use of the money of the Duke of Orleans to stir up sedition at Paris, sufficed to send forth the "dames des halles" and the dregs of the populace in a turbid stream westwards, which overbore the feeble defences at Versailles and brought back king, queen, and court to Paris, October 5th and 6th The National Assembly soon followed them, and, in a limited sense, we may say that the Reign of Terror had its beginnings in the events which centred around the capture of the Bastille, the "jacquerie" of July–August, and the victory of the mænads of Paris at Versailles Thereafter the Government fell more and more under the control of a suffering and excitable populace

Nevertheless, the final triumph of the anarchic forces came slowly, and it might possibly have been averted had the more moderate leaders, whether Royalists or Democrats, come to some understanding But it is one of the peculiarities of the French Revolution, as that gifted woman, Mme Roland, finely remarked, that while the movement was great, the men of the time were mediocre From this statement we must except one truly inspiring personality, and Mirabeau, though possessing the width of vision and magnetic gifts which mark the statesman, lacked one of the essentials of a leader of men in that he never inspired confidence The National Assembly showed a most unworthy jealousy of its ablest member by passing a decree—November 9th, 1789—which shut out him or any member of the House from the king's Ministry

Mirabeau "the Tribune of the People"

Excluded from all control of affairs, Mirabeau finally drifted into ambiguous courses, taking money secretly from the king in return for advice—which Louis very rarely followed—and yet posing before the world as the great tribune of the people In reality, his aims were thoroughly sound—namely, to rid the king of all reactionary tendencies, to make him figure as leader in a popular movement, and to strengthen the reformed monarchy so as to enable it to defy the Parisian demagogues The scheme broke down mainly owing to the suspicion which his notorious vices inspired both in the king and the Democrats, but also because men in authority, like Necker—the chief Minister until September, 1790—and Lafayette, commander of the Parisian National Guards, refused to act with him The union of these three men for the support of moderate reforms and the renovated monarchy might have stemmed the course of anarchy As it was, power passed from the king's Ministry, even from the once popular Lafayette, to the political clubs

For while the friends of order remained in disunion that very event which Mirabeau most feared was coming to pass—"anarchy was organising itself" The Jacobin Club, at first a reunion of men of all parties, became both more extreme in its views and more powerful throughout France Men of clear-cut theories and incisive speech like Robespierre, there gained a hearing which the National Assembly often denied to them The social gospel, first set forth by Rousseau in his "Contrat Social" in 1762, and now preached by "the sea-green incorruptible," as Carlyle dubs Robespierre, proved to be an impelling force of the first magnitude It was spread everywhere by newspapers and pamphlets which reported the debates of the Jacobin Club, and the managers of that institution, with a foresight not to be found in the royal counsels, affiliated to the mother society in Paris the many thousands of clubs which sprang up in the provinces

Preachers of the Social Gospel

The result was seen in the heightening of democratic fervour which marked the years 1790–1792 By the departmental system, which came into force early in 1790, the French people gained local self-government very nearly on the basis of manhood suffrage The summer of that year saw titles of nobility abolished and the Church of Rome in France compelled to fit in with the new local organisation, her bishops and priests being required to submit to popular election and to take an oath of allegiance to the civil power

which invalidated their allegiance to the Pope The attempt to enforce this measure—called "The Civil Constitution of the Clergy"—led to a schism in the ranks of the clergy The pliable minority who bowed before the civil power were termed "constitutionals", those who refused to take the oath were known as "non-jurors" From that time we may date the beginnings of a religious reaction against the Revolution which finally aroused the Royalist and intensely Catholic west in a series of desperate revolts

This same ill-omened measure likewise completed the disgust of the king at the course of events, and after the death of Mirabeau, on April 2nd, 1791, the king attempted to flee, not to Royalist Normandy, as Mirabeau had advised, but to the eastern frontier, where he would come into touch with the Austrians and the bands of reactionary emigrant French nobles assembling in the Rhineland The attempt failed miserably at Varennes at midsummer of 1791, and the schism between king and nation was now seen to be complete This date, therefore, marks a fatal point in the course of the Revolution It was impossible long to keep at the head of affairs a king who desired to run away to the Austrians, and thereafter a Republican party began to form

France the Centre of Difficulties

Nevertheless, an attempt was made by all moderate men to avert anarchy by bolstering up the royal power, but it failed in face of the passions which had been aroused The new National Assembly was more extreme than its predecessor, and when Francis II of Austria, brother of Marie Antoinette, seemed to imply that he had the right of interference in French affairs, the party of enthusiastic idealists, known as the Girondins, who were now uppermost in the Ministry of Louis XVI, pushed him on to declare war against Austria Prussia, Sardinia, and the Holy Roman Empire thereafter declared against France, which found herself beset by alarming difficulties

The outbreak of the war is perhaps the most sinister event in the whole course of the French Revolution Imagine the fury which would have been aroused in England if before the outbreak of the Civil War French troops had invaded this country with the avowed object of rescuing Charles I. and his consort Henrietta—a French princess—and of putting down the popular party The instinct of nationality shows that this would immediately have ruined the royal cause, and have led to a general rising against a prince thenceforth deemed a traitor to his people Power would at once have passed to the extreme party, which demanded his deposition and the adoption of the most vigorous measures against the common enemy If, after his deposition, the ranks of the invaders had been strengthened by a Spanish army with English nobles acting as its vanguard, we can picture the rage which would have fallen on all other Royalists or their adherents The agony of the nation would have led to deeds of violence impossible at ordinary times, and to the ascendancy of any faction, however desperate, which had vigour enough to beat off the invaders and avenge the outraged dignity of the nation "Salus populi suprema lex" At such a crisis desperadoes figure as heroes, and even a massacre of supposed traitors ceases to be odious

Failure of the Royal Scheme

Transfer this supposed case to France in 1792, and the overthrow of the monarchy, the September massacres, the victory of the extreme party at the polls, the proclamation of the Republic by the Convention, the astounding military efforts which beat back the Prussians and Austrians, the execution of Louis XVI as an accomplice of the invaders—all this becomes intelligible We pity the king, but there can be little doubt that he secretly desired, and even worked for, the declaration of war in April, 1792, in the hope that this would bring the forces of Central Europe in triumph to Paris for the rescue of himself and the confusion of his foes.

His conduct at every crisis was miserably weak Early on the morning of August 10th, which was to see his overthrow, his bearing was so uninspiring as to unman the defenders at the Tuileries A hero would have rallied round him the wavering battalions of the National Guard, and imposed on the Marseillese and the populace The queen then showed that she was the daughter of Maria Theresa, but she soon came to despair of success and gave her consent to that tamest of surrenders by which a Bourbon left his palace and sought refuge with the National Assembly Heroism was shown on that day only by a few

The lost Opportunity of Louis XVI

Royalist gentlemen and by alien mercenaries, the Swiss regiment, which even in its death agonies sought to protect the shield of the fleur de lys A little olive-cheeked lieutenant of artillery who looked on at that last struggle to uphold the honour of the old monarchy believed that if the Royalist troops at the Tuileries had been well led they would have won the day Such was the judgment of Napoleon Bonaparte It is needless to review here the events of the republican wars and of the Reign of Terror My aim has been to point out the meaning of events and the interaction of forces that brought France to that awful year 1793, which Victor Hugo has so vividly depicted The fanaticism of the Jacobins appeared in the energy with which they pressed back the invaders at the close of 1792, and threw down the gauntlet to England and Holland on the question of the River Scheldt Danton's gigantic phrase, "Let us fling down to Europe the head of a king as gage of battle," came to be literally true

Execution of the French King

On February 1st, 1793, eleven days after the execution of Louis XVI, the French Convention declared war against England and Holland, and five weeks later against Spain This aggressive policy led up to another sharp crisis, France losing Belgium and having her north-eastern districts invaded But again the emergency called forth all her energies The incompetent Girondins were flung on one side, the unscrupulous Jacobins seized on power, and, discarding parliamentary forms, governed despotically through two secret committees, those of Public Safety and of General Security

Little by little the "levée en masse," decreed by the Convention and organised by Carnot, made headway against the invaders on all the frontiers and crushed the Girondin and Royalist opposition in the south and west At the same time Robespierre and his colleagues sought to purge France of her bad blood by systematically setting about the Reign of Terror, the prelude, as he believed, to the golden age foreshadowed in the writings of Rousseau

The Ghastly Failure of Robespierre

The experiment was a ghastly failure. France fell back exhausted on the more feasible of the schemes of the earlier revolutionists; but the time of Robespierre's ascendancy—from July, 1793, till July, 1794—led to one result, the importance of which, perhaps, has not been sufficiently emphasised The disillusionment and despair which settled upon France at the end of the Reign of Terror and led to a sharp Royalist reaction a year later directly favoured the supremacy of the army That must always happen when the political problem seems insoluble, and when the army alone wins decided successes

To recur once more to English history, the shortcomings of civilians at the close of the Civil War and during the Commonwealth made the supremacy of the greatest soldier of the age inevitable So, too, the French Republic in 1794–1796, though strong enough to crush the revolts of malcontents and Royalists, failed to harmonise the claims of liberty and order, failed to build up a durable constitution—that of the Directory leading to constant friction—and therefore failed to maintain that equilibrium between the civil power and the army which has ever been the crux of French politics

Now, too, there arose a mighty genius who would perhaps in any case have gained the mastery which Burke in 1790 foretold would be the outcome of events in France The little Corsican, Napoleon Bonaparte, had done much towards saving the Republic in the great street fight of Vendémiaire, October, 1795, at Paris, and ere long men were to see the danger of cutting the Gordian knot of French politics by the sword That same trenchant sword ended the Austrian domination in Italy, brought that fair land under the control of France, and compelled the Hapsburgs to sign the humiliating terms of the Treaty of Campo Formio in October, 1797

Rise of the Great Bonaparte

The conquest of Italy was the most brilliant feat of arms of the eighteenth century Its results were incalculably great France, previously exhausted by civil strifes, now gained wealth enough to enter on a new cycle of war—not now for the propagation of liberty, but for aggrandisement or plunder The Italians received an impulse towards political freedom and unity which they were never to lose The old European system received a shock which brought about the mighty changes of the nineteenth century

But greatest, perhaps, of all Bonaparte's conquests in 1796–1797 was his conquest of France. The mind of that people, baffled in the quest for liberty, disgusted

by the sordid strifes of parties at Paris, now turned away from political affairs and sought satisfaction in following the career of the young general, who alone of his compeers seemed able to extend the bounds of freedom

The man who has thrilled the imagination of France has always been in reality her master At the close of the Italian campaigns, Bonaparte felt the need of keeping his prestige unimpaired, and as he deemed the invasion of England to be impossible, he entered on the Egyptian expedition with the aim of crippling her power in the East, and also of throwing up in brilliant relief his achievements against the petty and persecuting conduct of the civilian Directors at Paris In a material sense, the expedition was a failure, but the young general fully realised the personal aim which has just been noted Returning to France in the autumn of 1799, he was hailed with delight as the conqueror of the East

The real state of affairs in Egypt was not known by Frenchmen, all that they knew, or cared to know, was that the Directory had brought about further wars in Europe, those of the second coalition, had lost Italy, and had made their own countrymen miserable Bonaparte's "Coup d'état" of Brumaire, November 9–10th, 1799, brought about the overthrow of the Directory But it did far more, it put an end to parliamentary institutions in France The generals and malcontents who helped him to scatter the elective councils at St Cloud paved the way for military rule The complicated constitution of December, 1799, proposed by Siéyès and approved by a "rump" of the councils, proved to be easily adaptable to his requirements, and in most essentials the future constitutions of the French Empire of 1806—1814 were laid down in secret conferences held at the close of 1799, in which Bonaparte was the master spirit.

Bonaparte the Master Spirit of France

It is well to remember the salient outlines of the constitutional history of the decade 1789–1799 In the spring and early summer of 1789 it seemed that parliamentary institutions had for ever prevailed over all forms of autocracy in France The triumph was consolidated by the very democratic constitution of 1791, which left the monarchy with functions little more than nominal, and assigned the reality of power to a single Assembly, elected on a very extended franchise With the disappearance of monarchy a year later, democracy in an extreme form seemed to be the only possible form of government in France But at that very time the crisis produced by the war led to the strengthening of the executive powers, and to the extension of the functions of committees which supervised various departments of state In the terrible emergency of the spring and summer of 1793 these committees began to trench on the sphere previously reserved to the elective chamber, and during the Reign of Terror parliamentary government was largely in abeyance

Fall of the Great Robespierre

After the fall of Robespierre the Convention regained many of its functions at the expense of those of the secret executive committees Nevertheless, in the constitution of 1795 we find the idea of a supervising committee acquiring permanence The five Directors, who were charged with the supervision of the Ministers of State and the general control of the executive and of foreign policy, were the lineal descendants of the secret committees of the Reign of Terror On the collapse of the Directory in Brumaire, November, 1799, their powers devolved on three consuls, among whom the First Consul alone, Bonaparte, had the reality of power He, therefore, as First Consul, received the heritage bequeathed by the terrible committees of the Reign of Terror, and if one examines carefully the causes which brought about this triumph of the one strong man over the discordant parties around him, one finds it to be due mainly to war

A time of severe national crisis demands a strong executive, and the general experience of mankind has been that at such seasons the strongest of all governing committees is a committee of one The eleven members of the Robespierrist Committee of Public Safety were in 1795 ultimately replaced by five Directors, and four years later these in their turn handed over their powers to three consuls, the second and third of whom were merely ciphers multiplying the power of the First Consul Shortly after the conclusion of a most advantageous peace with England —the Peace of Amiens, in March, 1802— Bonaparte gained so much popularity as to be able still further to depress the

The Growing Popularity of Bonaparte

legislative bodies and extend his own authority He now became First Consul for life, with powers which were to be virtually hereditary in his family Thus, by success in war, diplomacy, and the handling of parties, he attained to heights of power never reached even by Louis XIV , and the change of title to that of emperor in May, 1804, was little more than nominal It has often been found that attempts to level down mankind to a plane of safe mediocrity have brought about a situation in which one able man avenges the slights inflicted on genius, and builds up a personal power far more imposing than that which the would-be reformers endeavoured for ever to destroy In a very real sense the Napoleonic despotism is the Nemesis which dogged the steps of the men of 1789–94

Bonaparte Becomes Emperor

Never were there faculties so varied and transcendent concentrated in any one man Coming of a race which had been toughened by clan strifes and family vendettas in Corsica, he saw, as if by instinct, the weak point of opponents either on the field of battle, in the council chamber, or the legislature On his father's side he traced his descent to forebears who had played no small part in the party feuds of mediæval Florence , and their spirit lived on in the man who threaded with ease and safety the mazes of revolutionary politics that had led so many promising leaders to death He was the able soldier whose advent Burke had foretold and Robespierre had feared , but he was also by far the ablest statesman France had found since the days of Richelieu, and resources much greater than those of the age of Louis XIII were now at his disposal

In many respects he sought to bring back revolutionary France to the customs of the old monarchy Indeed, the general drift of his civil policy at the time of the Consulate (1799–1804) may be indicated by saying that it was a compromise between the more feasible of the measures passed in 1789–92 and the best of the laws and customs of old France This is especially true of the Civil Code—afterwards named the Code Napoléon—which cleared away the perplexing growth of local laws in favour of a code which was clear, symmetrical, and, on the whole, very well adapted to the needs of the French people.

Napoleon's Policy of Compromise

Though the work of redaction was due mainly to skilled jurists, yet he superintended it and in parts stamped it with his own personality and genius Later on, the Code was extended to many parts of Italy and Germany, and it forms the most enduring tribute to his organising abilities

The remark hazarded above is also applicable to the Concordat, or treaty with the Pope (1801–2) By it Bonaparte officially recognised the Roman Catholic system in France, ended the schism which had begun in 1790, and bound her closely to the Holy See On the other hand, he compelled the Church to forego its claims to the tithes and lands confiscated in the early part of the Revolution Thus, while restoring a state system of religion in France, he also became the guarantor of the agrarian settlement of the Revolution, which all the peasants and farmers sought to uphold While spiritualising the life of France in form, he materialised it in essence The strength gained by this astonishingly clever compromise in what had been an almost atheistical society enabled him to carry through another measure highly repugnant to Jacobins and progressives of all shades This was the founding of the Legion of Honour, in which he sought to include in several grades of merit and reward all those who had distinguished themselves in military or civil affairs The sequel was to show that this institution was but a half-way house on the road leading to the restoration of titles of nobility abolished in 1790

Founding of the Legion of Honour

Besides discrediting philosophic speculation, unbelief, and the passion of equality, which had been so characteristic of the period of Jacobin supremacy, Napoleon favoured the return of the emigrant nobles, sought to attract them to his court, and gradually made it the most sumptuous and brilliant in Europe Now that prosperity had returned under the enchanter's wand, Paris fell back contented into the old pleasure-loving ways, and, as long as their great ruler won battles and gave *panem et circenses*, the quest of liberty seemed an idle dream

The restless activity and love of power so characteristic of Napoleon were far from exhausted by the immense task of reorganising France after a decade of upheaval While the institutions of modern France were rapidly taking shape under his master-hand, he was spreading

her influence far and wide During the brief Peace of Amiens (1802–1803) schemes were on hand for the extension of the French colonial empire, both in the vast district of Louisiana recently gained from Spain, in India, and, if opportunity admitted, in the central parts of New Holland, or Australia Undoubtedly he desired to recover Egypt, with a view to the ultimate conquest of India, always a favourite plan with him The beginnings of his new Oriental policy undoubtedly disturbed the Addington Cabinet at Westminster, and as they went hand in hand with an almost prohibitive tariff system wherever the tricolour floated, the extension of French influence threatened to impoverish "the nation of shopkeepers," as he contemptuously termed the British

These extensions of influence were also threatening Europe Piedmont and Elba were annexed, first Holland, and then Switzerland became French satrapies Finally, the Addington Cabinet sent demands—including the retention of Malta by us for ten years—which were designed to restore the balance of power in the Mediterranean Bonaparte angrily refused, and declaimed against Britain as the breaker of treaties War, therefore, broke out in May, 1803 At first the central powers remained neutral, but in May–June, 1805, Napoleon's assumption of the title King of Italy, and his annexation of the Ligurian (Genoese) Republic, drove Austria and Russia to take up arms Pitt had been seeking to build up a coalition of the Great Powers, but he did not fully succeed until these actions of the French Emperor convinced the statesmen of Vienna and St Petersburg that peace was more dangerous than war It is noteworthy that they entered upon this war of the Third Coalition, not with the purpose of dethroning Napoleon, but of restoring the balance of power upset by his acts of aggrandisement

Britain and France at War

The ensuing campaigns, naval and military, were marked by events of surpassing interest and importance Nelson's final triumph at Trafalgar synchronised with an equally crushing victory gained by the French Emperor over the Austrian forces at and near Ulm, on the Upper Danube Pursuing his advantage, he shattered the Russo-Austrian armies at Austerlitz, on December 20th, 1805, compelling the Tsar to retire crestfallen to his own dominions, while the Hapsburg Court consented to Napoleon's very exacting demands The net result of the campaigns of 1805, then, was to make Britain mistress of the seas and Napoleon master of the Continent

This sharp differentiation in character between the two chief opponents determined the main outlines of Napoleon's policy Unable to strike at England directly, as he had hitherto sought to do from the cliffs of Boulogne, he now attempted to effect her overthrow indirectly—that is, through the subjection of the Continent to his political and commercial system He framed what he called the Continental system, with a view to the financial ruin of his most persistent opponent All his allies, all his subject states, were thenceforth rigidly to exclude British goods, and all ships which had touched at British ports Prussia, Naples, and Holland also felt the pressure of his new policy The House of Hohenzollern was forced to bar out British goods from the north-west of Germany, a proceeding which, with other provocations, brought about the Franco-Prussian War of 1806 and the overthrow of the chief North German power The Bourbons of Naples were dethroned, Joseph Bonaparte taking up the reins of power in South Italy, and Louis Bonaparte becoming King of Holland

Napoleon's Hatred of England

The occupation of Berlin by French troops gave the great conqueror the opportunity of launching, in November, 1806, his Berlin Decree against England for the completion of his system, and the great victory of Friedland enabled him to throw the trammels of his commercial policy over Russia The ensuing Treaty of Tilsit, on July 7th 1807, saw him at the height of his power

The Tsar, Alexander I, previously his bitterest enemy, now went over completely to his side, adopted the Continental system and promised to help in compelling the remaining independent states, Sweden, Denmark and Portugal, to close their ports to British goods Equally significant were the secret articles whereby the two potentates arranged for the future partition of the Turkish Empire with a view to eventual action against Britain's Oriental possessions Britain was never in greater danger than after the conclusion of this treaty,

The Time of Britain's Danger

for her sole remaining ally, Sweden, was soon to be coerced by Napoleon It is impossible not to feel admiration for the skilful and forceful policy by which, in two years, he utterly broke up the Third Coalition, which Pitt had done so much to form, and turned the tables on Britain The latter was now face to face with a hostile world, and her industries soon felt the pressure of the great engine of war now perfected by the French Emperor

Denmark's Fleet Seized by Britain

But though Pitt had succumbed to cares of state in January, 1806, his pupil and admirer, Canning, fortunately became Foreign Minister in the spring of 1807

He struck sharply at Denmark, seized her fleet, and thus paralysed the naval schemes which Napoleon was undoubtedly maturing A little later—namely, in October–November, 1807—the French Emperor showed his hand in his conduct towards Portugal By virtue of a secret treaty with Spain in October, 1807, he sent a strong column under Junot, which received help from the Spaniards, to seize the Portuguese fleet at Lisbon In this he failed The royal family sailed away to Brazil shortly before the French entered their capital Nevertheless, the close of the year saw him everywhere triumphant on the Continent The Iberian Peninsula was under his control, Italy, Switzerland, and the secondary German states were his vassals, Prussia lay helpless under his heel, and the Tsar, Alexander I, abetted him in his schemes for the domination of the world

England alone resisted the autocrat, and she showed signs of weariness and wavering A powerful section of the Whigs had all along opposed the war and advocated a friendly understanding with Napoleon His success seemed assured when, at the close of the year, he launched the Milan Decree against British commerce But now this great genius was to reveal the weaker side of his nature The brilliance of his triumph and the collapse of his enemies hardened in him the conviction of his own invincibility and of their stupidity and weakness As we have seen, his policy after Trafalgar was directed mainly to the control of the maritime states Already he controlled all the coasts from Cronstadt to Trieste, but now, as his commercial decrees against England were not always enforced with the rigidity that he desired, he began in all possible cases to substitute annexation for mere control This fact explains his absorption of Tuscany and a large part of the Papal States in 1808 It also explains his virtual annexation of Spain

The Weak Spot in Napoleon

The alliance of the Spanish Bourbons was far from satisfying him He owed them a grudge for a warlike proclamation made by Godoy, their Prime Minister, at the beginning of the last war with Prussia, and, above all, resolved to have the complete disposal of the Spanish fleet and colonies With this great accession of naval strength he trusted to be able to make the Mediterranean a French lake—the scheme of 1798 revived—to partition the Turkish Empire in a way highly favourable to France, and then—as he phrased it in a letter to the Tsar—"to crush England under the weight of events with which the atmosphere will be charged"

There is nothing in Napoleon's letters of the spring of 1808 to show that he expected any opposition for a moment from the Spanish people Their regular troops were largely in his power, some of their northern fortresses were held by French regiments, and the disgraceful feuds in the royal family at Madrid gave him an easy foothold, as it were, on the walls of the central citadel

Wellington's Entry into the Field

The result is well known Successful in his dealings with a corrupt dynasty and court, he entirely left out of account the pride of the Spanish nation Instead of gaining profitable vassals and a vast colonial empire, he turned allies into irreconcilable foes England, far from being barred out from the Iberian Peninsula, secured the help of Portuguese and Spaniards, and access for her commerce to their vast colonies Above all, the British army now had a field whereon they could fitly display their prowess

The entry of Sir Arthur Wellesley, soon to become Viscount Wellington, on a scene of action pre-eminently suited to his peculiar gifts gave to the national resistance of Spaniards and Portuguese a toughness which wore out the strength of French armies and baffled the efforts of all Napoleon's marshals In the whole career of Napoleon no miscalculation, save, perhaps, one to be noted presently, was more fraught with disaster Struggle and scheme as he might—and he did so

with brilliant success in the case of the Austrian campaign of 1809, with its diplomatic corollary, the Austrian marriage—he could never rid himself of the evil result of his "Spanish blunder" The waste of men in that war told even on his gigantic resources, and when his final annexations at the close of 1810—the north-west of Germany, etc —brought him to a rupture with the Tsar, one may safely ascribe the determination of the potentate of the east to his belief that the overgrown empire of his rival was being sapped at the other extremity

For in and after the year 1808 a new spirit was in the air Peoples that had previously lain torpid under French domination now began to awaken, and to take heart as they saw the power of a nation's resistance in Spain

> The power of armies is a visible thing,
> Formal, and circumscribed in time and space
> But who the limits of that power can trace
> Which a brave people into light can bring?

Thus sang Wordsworth as he gazed at the events in Spain German thinkers and patriots begun to prepare for the day of revenge And that day came when Napoleon's Grand Army —victims of the insane obstinacy with which he clung to Moscow up to October 19th—succumbed to the snows of the steppes The succeeding campaign of 1813 witnessed the defection first of Prussia, and then of Austria, from his alliance The three days' battle around Leipzig completed his discomfiture The South German states turned against him, and, while Wellington was invading the south of France, Italy also fell away from the Emperor's control Even so he struggled on, omitting to take advantage of the offers of peace which the allies made to him, first at Frankfort, in November, 1813, and next during the spring campaign of 1814 in the east of France.

Victims of Napoleon's Obstinacy

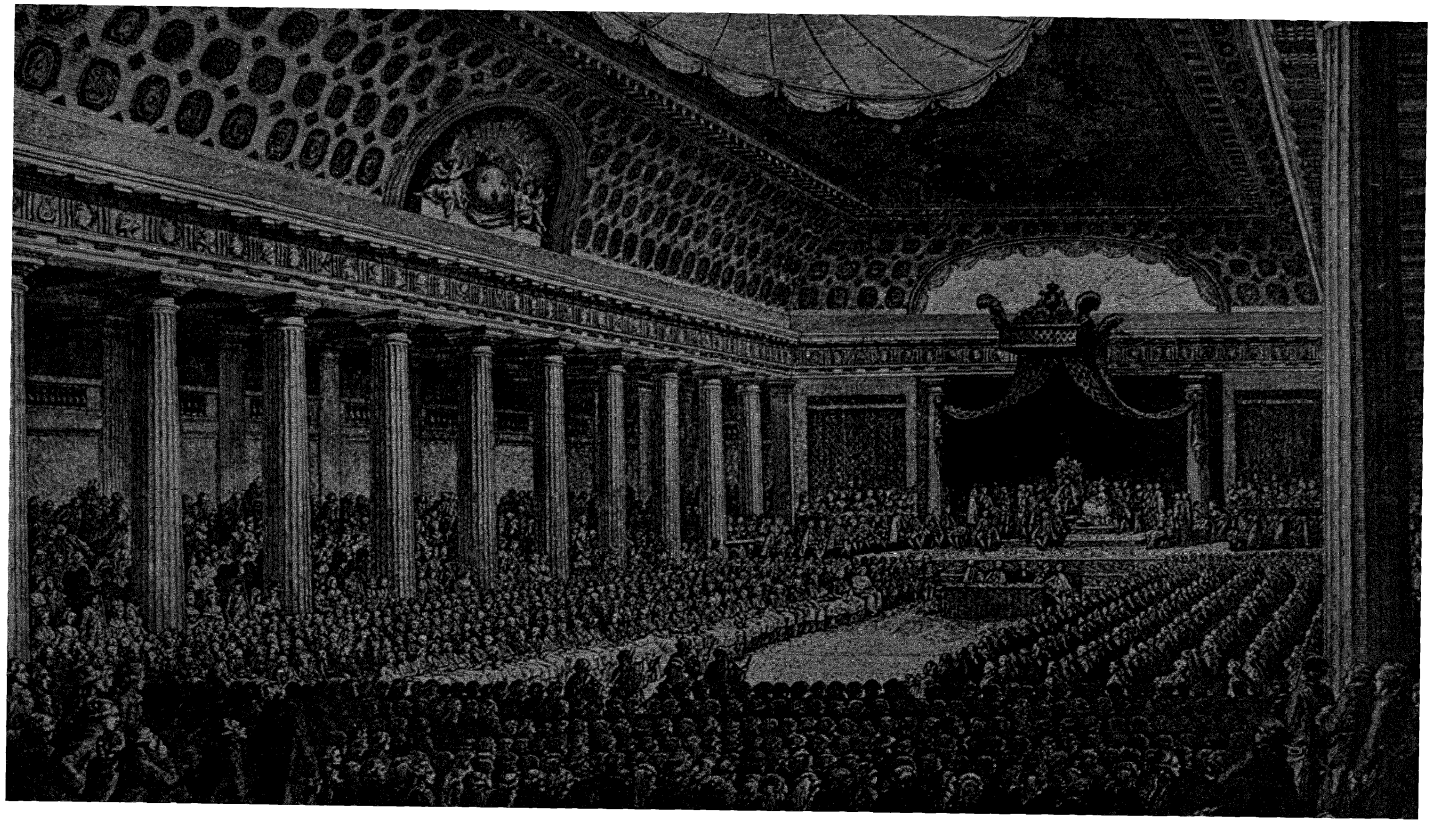
It is difficult to fathom his reasons for this conduct. The evidence seems to prove that even then, when he had scarcely 50,000 men wherewith to oppose the armies of Russia, Prussia, and Austria in Champagne, and when Wellington had penetrated into Languedoc, the emperor believed that he could beat the allies and secure more advantageous terms. It was the last of his mistakes. The allies declared that never again would they have dealings with him. His own marshals refused to go on with the struggle; and he abdicated on April 11th, 1814, at Fontainebleau His escape from Elba, his victorious march to Paris, and the details of the Waterloo campaign and of his sojourn at St. Helena, need not be recounted here His doom was sealed in the spring of 1814 when he succeeded in arousing the undying distrust of the allied sovereigns and of their Ministers It will be more suitable to conclude this brief survey by pointing out some of the chief results of this momentous period—1789–1815—in the life of the European peoples

The Doom of the Mighty Autocrat

First, we may notice that the extraordinary upheavals of that time imparted an impulse to the Continent which did not wear away even in the time of exhaustion and despair brought about by nearly a quarter of a century of war Further, while the political results of feudalism were thus almost obliterated in Central Europe, the dead hand of the past was removed from nearly all Continental peoples in social and agrarian affairs Northern Italy in 1797 decreed the abolition of feudal wars and services and the emancipation of serfs The Netherlands, the Rhineland, and Switzerland soon took the same steps, either of their own accord or at the bidding of the French Republic Prussia and Spain, which resented Napoleon's ascendancy, on their own initiative set free their serfs, reformed their land laws, and thus laid the basis for a healthier social life

The reforms by which the Prussian statesman Stein, in 1807–1808, founded local self-government and unified the governing powers of the state would alone give significance to this era The sense of national unity is another of the signs of awakening in this period The mighty upheavals of the Napoleonic wars brought men everywhere face to face with elemental facts, and thus a strong sense of racial kinship, which had grown up in England and France during the Hundred Years War, now spread to Germans and Italians This awakening of the sense of nationality, largely traceable to the Spanish rising of 1808, is one of the great events of world history, for it impelled those peoples to struggle on against the irritating restrictions imposed by the Congress of Vienna, and thus to inaugurate the great movements which brought about Italian and German unity in the decade 1860–1870. J. HOLLAND ROSE

Inauguration of great Movements



THE PARLIAMENT OF FRANCE: THE ASSEMBLING OF THE STATES-GENERAL ON MAY 5TH, 1789

For nearly two hundred years the Parliament of France, known as the States-General, had not met, but Louis XVI. was compelled to call the assembly together. The above picture shows the opening of the States-General on May 5th, 1789. To the left of the king's throne, on a low *sofa*, sits the queen, while the nobles and the ladies of the court are seated on the platform in a half-circle to left and right. Below the steps are the Ministers of State, while the whole foreground is crowded with representatives of the three Estates. From the painting by E. Monet.



THE FLIGHT OF THE KING
AND THE RISING TIDE OF REVOLUTION

By Arthur D. Innes, M.A.

THE States-General met on May 5th, 1789, with the question of procedure still unsettled. The Third Estate was in the full sense representative. It had been chosen by double election—that is, in each area the mass of voters chose a body of electors, and the electors appointed their delegates, who received from them instructions, a programme known as a *cahier*. The delegates were for the most part commoners, a large proportion being lawyers; but they included a few members of the noblesse—notably Mirabeau—and of the clergy, notably the Abbé Siéyès.

Among the body of the nobles there were several who for good or bad motives favoured reform: Lafayette, the hero of the American War, and Philip "Égalité" of Orleans, the king's cousin, who had hopes of getting Louis deposed, and of being made king by popular favour. Among the clergy, those of the higher ranks were almost all of the ancien régime; of the lower ranks, a majority were with the reformers.

After the opening ceremony, when Necker exhausted the audience by a wearisome panegyric on himself, there came a deadlock. The Third Estate, in accordance with the instructions in their cahiers, refused to recognise the separate existence of the other two Estates. Necker's proposal, that the three Estates should be formed into two chambers on the English analogy, the lower clergy joining the commons, was ignored. At last, on June 17th, having been joined by a few of the lower clergy, the Third Estate declared itself to be the National Assembly, and proceeded to affirm that the present taxes were authorised only during the session of the Assembly, and to take the question of food supply into consideration. Two days later the clergy formally joined the Third Estate.

National Assembly Instituted

Such an assumption of authority was not part of the plan as understood by the Court. The king and Necker had meant the Third Estate to be supporters not masters. Reform was good, but it was to be granted with popular approval, not enforced by the popular representatives. When the Assembly gathered on the 20th, it found the hall in the hands of workmen, in preparation for a Royal Session. The delegates went in a body to the Tennis Court, where they took a solemn oath to continue their meetings where and when they could, till the Constitution was completed. Ousted from the Tennis Court, they found a new place of meeting, where they were joined by the majority of the clergy on the 21st.

Louis Defied by the Third Estate

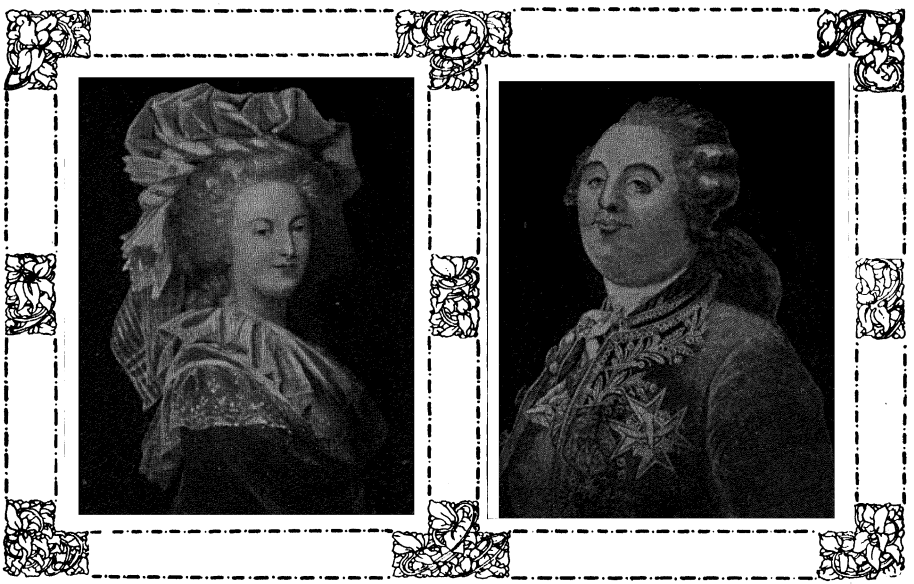
On the 23rd the Royal Session was held. The king announced the reforms which he would invite the Estates to approve; but they must act as separate Estates. If they were recalcitrant, the king would make the reforms by decree. King, clergy, and nobles retired; the Third Estate, swayed by Mirabeau, refused to obey. Next day the majority of the clergy rejoined them, and also the reformers from the nobles. The Crown's attempt was palpably defeated; so palpably that Louis requested the rest of the clergy and nobles to join the Assembly.

But the king now was not guided by Necker, who had not lost his popularity, but by his younger brother, the Comte D'Artois—one day to become Charles X.—and the extreme reactionaries. Their intention was to turn the tables by a coup d'état. The thing needed was force—an army before which opposition should vanish. But the Garde Française was showing insubordination, an excuse for summoning more troops to the capital. They gathered, a palpable menace; excitement and

alarm ran high, with the less need, since the insubordination spread quickly through their ranks, except among the regiments of foreign mercenaries. The climax came when Paris heard, on July 12th, that Necker and others had been displaced and reactionary Ministers appointed. Municipal government was already at a standstill; the body of "electors" to the States-General formed themselves into a provisional municipal government, and began to enrol the Paris militia, which was soon to turn into the National Guard, with its counterparts all over the country. The populace clamoured for arms, and

law. The fall appealed to the world as signalising the ending of an ancient tale of wrong. It was as though the walls of Jericho had fallen at the trumpet blast. The event was hailed with paeans of joy by young enthusiasts; its actual circumstances were enveloped in a cloud of myths.

As a matter of fact, what it mainly signified was that the people of Paris had no master—was on the way to find out that it was itself master; and when that became patent, half the young enthusiasts were in a short time finding themselves as passionately opposed to the revolution as they had been passionately in its favour.



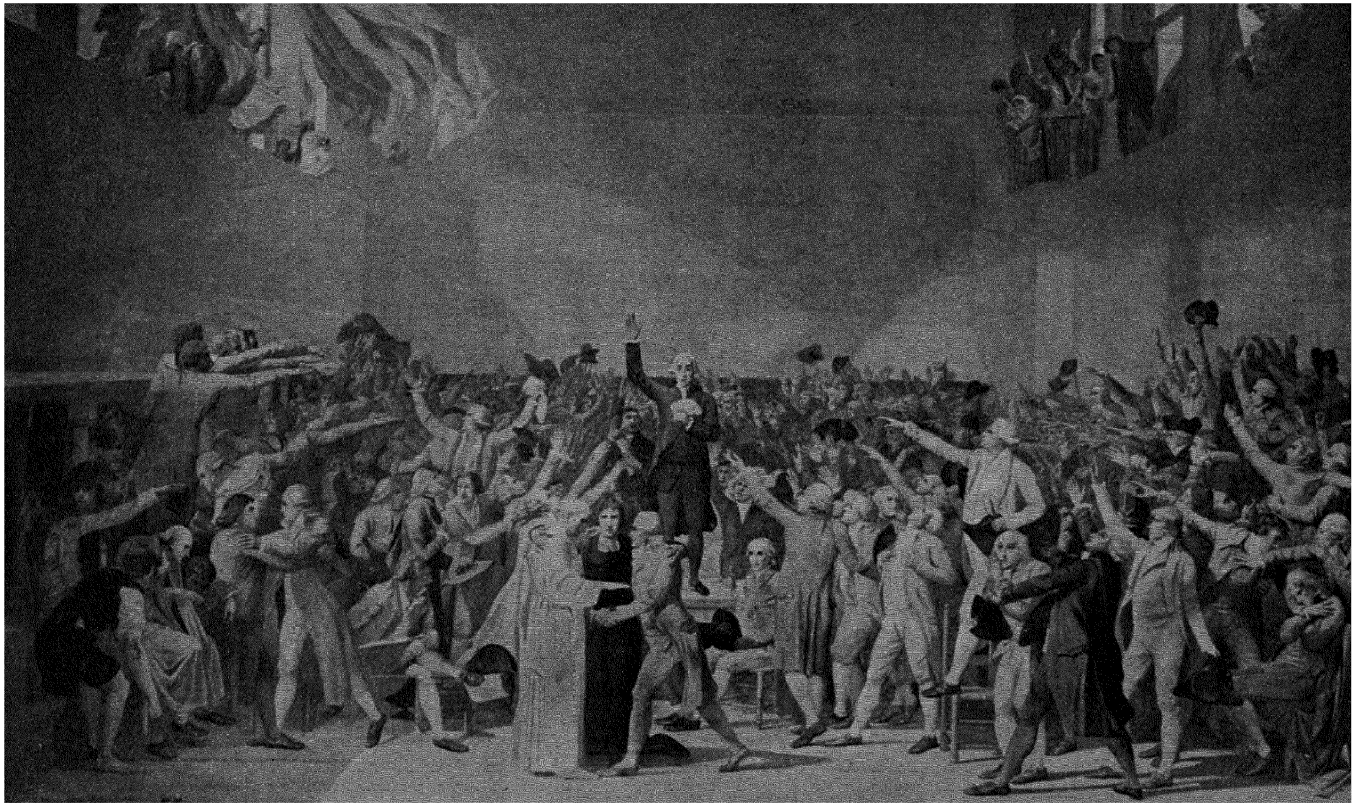
THE ILL-FATED RULERS OF FRANCE: MARIE ANTOINETTE AND LOUIS XVI.
Louis XVI. was King of France when the Great Revolution broke out, and he fell a victim to the wild passions of his people. The queen, Marie Antoinette, who had supported the king in his fatal policy, also died by the guillotine.

turned itself to the manufacture of pikes. There were scenes of violence, collisions with the mercenaries; on the 14th the "Invalides" was seized, supplying muskets and ammunition. Paris turned on the Bastille; the Garde Française joined the mob; the rest of the troops could not or would not stir. When the little garrison refused to capitulate, the mob stormed the place with little difficulty. Though the garrison surrendered, the commandant and a few officers and soldiers were murdered. The Bastille had fallen.

The Bastille was the symbol of the old tyranny, of arbitrary rule, of ordered force, which could override justice and

The physical force was no longer on the side of the existing order; it had passed to the side of the revolution.

Meanwhile, the Assembly was in session at Versailles, expecting the coup d'état which was intended. The news arriving that night meant the complete rout of the Court party. The next day the king announced to them the withdrawal of the troops and the recall of Necker. A band of the popular representatives—Bailly the President, Lafayette, and others, hastened to Paris with the joyful news, and were received with acclamation. Bailly was promptly nominated Mayor of Paris, Lafayette was made General of the National



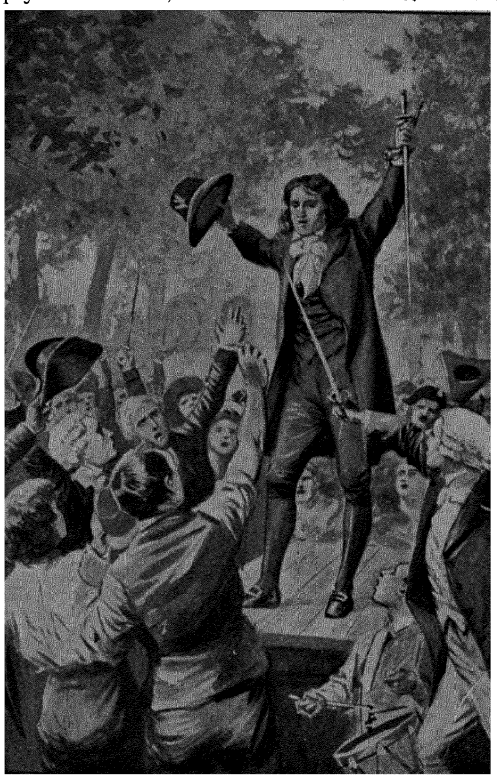
THE POPULAR DEMAND FOR REFORM: THE THIRD ESTATE AT THE TENNIS COURT TAKING AN OATH TO CONTINUE THEIR MEETINGS

At the meeting of the States-General on May 5th, 1789, the Third Estate refused to recognise the separate existence of the other two Estates, and on June 17th declared itself to be the National Assembly. Meeting again on the 20th, the Assembly found the hall in the hands of workmen in preparation for a Royal Session, and the delegates thereupon adjourned to the Tennis Court, where they took a solemn oath to continue the meetings where and when they could, until the Constitution was completed. They were joined next day by the clergy.

From the painting by Jacques Louis David

Guard. Necker's return through France—he had left the country—was a sort of triumphal progress. Louis himself, courageously enough, made a state entry into the capital, and was greeted as the restorer of French liberties. On the other hand, Artois, and others of the most prominent among the reactionary noblesse fled across the border. The emigration had begun.

It was by no means the intention of the Assembly to be simply destructive, nor was it with destructive intent that the new Paris municipality or the National Guard had been formed—both of which found immediate imitators all over the country. But the Paris mob had tasted blood; there were more lynchings, and these found their counterpart throughout the south-eastern provinces in risings of the peasantry, burnings of châteaux, and the like. And in Paris itself, the Committee of Electors, which had taken upon itself the task of governing the city, was displaced by an elected body, at once less capable and less independent, its members ready to be swayed by the dictation of the least responsible of their constituents. There was no sign that the fall of the Bastille was to initiate an era of orderly self-government by the people.



CAMILLE DESMOULINS AT THE PALAIS ROYAL
Desmoulins belonged to the extreme party of Revolutionists, and the above picture shows him addressing an enthusiastic gathering in the grounds of the Palais Royal. As a member of the National Convention, he voted for the death of the king, in 1793. Desmoulins was himself arrested, and died by the guillotine on April 5th, 1794.
From the drawing by C. M. Sheldon

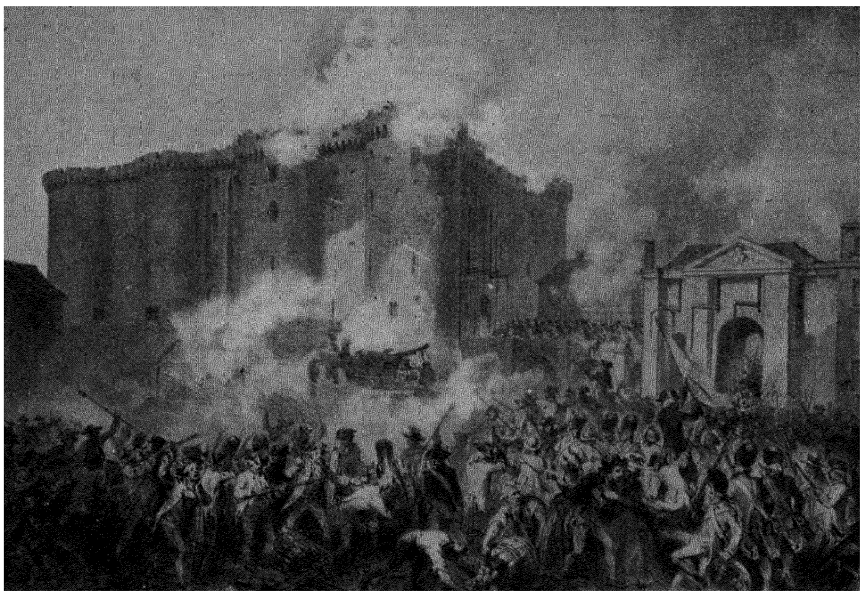
The National Assembly, however, was honestly zealous to find genuine remedies for the prevailing evils. With a pathetic belief in the enunciation of high principles as a general curative, it was passing its time in abstract discussion of the Rights of Man, when it was roused to concrete action by the reports of disorder and outrage. On August 10th it set itself to pass a series of reforms, wiping out a host of privileges, and earning for that day the title of "St. Bartholomew of Property." The feudal rights of the noblesse to personal service, such as the corvée, and to jurisdiction were abolished; what we should call the game laws went the same way. These enactments were proposed not by commoners, but by members of the noblesse. In like manner, the guild restrictions on the practice of trades and crafts and the transferability of labour were done away with.

In effect, feudalism was suddenly swept away in a single night by one great wave of emotion; legal rights which, however evil, had been part and parcel of the social fabric were blotted out in a moment without compensation—very much as if slavery had been suddenly abolished without compensation to slave-owners—incidentally, of course, with an extremely disquieting effect on the contiguous feudal provinces of the empire. Still more serious, from the European point of view, was the fact that in some frontier provinces actual treaty rights of German princes were over-ruled by these measures.

The reforms of August 4th embodied principles which were true and sound, but their sudden, instead of gradual, application to a system built up on totally different principles necessarily involved an

immense amount of injustice, and intensified a hundredfold the instability of a social and political fabric which was already quaking. By this business of destruction the way to construction was prepared, and to this the "Constituent" Assembly now devoted itself. The process divided the body more definitely into parties—the "right" representing reaction, the centre moderation, the left radicalism, with its various types. The reactionaries were important mainly from their readiness to combine with one or another radical section in order to carry out a policy of obstruction. The moderates included many men of ability, who aimed at a constitution after the British model, and saw with alarm that the revolutionary forces were becoming too powerful to be controlled. The radicals included academics like Siéyès, enthusiasts like Barnave, Duport, and Lameth, fanatics like Robespierre. And outside of all the parties stood Mirabeau, the single titanic personality, the one man who might conceivably have given the revolution a different course, but whose only chance of doing so lay in his displacing Necker as Minister, or uniting with him and Lafayette. The combination was virtually impossible, because the three men were incompatibles: and Mirabeau could not displace Necker, because the Court hated him, and there was no political group which either understood or trusted him, in spite of his extraordinary power of swaying both the Assembly and the populace.

The form of the new Constitution was the first question to be dealt with: a committee appointed thereto had drafted a scheme. The executive was to remain with the Crown. The legislature was to be a representative chamber, a senate, and the Crown. The senate was not to consist of hereditary peers, as in England which was, of course, the general model but of Crown nominees presented by the departments. The Crown was to have the power of veto. But the senate did not suit the reactionaries, since it was not to be aristocratic; it did not suit the extreme democrats, because it was not representative. The two wings combined to kill the second chamber. Then arose the question of the royal veto. The Rights of Man could not be squared with an individual's right to veto

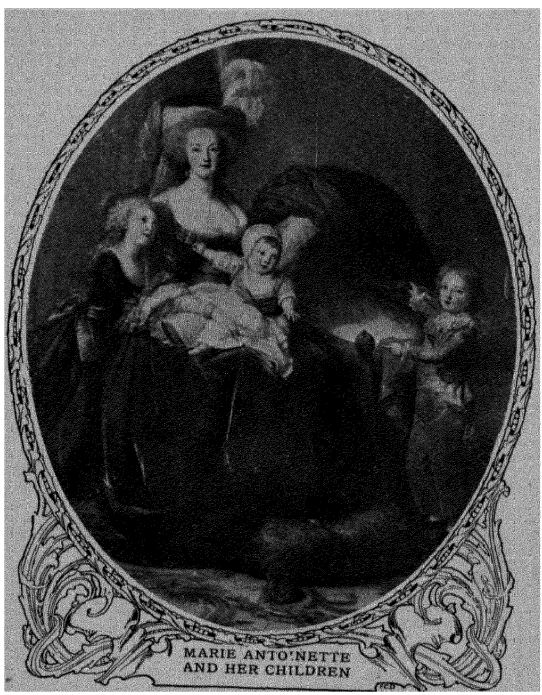


THE FALL OF THE BASTILLE: THE MOB STORMING THE PRISON

To the people of France the Bastille was the symbol of the old tyranny, of arbitrary rule, of ordered force, which could override justice and law, and when the nation rose in revolt the famous prison was fiercely attacked. When the little garrison refused to capitulate, the mob stormed the place, effected an entrance, and the Bastille was destroyed.

the demands of a nation—just as the equality of all men could not be squared with the theory of a senate. The extremists clamoured; the mob shouted. Despotism and slavery would be restored! The Assembly ended by adopting the compromise of the arch-compromiser Necker. The Crown was granted a suspensive veto. If a measure were passed twice, the veto must lapse.

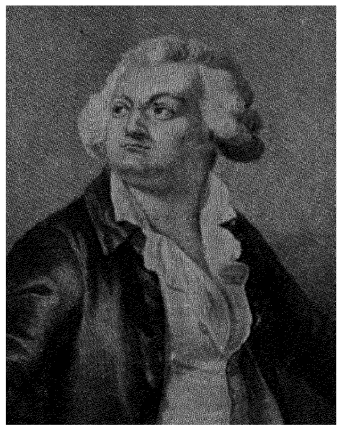
But while the Assembly debated the creation of a constitution which had no basis in the national history—thus differing fundamentally from its supposed model, the British Constitution, which was an organic historical growth—a fresh outside force had been developing: an energetic and vociferous Press, which poured out a flood of newspapers and pamphlets. The winds of doctrine, blowing from every conceivable quarter, produced wild turmoil in men's minds, though as yet in Paris, Lafayette, with his National Guard of respectable citizens, kept violence within bounds. Much of the most dangerous agitation is attributed to the sinister designs of Orleans and his allies; and a mob for whom it was still hard enough to provide sufficient food was an instrument which responded readily to the agitator's touch.


MARIE ANTOINETTE AND HER CHILDREN

Wild rumours as to the destruction of food supplies by the aristocrats found popular credence. A royalist banquet was given at Versailles by the officers of a newly arrived regiment; it was reported that the tricolour, the new national badge, had been trampled under foot. On October 5th an extraordinary mob, the women of Paris, poured out to Versailles, to interview the king—not without an attendant masculine mob. Reluctant Lafayette, with the National Guard, arrived at night from Paris and restored some sort of order; but in the early morning rioters broke into the palace, murdering the soldiers they found. Only by the self-devotion of a few guards was the royal family saved from probable massacre, before Lafayette appeared with the National Guard and cleared out the rioters. But the mob was clamouring without that the king and queen must go back to Paris; and the National Guard, in spite of Lafayette's popularity, were obviously in sympathy with the mob's demands. The royal family was carried off to Paris; the Assembly transferred itself thither. Their presence in the capital was the visible sign that the promise of the day of the Bastille was being fulfilled. Paris was supreme in France, and the mob was all but supreme in Paris.

For the time, however, the effect was in favour of order, more especially as Orleans was obliged to leave the country. The mob was not supreme yet, and some riots were firmly dealt with. But several of the moderates began to withdraw from the Assembly, the grouping of parties began to alter, and their differentiation to become more definite. The organisation of the groups took a new development through the formation of political clubs. Of these the most important was the Jacobin, named from the quondam Jacobin monastery where it met. From its original character as an association of Breton delegates it became a club which included most of the reforming leaders. Now the

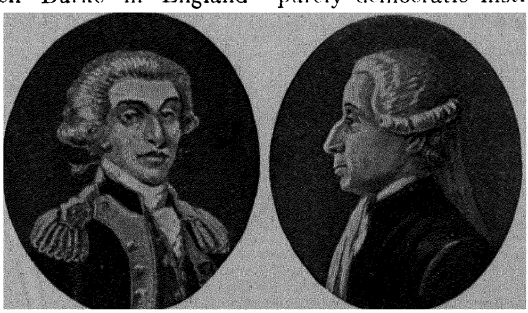
preponderance of extremists drove Lafayette, Siéyès, and others to secede and form a new club of their own, leaving the Jacobins to develop the extremist organisation all over the country. The reactionaries imitated the example set them, and sundry other clubs were started on similar lines. And every group held its own discussions, ran its own journals, and issued its own pamphlets.



MIRABEAU

Belonging to the noblesse, he was the one man who might have prevented the Revolution by reconciling the monarchy with the democracy, but he died in 1791, before his task was completed, and the revolutionary tide swept on.

It was in these altered and altering circumstances that the Constituent Assembly continued its work. The moderates hoped to check the swelling democratic current through the old provincial parlements, with their traditions, which were both anti-monarchical and anti-democratic. But the Assembly proceeded to suspend the parlements and reorganise provincial administration after the ideals of symmetrical and mathematical perfection so dear to the brain of the Abbé Siéyès, ignoring, just as it did in evolving the scheme of the new Constitution, the principle on which Burke in England laid so much stress—that the new should be developed out of the old, not substituted for it; that sound reform is a process of adaptation to altered environment, not of experiments in search of abstract logical ideals. The division of the country into administrative provinces had grown out of the old division of feudal areas, with corresponding variations in the local system of government. The provinces were abolished, and the country was cut up into "departments" on geographical lines, approximating to a chessboard pattern. All the departments were to be administered on identical ideal lines, uniform and symmetrical. The department was divided into districts (arrondissements), and the district into cantons. There was a council of thirty-six, with five executive officers for the department as a whole; subordinate to this were a separate council and executive for each district. The canton was a merely electoral division. The "citizens"—that is, all who paid a minimum amount in direct taxation—in the canton chose "electors"; the electors chose the councils and officers for districts and departments, and the deputies for the Assembly. A higher "taxable" qualification was required for members of the councils, and a higher still for deputies. So far the reconstruction proceeded palpably on middle-class lines. But the canton itself was divided into self-governing units called communes, each having its own council and executive elected directly by the people; virtually a purely democratic institution, which in a very short time was to fall completely under the control of the Jacobin clubs. The judicial system was reorganised on the same local basis, and the appointment of judges, from among the lawyers, was transferred from the Crown to the "electors."



LAFAYETTE AND BAILLY

Lafayette had taken part in the American War of Independence, and proposed to the National Assembly a declaration of rights based on the American plan; he formed the National Guard and worked for order and humanity. Jean Sylvain Bailly was President of the National Assembly and Mayor of Paris; losing his popularity, he retired, but was seized, brought to Paris, and guillotined.

The Church, too, had to be dealt with; her endowments were tempting to an exhausted treasury, and the distribution of Church property was sufficiently scandalous. Necker in his necessity had already obtained from the Assembly, swayed by Mirabeau, a grant of one-fourth

of all incomes; but even that had been swallowed up by the enormous expenses entailed in the process of reconstruction.

The theory was advanced that endowments were the property of the nation, only held in trust by the Church. The state took possession, guaranteeing a minimum income to every curé and the cost of public worship. But since the announcement that Church property belonged to the state failed to restore credit, the next step was to issue a vast paper currency (assignats) on the security of the Church lands; that is, the holder could claim the equivalent in Church lands. The plan proved a failure financially. It was not till some months later—in the middle of 1790—that the "Civil Constitution of the Clergy" was completed. The religious houses having already been suppressed, the departments were turned into bishopries, and the bishops and parish priests were to be chosen by the electors, papal authority being ignored. Priests and bishops were shortly afterwards required to take an oath recognising the civil supremacy, whereupon the greater part of the clergy retired, and became known as non-jurors. The process of fixing the limitation of powers under the new Constitution was completed by the debates and by resolutions on the question whether the Crown should have the power of making war and peace.

Mirabeau, who still hoped to create a strong government by the combination of a democratic legislature with a monarchical executive, fought hard for the rights of the Crown, and the result was a formula asserting that the right belonged to "the nation." War could be declared only by a decree of the Assembly introduced by the king. Finally, the unanimity and concord of the nation was celebrated by a great patriotic demonstration on the anniversary of the fall of the Bastille, when king and queen, the Assembly, delegates from all the departments, and a huge assembled crowd took the oath of loyalty to the new Constitution, amid wild excitement and enthusiasm. Nevertheless, disorder continued. A soldiery whose pay is not forthcoming is a dangerous element, and in August there was a serious mutiny at Nancy,



THE ARREST OF LOUIS XVI. WHILE ATTEMPTING TO ESCAPE FROM FRANCE

Unable any longer to delude himself as to the impending danger to the throne, the king decided to make his escape from the distracted country. On June 20th, 1791, under the cover of darkness, Louis and Marie Antoinette secretly took flight from Paris, but before they reached the border the king was recognised. The party was stopped at Varennes and ignominiously brought back to the capital. On the king's return, his authority was suspended.

From the painting by T. E. Marshall



THE KING AND QUEEN OF FRANCE IN PRISON AFTER THEIR ATTEMPTED FLIGHT FROM THE COUNTRY
From the painting by E. M. Ward

suppressed only after fierce fighting. It was at this juncture that Necker suddenly melted out of politics and withdrew from France, almost unnoticed If the Court would have frankly placed its confidence in Mirabeau, it is conceivable that he might have succeeded in attaining his own ideal, but the Court would not denounce the émigrés, and Mirabeau was now himself being hotly denounced as a traitor by the Jacobins Before he had succeeded in converting Louis in his favour, the tremendous strain of his public energies, coupled with the excesses of his private life, broke the great tribune down, and he died in April, 1791 The one man who might have reconciled the monarchy with the democracy had gone

Mirabeau Denounced as a Traitor

In spite of July 14th demonstrations, there had never yet been an approach to mutual confidence between the Court and the Assembly Louis was sincerely desirous of his people's good, but his whole entourage saw in the events of the still uncompleted two years which had passed since the convening of the States-General nothing but a greedy and insensate attack on privileges which they regarded as rights inherently necessary to the existence of social order

Mirabeau had urged on the king that his presence in Paris deprived him of all independence and power of action, that the vigorous initiative essential to the recovery of confidence in the king's capacity or sincerity could be displayed only if he took up his residence at a distance from the domineering and turbid capital But this was a very different thing from the escape out of French territory which the Court now contemplated Knowing or fearing that any departure from Paris would be forcibly prevented, the king and queen took flight secretly by night on June 20th But before they reached the border Louis was recognised. At Varennes the party was stopped and ignominiously brought back to Paris When the king's flight was discovered, the Assembly promptly took upon itself the whole of the sovereign functions, and when he was brought back to Paris the suspension of his authority was continued until the Constitution should be actually and formally completed. This caused a secession of royalists from the Assembly, while, on the other hand, the Jacobins began to demand that the suspension should be permanent and the Constitution altered into a republic instead of a limited monarchy.

Frustrated Flight of the King

For the time, however, this in turn drove several of those who had hitherto been looked upon as the chiefs of the advanced party into alliance with the moderates, Siéyès and Lafayette This left the thorough-going Jacobins, among whom Robespierre, Danton and Marat now exercised the principal influence, free to work on very extreme lines, and in the country, though not in the Assembly, their organisation made them far more powerful than the other sections

The attitude of the Constituent Assembly during these last months of its career recalls that of the Long Parliament in 1649, and of the Rump afterwards It had done a great deal of work very conscientiously, it was thoroughly satisfied with itself, and it was unaware that it had lost control, which had passed to a very much more powerful organisation—in England, the army, in France, the Jacobin club Unconsciously it had already sealed its own fate and the doom of its own policy by registering a self-denying ordinance. When the Constitution was brought to completion, the Constituent Assembly was to be dissolved and a new Legislative Assembly called, and members of the old Assembly were to be barred from sitting in the new one.

The End of Lafayette's Influence

This, by the way, presents not a resemblance but a very strong contrast to the Long Parliament and the Rump, which were more inclined to perpetuate their own powers The new men were certain to be largely Jacobin candidates, and without the experience which the present delegates had acquired This was made the more certain by a serious collision in July between Lafayette with the National Guard and a mob which had been set in motion by the Jacobins The Guard were driven into firing on the mob, Lafayette's influence had rested mainly on his personal popularity, which was destroyed by his action on this occasion

The Constitution was formally accepted by Louis on September 14th, on the 30th, the Constituent Assembly was dissolved. On October 1st, the Legislative Assembly opened

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION & NAPOLEON



III

BY ARTHUR D. INNES, M.A.

THE REVOLUTION TRIUMPHANT

THE LAUNCHING OF THE FIRST REPUBLIC

BEFORE the career of the Constituent Assembly was ended affairs in France had produced in other countries an attitude ominous of war. In England, the section of Whigs headed by Charles James Fox were enthusiastic partisans of the Revolution; but Burke had broken with them, and his splendid denunciations were exercising a powerful influence. Still, however, and for some time to come, the attitude of Pitt and his Ministry was favourable rather than otherwise. Nothing in the nature of intervention was contemplated.

On the Continent, on the other hand, the Tsarina Catharine II. was anxious to embroil Austria and Prussia with France in order to free her own action in Poland, where her influence was threatened; while German states had already received provocation—as noted—by the proceedings of August 4th, 1790,

Movement in Favour of the Ancien Régime

the princes looking upon the compensation offered them for the deprivation of treaty rights as inadequate; the Austrian Emperor was the French queen's brother; and the émigrés, established at Coblenz, were actively agitating for foreign aid in restoring the ancien régime, a project which Gustavus III. of Sweden ardently advocated. In the brief period of his rule the Emperor Leopold had already acquired such prestige that it practically lay with him to decide whether Europe should or should not intervene; and he was too cool-headed to do so voluntarily.

Nevertheless, the predicament in which the French monarchy placed itself by the abortive flight to Varennes, combined with the general pressure which he had hitherto succeeded in resisting, forced Leopold's hand, and in July he invited the Powers to combine in support of the French monarchy. Until the king was once more a free agent they should refuse to recognise the authority of the existing French Government, and should prepare to enforce that point of view in arms if necessary. At the same time, he brought Prussia into close diplomatic accord with himself. At the end of August he met Frederic William at Pilnitz, where the two monarchs emphatically

Louis XVI. Again on the Throne

snubbed the Comte d'Artois and the émigrés, but issued a joint declaration in favour of intervention, provided the other Powers were in agreement. It was by no means Leopold's intention to carry out the threat, for he was well aware that Pitt would stand aloof; moreover, the actual purpose of the declaration seemed to have been effected when, a fortnight later, Louis accepted the Constitution and became king again. Leopold very promptly announced that the raison d'être of the declaration had thus been removed, and the declaration itself cancelled. It was hoped that the crisis was passed.

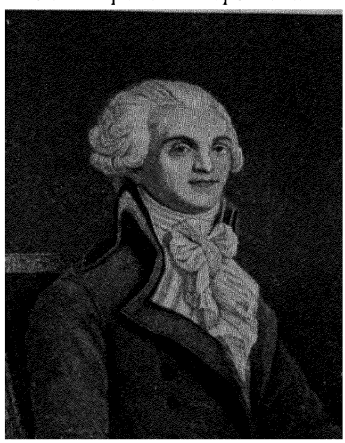
In France, however, these proceedings had not been recognised as what may be called a manœuvre to take the wind out of the sails of the émigrés and their partisans; they appeared in the light of an insolent attempt to dictate to France as to the conduct of her internal affairs. The new Legislative Assembly met in a spirit of aggressive defiance which boded ill for the peace of Europe. The members were without political experience—that had been assured by the self-denying ordinance of the Constituent Assembly.

Among them was a mere sprinkling of Royalists, and only a small band of "Feuillants," the name given to the supporters

Divisions Among the Reformers

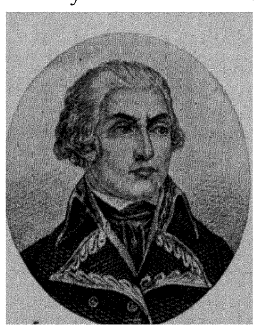
of the Constitution which the last Assembly had been at such pains to construct. The bulk of the delegates fell into two advanced sections, the Girondins, of whom the nucleus was a group of enthusiastic idealists, and the Jacobins, who gathered round the fanatical extremists—the section which came to be known as "the Mountain," from the elevation of the seats

which they occupied in the Assembly. The Crown might have saved itself before by placing itself in the hands of Mirabeau. It might conceivably have saved itself now by unqualified co-operation with a smaller man than Mirabeau, Lafayette, with the support of the Feuillants. But the queen hated Lafayette, as she had long hated Mirabeau; Louis could not shake off the definitely reactionary influences, and even at the best, Lafayette's popularity had waned, and a change in the organisation of the National Guard deprived him of his exclusive control. Within the Assembly, the Feuillants were not a conspicuously able group, whereas the Girondins—so named after the district from which some of their prominent members came—were intellectually brilliant as well as being for the most part intensely in earnest. With the Mountain, as with the Feuillants, the real chiefs were outside the Assembly—Robespierre and the other heads of the Jacobin club.



ROBESPIERRE
A prominent figure in the revolutionary times, he was elected first deputy for Paris to the National Convention, and became one of the rulers of France. He was popular for a time, but fell from favour and was guillotined in 1794.

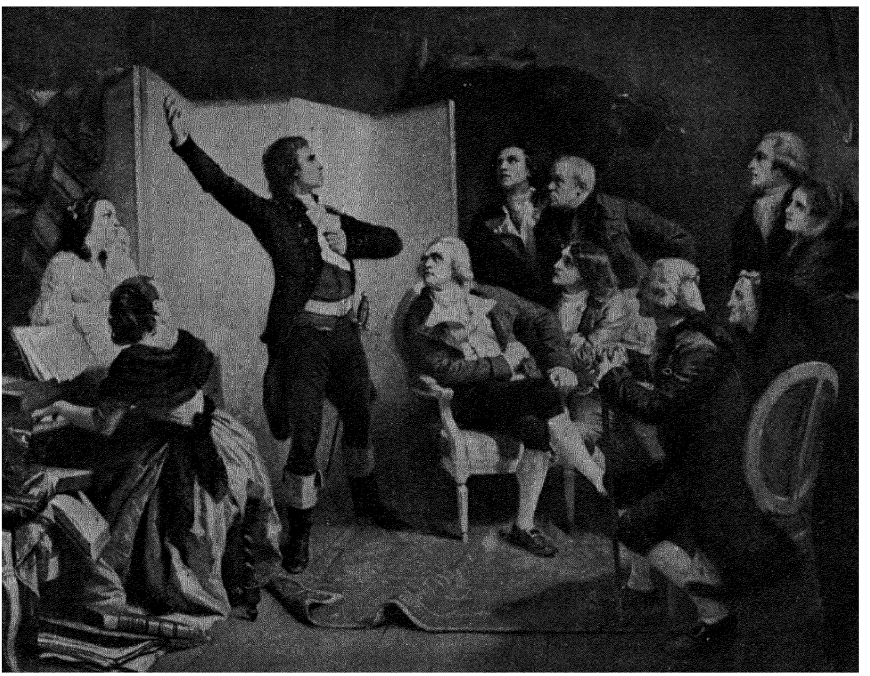
The king's persistence in relying on "royalist" Ministers, who were almost without supporters in the Assembly, made harmonious working practically impossible. In November, edicts were passed against the émigrés and against the non-juring clergy, the former being in arms on the frontier, while the latter were fomenting civil outbreaks. Thereupon the king applied the veto. The constitutional question was immediately raised whether the decrees were technically laws to which the veto could apply or executive measures falling within the control of the Assembly absolutely. Probably the true position was that they should have been regarded as executive measures to prevent a civil and perhaps a foreign war, which ought to have been submitted to the Assembly by the Crown. But by his action Louis virtually challenged the Assembly, and placed a weapon in the hands of the Republicans of the Gironde and the Mountain.



GENERAL DUMOURIEZ
Resigning the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to take command in the field, he defeated the Prussians in 1792, and the Austrians in the following year. He died in England in 1823.

Moreover, on the question of foreign relations, the Feuillants were effectively in agreement with the Girondins. Lafayette probably, and the Girondins avowedly, expected to derive increased political weight from a patriotic war, and both groups genuinely and not unjustifiably resented the pretensions of any foreign power to interfere with French domestic affairs. That the Mountain happened for its own reasons to be more pacifically inclined, and so far in accord with the Crown, was of no advantage to the Crown. The result was that the king at the close of the year was compelled to dismiss his War Minister, and appoint a Feuillant, and to address to the Elector of Trèves and to the emperor demands for the disbanding of the émigré forces. The émigrés refused to be disbanded, and Leopold's answer was a virtual refusal. Thereupon a large force was massed on the frontier, and an ultimatum sent to the emperor on January 25th, requiring a satisfactory answer by March 4th. On this, Leopold formed a close defensive alliance with Prussia: but the direction of affairs was snatched from his hands by death, and he was succeeded on the throne by his son, Francis II., while Louis found himself forced to reconstruct his Ministry from the ranks of the Girondins, Dumouriez becoming Minister for War. The change did not make for peace, and resulted in Louis being compelled, on March 20th, 1791, to propose to the Assembly, in accordance with the forms of the new Constitution, the declaration of war against Austria,

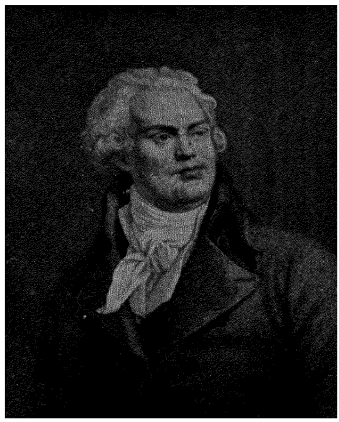
where Francis as yet was not emperor. War with Austria would mean also war with Prussia and Sardinia. Neither Russia nor Great Britain certainly, nor Spain probably, would take any part. Gustavus III. of Sweden, who would have eagerly joined in, to restore the old French monarchy, had been assassinated a month before. Dumouriez, though associated with the Girondins, had aims analogous to those of Mirabeau, and saw in a successfully conducted war the prospect of establishing something like Mirabeau's ideal of dividing the exercise of the sovereign powers between a strong monarchy and a strong democracy; and his energies were concentrated on the war.



THE SONG OF THE REVOLUTION: ROUGET DE LISLE SINGING "THE MARSEILLAISE"
"The Marseillaise," the National Anthem of France, was born amid the tumult of the Revolution, being written in a single night by an officer named Rouget de Lisle. In the picture De Lisle is seen singing the song to his friends.

It was Dumouriez who now developed a conception which became and remained an important factor in French foreign politics—that of acquiring for France her "natural" frontier, which has its analogy in Lord Beaconsfield's "scientific frontier" for India; a frontier fixed not by considerations of homogeneity of race, language or customs, but by geographical features which constitute a "natural" barrier, strategically defensible. Such a frontier may be provided by the sea, by mountain ranges or by rivers. On three sides and on part of the fourth side France was already all but girdled by the ocean, the Pyrenees, and the Alps; it remained to make the Rhine the completion of her boundary, and to absorb Savoy on the south. The expectation that the people of the Austrian Netherlands would prefer association or incorporation with France to their existing subjection to the Austrian monarchy, against which they had very recently been in open rebellion, encouraged a plan of campaign which made those provinces the immediate objective. Three armies were sent to the front under Rochambeau, Lafayette, and Luchner. But the first engagement resulted in ignominious defeat, the men behaving so badly that Rochambeau resigned his command in disgust. The soldiers, on their part, believed that their officers were "aristocrats," who intended to betray them, a distrust which sufficiently accounted for their misconduct.

The suspicions of treachery were no less rife in Paris, where the sympathies of the Court were notoriously and inevitably on the side of the enemy. The news of the opening fiasco led to the immediate formation of a new armed force of "pikemen" for the capital, formed from the lower classes—not from the bourgeoisie, like the National Guard, to whose moderate tendencies the pikemen served as a counterpoise. The Assembly proceeded to decree the formation, outside Paris, of a camp of volunteers from the departments, and the expatriation of the non-juring clergy. The king vetoed both decrees, and dismissed the Ministers who were most closely connected with the Gironde. Dumouriez, conscious that he would be powerless if he severed himself from his party, resigned on Louis' refusal to withdraw the veto.



DANTON

Like so many of the leading men of the time, Danton, who has been described as the greatest figure that fell in the Revolution, ended his life at the guillotine. He was an original member of the Committee of Public Safety.

Louis fell back on an incompetent Feuillant Ministry. On June 20th, the Paris mob, probably with the connivance of the Mayor, Pétion, a Jacobin, invaded the Tuileries; but although the queen was insulted and bullied, and Louis himself was compelled to wear the "red cap" of Liberty, he refused to be intimidated. When Pétion himself appeared, the mob was induced to retire. The riot produced a certain reaction, but the opportunity was wasted.



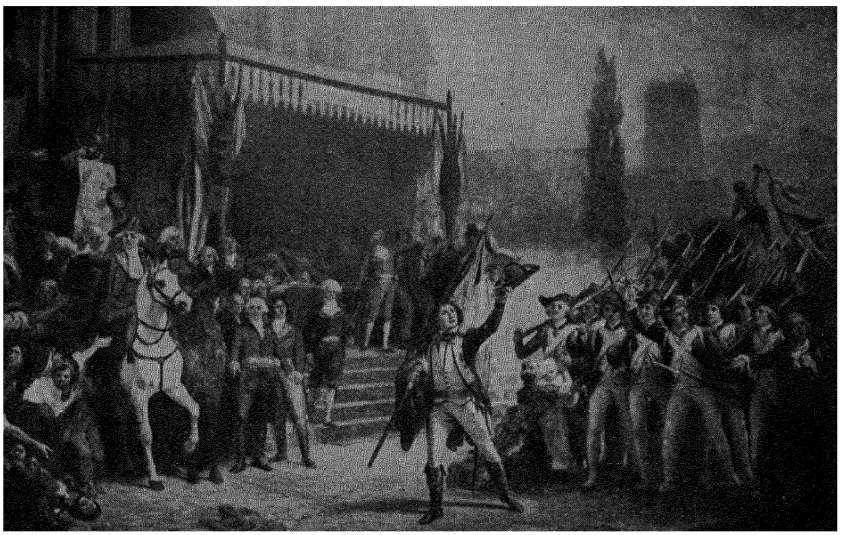
PARIS IN REVOLT: THE MOB IN THE PALACE OF THE TUILERIES

After their unsuccessful attempt to escape from France, the king and queen returned to the Palace of the Tuileries, which was invaded by the mob on June 20th, 1792. Seeking refuge in an inner room, Marie Antoinette, with her children and her sister Elizabeth, stood for hours behind a barricade of tables and chairs, exposed to the revilings of the crowd that poured through the royal residence, heedless of the queen's appeal to their better feelings.

From the painting by A. Elmore, R.A., by permission of the Art Union

Louis hoped that foreign intervention would restore him unshackled by alliance with any party. Lafayette hastened from the front, in the hope that his presence might restore order; but he found both the court and the Assembly hostile, and even his National Guard disaffected, and could only withdraw again.

If anything was required to raise the popular excitement to the explosive point, it was provided by the Prussian declaration of war in July, followed by the manifesto of Brunswick, the Prussian commander, threatening penalties on Paris if the king or queen suffered harm. The contingents of volunteers from the departments—the veto on the formation of the



"IN THE NAME OF LIBERTY": ENROLLING VOLUNTEERS IN THE REPUBLICAN ARMY

camp had been withdrawn—arrived; those from Marseilles brought with them the "Marseillaise," thenceforth to be the hymn of revolution. The national celebration of July 14th was virtually a Republican demonstration. Even Lafayette and a too royalist Assembly became the mark of popular clamour. On the night of August 9th a rising was organised in Paris. Arrangements were made to replace the Paris government by a provisional commune, with Danton at its head. The commander of the National Guard was put out of the way and replaced by a mob leader. With the dawn of August 10th the volunteers were brought up, and the king found that there were no troops to defend him. He, with the royal family, escaped to the Assembly, which promised them protection. The Swiss Guard at the Tuileries alone refused to desert their posts, and after a desperate resistance were cut to pieces; the mob massacred every man they could find in the palace.

Not the Assembly, but the new Commune was now completely master of the situation, for the Commune not only swayed the mob, but had captured the material means of government. The Assembly could only obey its orders. The monarchy was suspended; Danton was made Minister of Justice. Lafayette, with the army, proposed to march on Paris, but neither the men nor the commanders would support him, Dumouriez declaring that their business was with the threatened invasion. Lafayette and his associates, denounced as traitors by the Assembly at the bidding of the Commune, retired over the frontier, and vanished politically. In fact, Lafayette was captured by the enemy and held in detention as a prisoner of war for five years.

Meanwhile, the Prussians, under Brunswick, were advancing. Lafayette and his colleague, Luchner, were replaced by Dumouriez and Kellerman. Longwy capitulated; on September 2nd, Verdun fell, and the way to Paris was open. To increase the desperate condition of affairs, civil war broke out; the peasants of La

Vendée, where, as previously noted, the relations of the populace with the gentry were of a patriarchal and friendly type, close in support of the Crown and the clergy. For desperate circumstances, Danton devised a more than desperate remedy. There must be no shadow of risk that the action of the executive should be in any way hampered by opposition, it must be as free from control as the most absolute despotism, to that end sheer terror must be the means On the night of August 29th, commissioners, nominally in search of arms, conducted a house to house visitation throughout Paris, and arrested and flung into prison some four thousand "suspects" The mob was taught that the "aristocrats" were only waiting for "patriots" to depart to the front, in order to carry out a massacre When the news arrived of the fall of Verdun, organised bodies were allowed to enter the prisons, and for three days there was a systematic slaughter Similar atrocities were carried out in other cities, the numbers of the slain were reckoned in thousands

Terrible Slaughter of "Suspects"

But now at the front the situation changed While Frederic William and Brunswick were discussing whether an immediate advance should be made upon Paris, Dumouriez was infusing a new spirit of patriotic confidence into the French troops, and when the Prussians attacked them at Valmy they held their ground The Prussians retired, and from this time the enemy realised, as did the French troops themselves, that the latter had once more become formidable Moreover, Russian action in Poland was now demanding the serious attention of Prussia, which could no longer afford to let its armies be absorbed in a monarchist crusade, and Brunswick drew off his troops towards the Rhine

The cannonade of Valmy—it hardly claims to be called a battle—took place on September 20th In the meantime, the Assembly had continued its session, but, under the orders of the Commune, had fixed September 21st as the date for its own dissolution and for the assembling in its place of a new National Convention, to which the old self-denying ordinance of the Constituent Assembly did not apply, and for which the electorate and the delegates were freed from the former property qualifications Its first step on its opening day was to proclaim that the monarchy was at an end, and France was a republic.

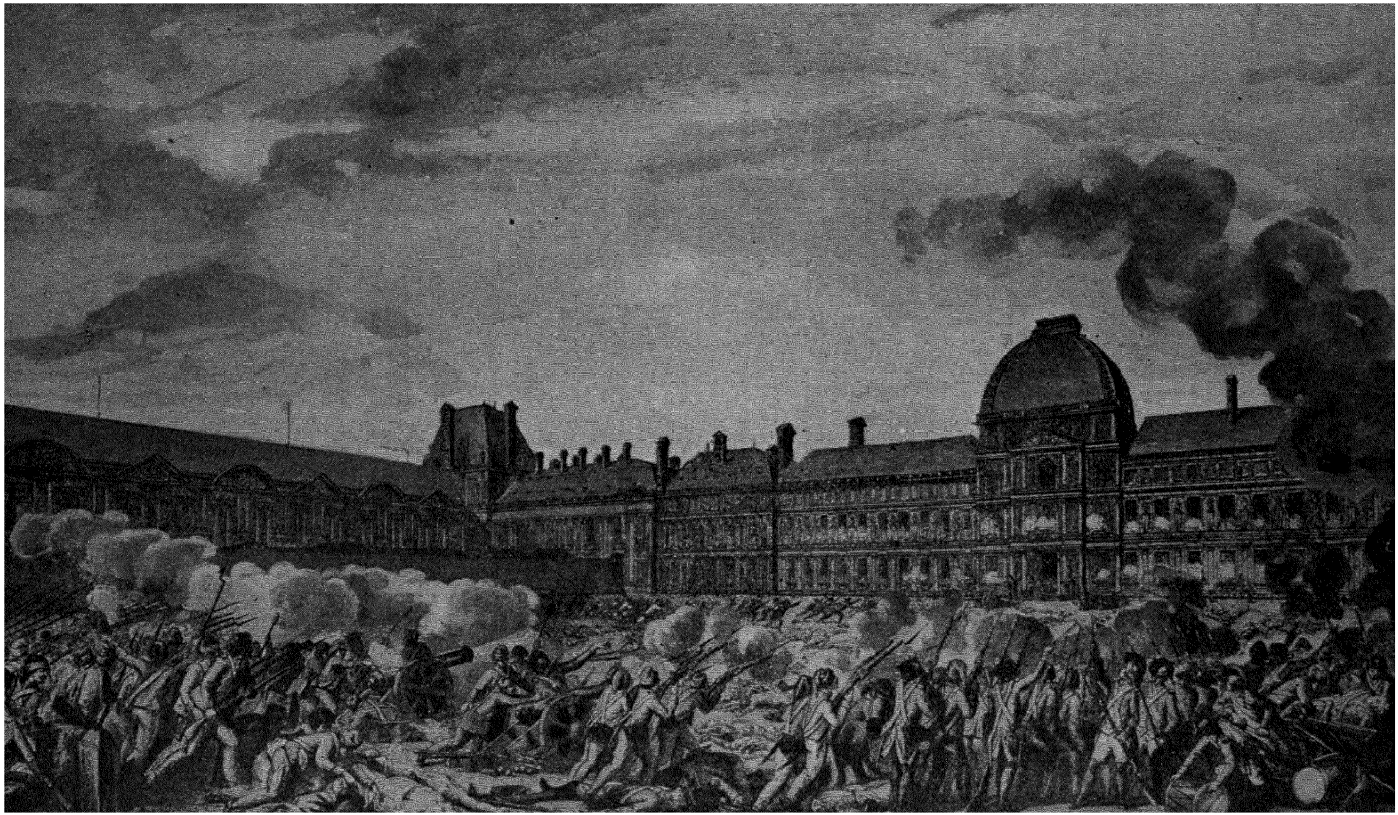
France Proclaimed a Republic

The Constituent Assembly had been a reforming body, in which men like Lafayette, Mirabeau, or Siéyès had all been reckoned as of the advanced party In the Legislative Assembly the ideas which had dominated such men were regarded as conservative and even as reactionary, the representative section of the advanced party was to be found among the idealists of the Gironde In the Convention, the republican Girondins were the party of order, and their opponents were the revolutionaries of the Mountain From the Second Assembly the Royalists had almost vanished, in the Third Assembly, a like fate had befallen the Constitutionalists

In the Convention, at the outset, the preponderance lay with the Girondins, the members of the Mountain were much fewer But the very considerable body known as "the Plain," which was attached definitely neither to the Gironde nor to the Mountain, was very soon under the practical control of the latter or of its leaders, who were in effect the dictators of the Jacobin organisation and of the Paris Commune Theoretically, indeed, there was no great difference between the aims of the Gironde and the Mountain But the cultured intellectuals of the Gironde shrank back with a shudder from the merciless popular tyranny expressed in the September massacres, the author of which they would willingly have punished Their own ranks, however, were devoid of discipline, and their leaders had no conception of political tactics They attacked Robespierre, Danton, and Marat instead of seeking the alliance of Danton, without having the evidence to carry their charges home, while the centralising system of their opponents, which concentrated all effective control in the hands of a few men who knew their own minds, gave those opponents an enormous advantage

The Gironde Cultured but Undisciplined

Nevertheless, amid the contests of the Mountain and Gironde work was done by committees of the Convention outside the realms of party warfare which has remained of permanent value—such as the introduction of the uniform "metric" system of weights and measures in place of the old chaotic variety, the preparation



THE TUILERIES IN THE HANDS OF THE MOB: THE SACKING OF THE ROYAL PALACE ON AUGUST 10TH, 1792

In this picture there is represented one of the most significant incidents of the early days of the Revolution. On the night of August 9th, 1792, a rising was organised in Paris, arrangements being made to replace the Paris government by a provisional commune, with Danton at its head. A mob leader took the place of the commander of the National Guard. On the following day, the Tuileries was attacked; the Swiss Guard were cut to pieces, after a desperate resistance; and overrunning the palace, the mob murdered every man they could find there.

of Condorcet's great scheme of systematic national education, and the preliminary work on the Civil Code, which made the way ready for the Code Napoléon. A curious aberration, however, was the invention of a new Revolution Calendar, starting the year One of the New Era from September 21st, 1792. Cosmic laws unkindly forbade the perfect application of the decimal system, but logic substituted for the old haphazard designations of the months titles connected with their naturalistic associations, such as Thermidor, Fructidor, Brumaire. The new calendar was not put in force till October, 1793.

Republican Armies' Series of Victories

The armies of the Republic prospered during the autumn. The population of Savoy was quite ready for incorporation, having no affection for the Sardinian monarchy, and practically no resistance was offered. In the Rhine provinces, which the operations in the north had left undefended, Custine advanced and captured Mainz and Frankfort without difficulty. In the north, Dumouriez invaded Belgium, where he inflicted on the Austrians at Jemappes a defeat which caused them to retire; and here, too, the population welcomed the invaders.

On the same day as the victory at Jemappes the Convention took the aggressive step of declaring the commerce of the River Scheldt to be free, although the control of it had been guaranteed to Holland by treaty. These proceedings, however, had an important effect on the international situation. Hitherto the French had, in theory at least, been fighting in self-defence, with every justification for resisting the armed intervention of foreign powers in the domestic affairs of France. Now, France was assuming the aggressive, annexing territories, ejecting governments, and claiming by her own fiat to cancel treaties. Two things were still wanting. The first was supplied when, in December, the Republic issued a decree proclaiming that in all districts occupied by French armies the existing governments and all privileges were to be abolished, popular assemblies summoned, and the country taken under the protection of the Republic. The second followed when, in Danton's phrase, the Republic "flung down to the kings the head of a king as the gage of battle." The Jacobins saw in the slaying of the king the opportunity of cutting France off from her historic past, of appealing to the passions of the Paris mob, and of denouncing as traitors all who opposed the design. The Girondins shuddered, detested, but dared to offer only a qualified resistance.

A committee reported that the king might lawfully be tried by the Convention. The discovery of some of Louis's earlier correspondence strengthened the clamour against him. The Mountain began to demand the summary execution of the king without trial, on the principle that the security of the people overrides all law. To escape that extreme, the Girondins assented to the trial; to his eternal honour, Malesherbes came forth from his sixteen years of political retirement to volunteer his services in the king's defence. An attempt was made to withdraw the decision from a court dominated by the Paris Commune and the Paris mob, and to refer it to the Departmental Assemblies.

Louis XVI. Dies by the Guillotine

The trial was opened in December, the galleries being crowded with an intimidating mob. Under such conditions, on January 14th, 1793, the verdict was given, a majority of eleven voting in favour of the guillotine. On the 21st Louis's head fell. Within three weeks Great Britain was added to the nations against whom the Republic had declared war—a war which was really to be ended only after two-and-twenty years, on the field of Waterloo.



THE FRENCH VICTORY OVER THE AUSTRIANS AT THE BATTLE OF JEMAPPES IN 1792

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION & NAPOLEON



IV
BY ARTHUR D INNES, M A

UNDER THE REIGN OF TERROR

AND THE COMING OF THE MAN OF DESTINY

HITHERTO France had been at war with Austria, Prussia, the princes of the frontier provinces, and Sardinia or Savoy Prussia was vacillating between sympathy for the French monarchy and distrust of Russia in Poland, between aversion from the revolution in France and an equally intense aversion from the émigrés Austria was fighting at a distance from her base, in conjunction with an ally with whom she was by no means in close accord The other powers were standing out of the quarrel, Pitt being, indeed, rather disposed to recognise the Republic and seek its alliance But in the closing months of 1792 and January, 1793, some important changes had taken place

Public opinion in England was turned angrily against France by the September massacres The French Government, with its successes in the field, was eager to challenge the world in arms, under the conviction that in England, as well as elsewhere the people were groaning under the tyranny of a political system which they were yearning to overthrow The Jacobins were zealous to impose popular liberties as understood by themselves on the nations of Europe The Girondins anticipated with alarm the results of a peace which would scatter over France 300,000 soldiers for whom the existing industrial conditions would not readily provide civil employment On the other hand, the foreign territories now in French occupation were beginning to realise that liberation, as interpreted by the Republic, was not an unqualified blessing In England, though not in Ireland, the demand for liberation was practically non-existent, and it was soon to be proved that Great Britain was the most implacable and also the most stable of all the Powers challenged by the regicide Republic The war had been forced upon a Minister who, up to the last moment, had done his best to avert it, but when once it had begun did his best to maintain and extend the European coalition with a greater zeal than that of any other of the Powers But the strength of coalitions depends very much less on their aggregate mass than on their sustained co-operation and unity of aim Spain, Portugal, Naples, and Holland might be, and were, all drawn into this coalition, but at the best these were only make-weights, and on land Great Britain herself was little more —as yet The effective military powers were Prussia and Austria But Austria and Prussia were not preparing to devote their energies completely and decisively to the repression of France

France Ready to Challenge the World

Unhappy Condition of Poland

At this crisis Prussia became absorbed in a fresh partition of what remained of Poland with the Tsarina, on lines the reverse of satisfactory to Austria, whose interest lay in the maintenance of an independent Poland strong enough to serve as a barrier against the westward advance of Russia Until the close of 1795 the Polish problem perpetually distracted the two German powers from the systematic prosecution of the war against the French

Under such conditions it is not surprising that the coalition failed to strike decisive blows in spite of the pressing difficulties under which the French Government, still nominally Girondin, was labouring It was only for a very brief moment that the enormous odds which France had raised against herself served to unite all parties in a determination to meet them effectively Huge new levies were raised, and the outstanding cash problem was dealt with according to precedent by the issue of more assignats But the strife between the Mountain and Gironde revived with increased bitterness Having made themselves responsible for the death of Louis, the Girondins could forgive

The Girondins Suffering from Remorse

neither themselves nor the antagonists who had driven them into this false position. Dumouriez, after visiting Paris, and offering a vain opposition to the regicide policy, returned to the army in Belgium with the immediate object of subjugating Holland, which was not unwilling to overturn the rule of the Stadtholder, William of Orange. The advance of the Austrians into Belgium compelled him to give them battle, and to suffer a defeat at Neerwinden. Seeing only a dwindling prospect of carrying out his own policy in the character of a triumphant general—the policy of restoring the monarchy in the person of young Louis Philippe, the son of "Égalité" Orleans—he resolved to do so with foreign aid. His troops, however, were still less disposed to aid him in this project than he had been to aid Lafayette in the past; and he was obliged to take flight and follow Lafayette out of effective political life, though not into captivity.

Defeated Ambitions of Dumouriez



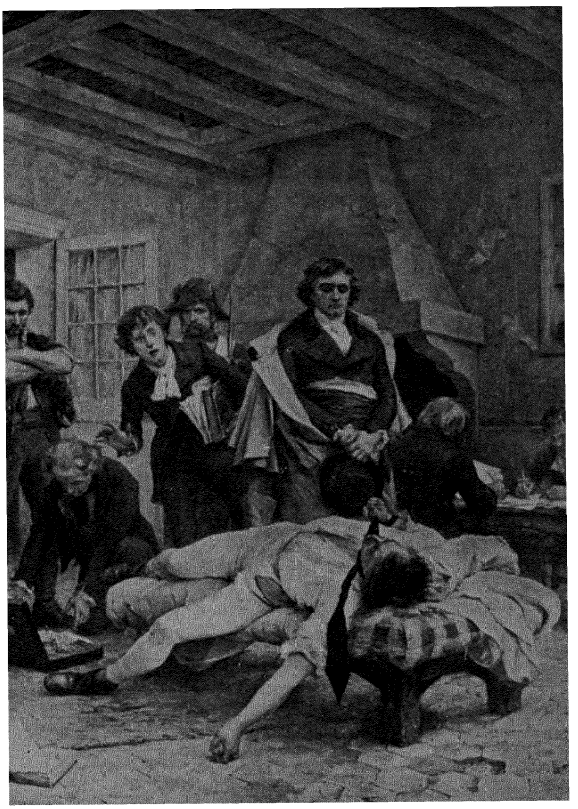
MARIE ANTOINETTE IN MOURNING
After the execution of Louis XVI.

The Girondins had refused to detach Danton from the Jacobins, to injure him by charging him with complicity in Dumouriez's Orleanist plot; but thereby they only hastened their own downfall. A secret committee of nine, known as the Committee of Public Safety, was established by the Convention to control the Girondin Ministry and the commanders at the front, with almost despotic powers. The Girondins made unsuccessful rhetorical attacks on their opponents, who organised a popular hostility in Paris, which broke out in a rising on June 2nd. The National Guard had become an instrument of the Jacobins.

The Convention was surrounded in force, and compelled to surrender most of the prominent Girondins. Some of these escaped, and proceeded to raise the provinces against Paris mob rule. La Vendée had already for months been in active insurrection, defying and destroying Government forces. Charlotte Corday succeeded in assassinating Marat, but the practical effect was to intensify the ferocity with which the Jacobins pursued their opponents. Had the antagonism to the Paris Government been organised instead of sporadic, it would have been in the utmost peril. And had the members of the coalition been working in concert, they might have threatened Paris itself, for, in every quarter, the French were being worsted — by Spaniards, Piedmontese, Prussians, Austrians, British. The loyalists of Toulon handed over the arsenal and harbour to the protection of the British Fleet. The allies took Valenciennes and recaptured Mainz. But each of them was playing for his own hand with the object of securing this or that piece of territory out of the dismemberment of France. In the face of these gathering perils, the Committee of Public Safety, now armed with almost unlimited powers, directed its energies with savage vigour to the organisation of an aggressive defence and a ruthless crushing of all resistance, potential as well as active, suspected as well as proved, to the "tyranny of Liberty." The genius of Carnot, the "organiser of victories," was soon triumphantly associated with the fanaticism of St. Just and the venom of Robespierre in directing the fate of France. Although the Convention drew up yet another Constitution, its adoption was deferred, and practically all powers executive and legislative were vested in the Committee, and their commissioners ruled absolutely in every department. Carnot raised three-quarters of a million soldiers; the revolts everywhere were crushed with merciless rigour. "Suspects," which might mean anyone who had failed to display conspicuous energy on behalf of the existing Government, were flung into prison by the thousand. The old commanders were displaced, it might be on insufficient grounds;

The Prisons Filled with "Suspects"

but the new men were selected by Carnot with extraordinary insight and judgment, and they displayed a capacity which invariably justified the selection. In the north, Jourdan drove back the combined British and Austrians—the former were still in the stage when family connections constituted the sole title to important commands; in the Rhine provinces, Hoche and Pichegru drove back Austrians and Prussians. Before Toulon, the genius of a young artillery officer, Napoleon Buonaparte—the more popular form Bonaparte was adopted by him at a later date—secured over the besiegers a position so commanding that the English admiral, Hood, had to content himself with taking off a number of the loyalists and destroying the French warships which lay in the harbour. Yet these military triumphs had an ugly background in the Reign of Terror which was established—not only in Paris. Names noble and infamous were numbered in the death-rôle—the queen and the sister of the king, the mistress of the king's grandfather, Mme. Roland, the soul of the Girondin idealism, Philip "Égalité," generals who had failed to satisfy, like Custine and Houchard, men once honoured as reformers, like Bailly and Barnave, amid an untold number of forgotten victims, while the interested psychologist observes that Paris went to the theatre as usual. Even Robespierre was disgusted at the obscene profanities of the "feast of reason" indulged in by the foul Hébert and his associates. Danton, and those who were with him, were now nicknamed the "Indulgents"; though responsible for the last year's September massacres, they had no part in these abominations. Danton struck without mercy, but with definite purpose; the "Reign of Terror" was a period of indiscriminate slaughter, almost without purpose, hideous, sickening. Robespierre, seeing the revulsion it caused, allied himself for a moment with the "Indulgents" for the destruction of the Hébertists, whose heads fell beneath the guillotine in March. Then Robespierre turned on his rival. A fortnight after, Hébert, Danton and his associates met the same doom. Robespierre's supremacy was undisputed.



THE DEATH OF GENERAL PICHEGRU

Enlisting in the army of France, Charles Pichegru became a general of division, and led his troops to victory in a series of important battles. In consequence of his associating himself with the Bourbons, the Directory superseded him by Moreau, and his Bourbon intrigues were continued after he became President of the Council of Five Hundred in 1797. He escaped from France, but returned to it in 1804, and on the morning of April 6th, was found strangled in bed.

Robespierre was a complete fanatic; in his own eyes, the apostle and high priest of perfect Rousseauism, whose mission it was to inaugurate Rousseau's millennium at the cost of a vast sacrificial slaughter. He was also a complete egoist,

perfectly satisfied that to secure his own power all means were moral. He was a convinced Deist; and, in contrast to the Hébertists with their nauseous "feast of reason," which was an atheistic carnival, he caused the Convention to affirm by decree the existence of the Supreme Being and the immortality of the soul; he instituted the Festival of the Supreme Being, acting himself as a sort of high priest. But the Terror went on; it was to go on till the "Reign of Virtue" was established.

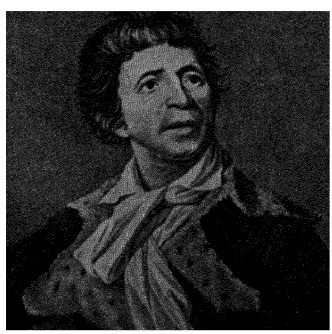


ST. JUST AND CARNOT

St. Just was a follower of Robespierre, and at the Convention in 1792 came into notice by his fierce attacks on the king. He died by the guillotine, along with Robespierre, in 1794. Carnot, a member of the Committee of Public Safety during the Revolution, earned the title of the "organiser of victory"; he raised no fewer than fourteen armies.

The Law of Prairial, in June, abolished the last semblance of legal procedure in the case of "suspects," and his former coadjutors felt that their own turn might come any day. While the guillotine devoured its daily feast—between forty and fifty victims on the average, in Paris—enemies who had learned their business as members of the Committee of Public Safety, enemies as ruthless as himself, were plotting Robespierre's downfall. There were preliminary warnings, but Robespierre counted on his own influence. On Thermidor 9th (July 27th), not six weeks after the passing of the Law of Prairial, the Convention turned upon Robespierre and his associates, St. Just and Couthon, and decreed their arrest. The troops of the Commune were brought up to effect a liberation, but they offered no opposition when the Convention in turn brought up troops to carry out its order. The three were dispatched to the scaffold. So ended the Terror. Not because all the new chiefs were less bloodthirsty, but because they realised that the lust of blood had been glutted and turned to nausea. The overthrow had been effected by a combination of Indulgents and Terrorists; but the victory lay with the Indulgents.

The personnel of the Committee of Public Safety was necessarily changed, though Carnot remained. He cannot be acquitted of responsibility for the Terror; but his business had been with the exercise of administrative functions in another sphere, that of military organisation, and for his astonishing success in this department France owed him an enormous debt. The new Government set about the task of restoring something like constitutional methods with vigour. The Law of Prairial was repealed, and Robespierre's instrument, the Revolutionary Tribunal, was suspended. Much of the power usurped by the Committee was restored to the Convention. The Paris Commune was abolished, and replaced by committees nominated by the Convention. Fresh forces were organised to hold the mob in check, composed of members of the well-to-do classes. The remnant of Terrorists were forced to resign their places on the various committees. The remnant of Girondins was recalled to the Assembly, and the Jacobin club was closed by a decree of the Convention. The Terror was a lurid background to the military achievements of the Republican armies. They were now led almost entirely by men of great natural talent, who had displayed conspicuous ability and courage in the ranks and in subordinate posts; and the presence at the front of commissioners of the

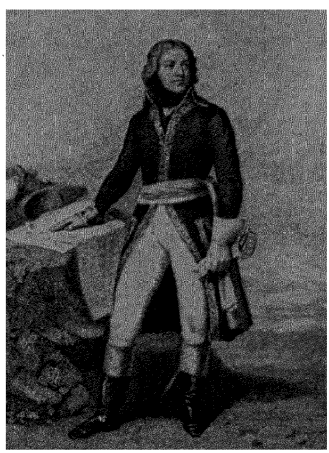


JEAN PAUL MARAT

A zealous revolutionary, he engaged in a mortal struggle with the Girondins, and at his door has been laid the blame of the most infamous of the massacres. He was the object of intense hatred, and was assassinated in 1793.

Committee of Public Safety was a perpetual reminder that failure, or even the appearance of failure, might lead to the guillotine, as it did with Custine and Houchard. The Spaniards, who had met with some success when they first joined the coalition, were driven back, the Pyrenees were pierced, and Spain itself was invaded by the force which had recovered Toulon. The previous successes of the Piedmontese were reversed.

On the side of the Rhine and the Netherlands, the French improved upon the advantages won in 1793. Prussia, intent on subjugating her share of Poland, would continue the French war only for hard cash; Austria would provide none, but Pitt furnished the subsidies demanded, in return for which Prussia sent to the Rhine 60,000 men, whose commander, Möllendorf, remained persistently inactive. In the Netherlands, the Austrians at first co-operated with the Duke of York, and Landrecies was taken; but Pichegru advanced at the head of the French Army of the North; York was defeated at Turcoing; further south, Jourdan, after a series of minor engagements, defeated the Austrians at Fleurus, while Möllendorf refused to move to their support. The Austrians retired beyond the Meuse, York fell back into Brabant, and Pichegru made himself master of Belgium.



GENERAL HOCHE

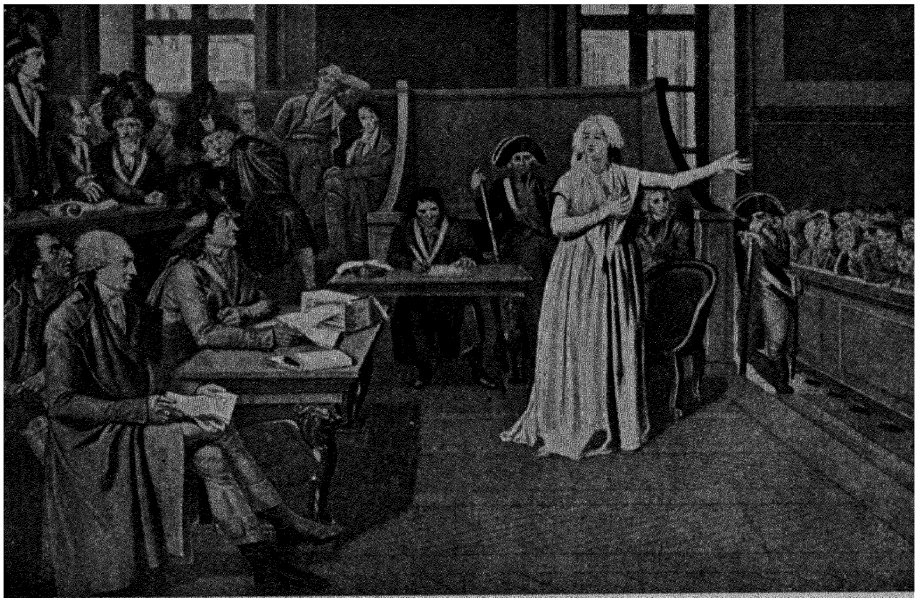
General Hoche defended Dunkirk against the Duke of York in 1793, and it was owing to his efforts that the civil war in La Vendée was brought to an end in 1795. Two years later he inflicted several defeats on the Austrians.

In fact, with Austria, as with Prussia, the French war had come to be regarded as of minor importance as compared with Poland, and Francis was hoping to be compensated for the loss of the Netherlands by the acquisition of Bavaria as the price of his assent to the partition arranged between Prussia and Russia. As the year advanced, all the provinces on the left bank of the Rhine were occupied by the French; Pichegru advanced into Holland, disregarding the difficulties of a winter campaign; the Dutch fleet in the Texel was captured, and the Stadtholder took flight to England—

Succession of French Victories

to which power, it may here be noted, he very shortly ceded the protectorate of the Dutch Colony at the Cape, which thenceforth remained a British possession, except during the brief interval of the Peace of Amiens. Holland itself was transformed into the "Batavian Republic." The revolt in La Vendée, though it had extended to Brittany, had been reduced to warfare of an exclusively guerrilla character. For the coalition the record of the year 1794 was pitiful. Great Britain alone could find some consolation in Lord Howe's naval victory of the "glorious First of June" off Ushant—a battle famous, among other things, for the mythical heroism of the crew of the Vengeur, who, after a magnificent fight, did not refuse to strike their colours, but surrendered before the ship went down. The legend, however, was invaluable as an inspiration of dauntless defiance. The situation was not redeemed in the following year. Austria, indeed, impelled by the energy of Pitt and the promises of the Tsarina Catharine, who was exceedingly anxious to keep the emperor embroiled in the west, maintained the war, though without energy. Great Britain did little except make an abortive attempt to set the émigrés at the head of a Royalist rising in Brittany, which was foiled partly by the miserable incapacity of the émigrés themselves, partly by the skill and energy of Hoche, to whom Carnot entrusted the command. Some seven hundred of them were shot down in cold blood by the order of Tallien—who was present as commissioner—not of Hoche, who proceeded to pacify the country with a judicious justice, which could be severe or lenient as circumstances might demand. But the coalition was broken up. Prussia, which had taken no effective part since 1793, made her own peace with the Republic in April by the Treaty of Bâsle, surrendering her territories on the left bank of the Rhine, and receiving a provisional

"Glorious First of June"



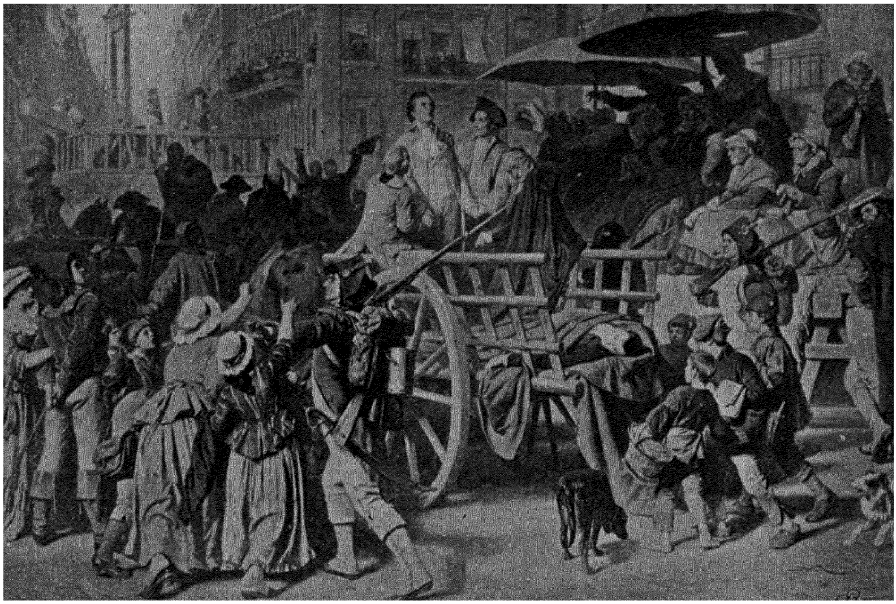
TRIAL OF MARIE ANTOINETTE BEFORE THE REVOLUTIONARY TRIBUNAL

Marie Antoinette was brought for trial before the Revolutionary Tribunal on October 14th, 1793. The proceedings lasted for about twenty consecutive hours. The queen was perfectly calm throughout the long and terrible ordeal, and "did not give the least sign of fear, or indignation, or weakness," even when the decree that sentenced her to death was read



THE QUEEN OF FRANCE BEING LED TO EXECUTION ON OCTOBER 16TH, 1793

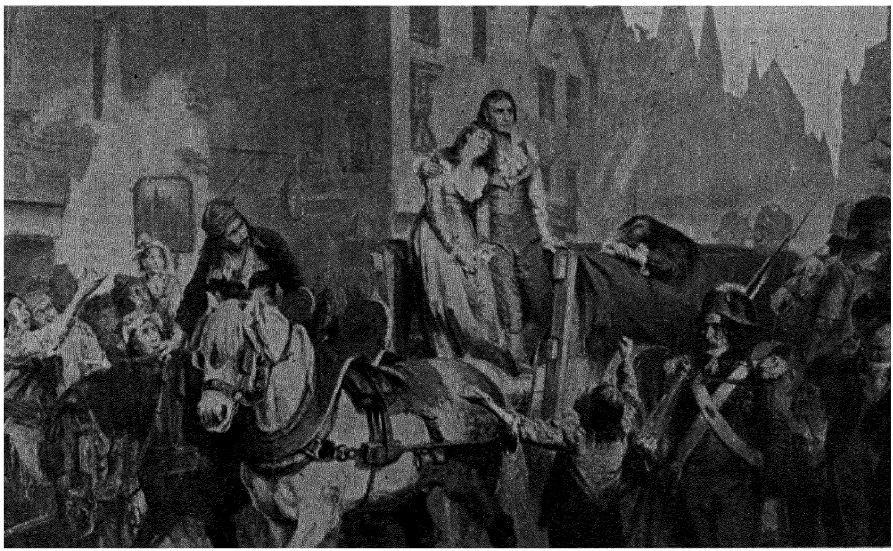
The courage and fortitude exhibited by Marie Antoinette during her long trial before the Revolutionary Tribunal did not forsake her in the closing hours of life, and she bravely met death by the guillotine on October 16th 179



THE GUILLOTINE'S DAILY TOLL: GIRONDINS ON THEIR WAY TO DEATH

The Girondins, at first allied with the Jacobins, were one of the chief revolutionary parties that arose during the Revolution, but while they had a part in the overthrow of the monarchy they had no share in the infamous September massacres. When the party were defeated in June, 1793, many of their leaders and followers were led to the guillotine

From the painting by Piloty

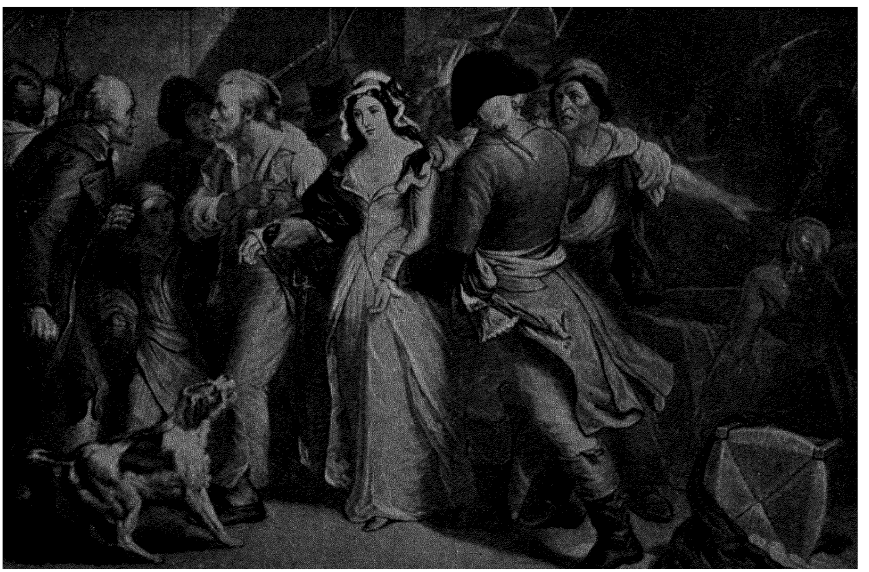


VICTIMS OF THE GUILLOTINE: A DAILY SCENE DURING THE REVOLUTION

Such scenes as that represented in the above picture were witnessed daily in the streets of Paris and other cities during the Reign of Terror. In rough carts, men and women, amid the jeers and insults of the brutal mob, were taken to the place of execution and beheaded by the guillotine, whose thirst for blood remained insatiable.

promise of compensation on the right bank. Spain followed suit in July, ceding her portion in San Domingo. The Bourbon monarchy was the less averse because the young Dauphin, who had not been guillotined, but kept a prisoner, succumbed in June under the severities of his confinement.

It is not surprising that some two score of pseudo-Dauphins were discovered at intervals in the years to come. The legitimist heir to the throne was now the late king's brother, the Count of Provence, who assumed in his exile the title of Louis XVIII. Once more a new Government was on



THE ASSASSINATION OF MARAT BY CHARLOTTE CORDAY

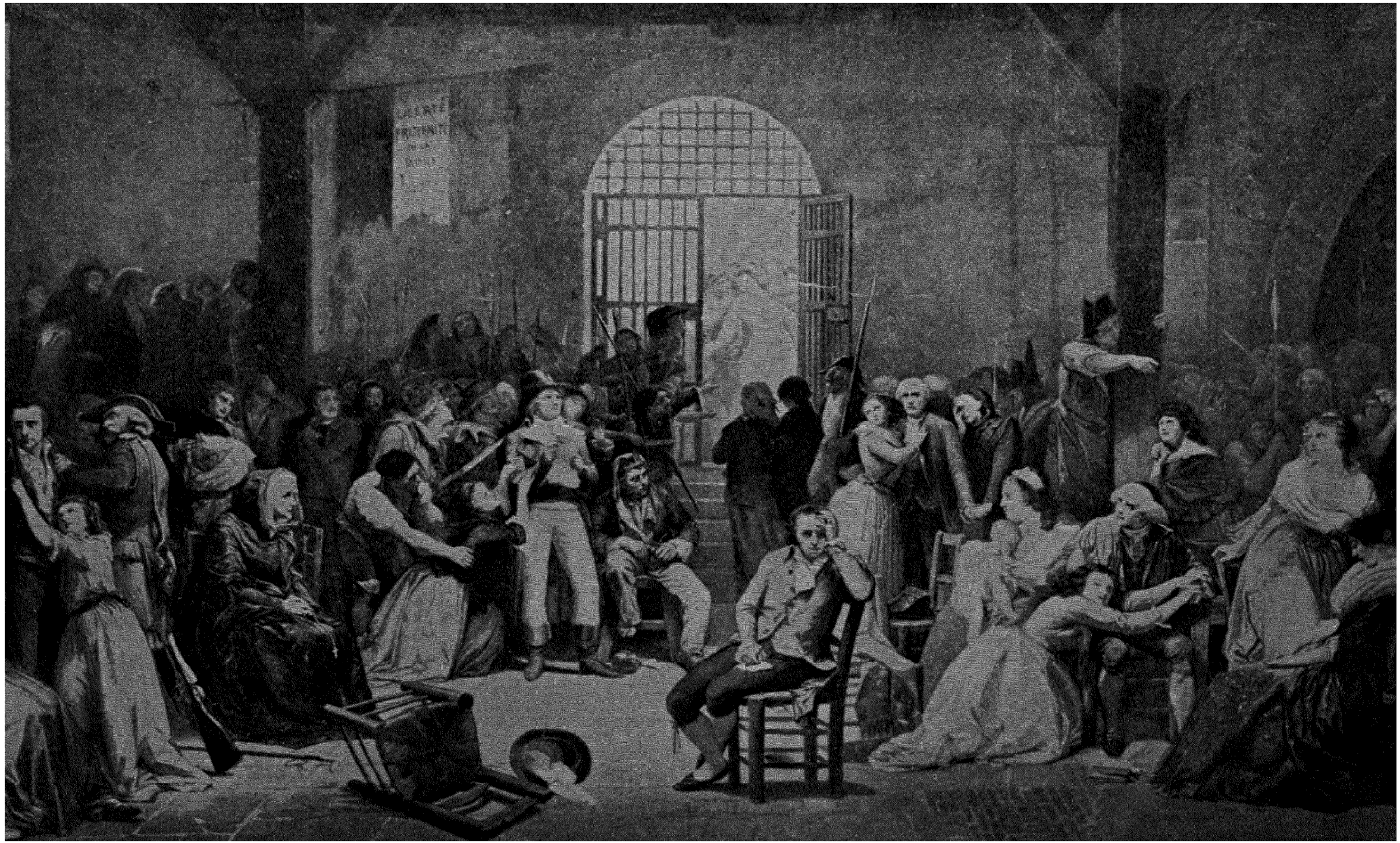
Though of noble family, Charlotte Corday welcomed the Revolution, but was horrified at the acts of the Jacobins, and resolved to destroy one of their leaders. On July 17th, 1793, she was admitted to the house of Marat on the plea that she had important news to impart, and finding him in his bath stabbed him to the heart. She was executed a few days later.

From the picture by H. Scheffer

the verge of being formed in France. The "Thermidorean" reaction was the expression of a strong national revulsion against the excesses of the last two years, and restored a considerable share of power to the bourgeois element. But the distress of the lower classes had found temporary alleviation from the employment provided by revolutionary committees, and from the "maximum" law, which had fixed a limit on the price of food and other articles; both these disappeared with the reaction. The discontent of the mob was fanned by the surviving Terrorists, and Paris saw another insurrection in May, which was successfully put down by the Government. The scales had turned against mob rule.

As usual, however, the remedy for discontent was sought in the promulgation of a new Constitution. Two fundamental vices were discovered as the cause of failure in the past—the confusion of the legislative and executive functions, and the single chamber. The executive body was now to have no control over legislation; the Legislature, divided into two chambers, would have no control over the executive, save for the power of impeaching Ministers. The deputies were to be chosen by double election—the citizens who paid taxes choosing electors, and the electors choosing deputies. The younger deputies, forming the larger body, were to submit legislation to the elder, or Chamber of Ancients. The two bodies were to nominate the five heads of the executive, the Directory, who would appoint Ministers. One of the Directory and one-third of each of the other bodies were to retire annually.

An obvious weakness lay in the risk of Directory and Legislature losing touch, and creating a deadlock with its attendant dangers, which in England are obviated



THE ARISTOCRATS' HOUR OF DOOM: THE GAOLER READING THE NAMES OF THE PRISONERS CONDEMNED TO DIE
From the painting by Muller at Versailles

1673

by the system of party Cabinets. The fear, however, of reaction, whether royalist or revolutionary, taking effect at the coming elections, inspired a further modification—that in the first instance two-thirds of the deputies must be chosen from the members of the Convention itself.

There was no one in Paris to treat the Convention as Cromwell had treated the Rump under somewhat similar circumstances; but the Assembly was not so secure of its own position as the British Parliament which prolonged its own life by passing the Septennial Act. An insurrection in Paris of the discontented factions was almost a certainty. The Government appointed Barras to deal with the emergency. Barras turned to a young artillery officer who had recently been cashiered for refusing to join the army in La Vendée—the same to whom the credit for the capture of Toulon was known to be due. To him Barras entrusted the command of the troops. By the use of artillery, dexterously secured by Murat, Bonaparte completely scattered the insurgents in the streets of Paris on October 5th. The Man of Destiny had set his foot on the first rung of the ladder. Before we accompany him through his tremendous career, his rise to unexampled power and the crash of his fall, we must turn to the events in Central Europe, which have been glanced at only from time to time in our sketch of the first years of the first French Republic. The special affairs of Great Britain are reserved for separate treatment.

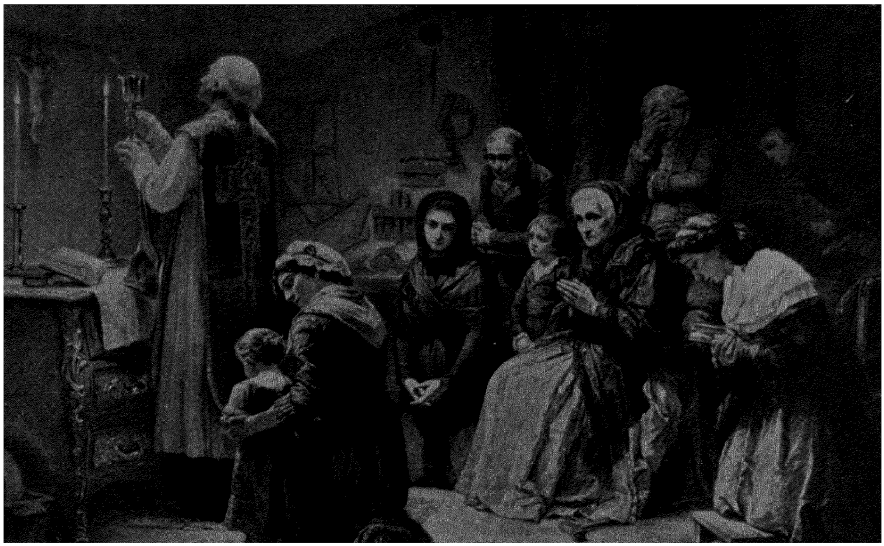
The first partition of Poland had reduced the area of that kingdom by transferring border provinces to Russia, Prussia and Austria respectively; while the throne itself had been secured for Stanislas Poniatowski, a creature of the Tsarina. This subjection, however, was not to the liking of the Poles themselves; and when, at the close of the 'eighties, Russia became involved in a Turkish war the hope was revived of recovering independence and strengthening the Polish state.

Ideas of constitutional reform were developed under the influence of the doctrines emanating from France in the opening "Constituent" stage of the Revolution. In May, 1790, the succession to the childless Stanislas was laid down in the Saxony line, with a view to the establishment of a hereditary instead of an electoral monarchy, and a Constitution was promulgated. The *liberum veto*, or right of any one noble to veto legislation,



MADAME ROLAND AT THE GUILLOTINE

The wife of Jean Marie Roland, Minister of the Interior, was arrested and taken to Sainte Pelagie. On November 8th, 1793, she was brought to the guillotine. "O Liberty," she said, addressing with her last breath the statue so-called, "what crimes are committed in thy name!" Her husband afterwards stabbed himself.



THE CELEBRATION OF MASS DURING THE REIGN OF TERROR
From the painting by C. L. Muller

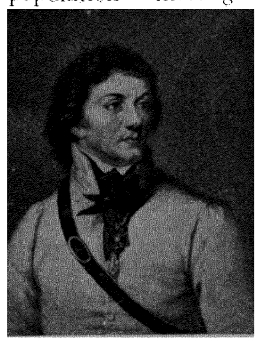
was abolished, the executive was placed in the hands of the Crown, and the legislature in the hands of a Senate and a representative Assembly. The plan suited Leopold of Austria, who wanted a strong buffer state to hold back Russia; it was less agreeable to Frederic William, who saw his chances of acquiring Danzig and Thorn vanishing; and it did not suit Russia at all, for obvious reasons. Leopold, however, succeeded in establishing his influence over the Prussian king, and the two German monarchs agreed, in July, 1790, and in February, 1791, to guarantee a "free constitution" for Poland.

France and Her Enemies

Hence, Catharine's anxiety to obtain a free hand for upsetting the new arrangements by involving Austria and Prussia in hostilities with France, and to bring the Turkish war to a conclusion. With the Peace of Jassy, in January, 1792, and the intense friction between France and the Powers in those months, both Catharine's immediate objects seemed to be accomplished; and she was aided by the death of the shrewd emperor in March, and by the dissensions among the Poles themselves, the old nobility being very ill-content with the new constitution, which deprived them of their ancient and fatal "liberty" to make the central government an unworkable farce. Frederic William, no longer guided by a wiser ruler than himself, disregarded the appeals of the constitutionalists, and the traditional jealousy and distrust between Austria and Prussia revived, while Austria herself was committed to the French war in defence of the Netherlands. Catharine sought to satisfy Prussia by meeting her demands for additional Polish territory, while Austrian acquiescence was to be secured by the old scheme of exchanging the Austrian Netherlands for Bavaria. But Austria was not so easily satisfied.

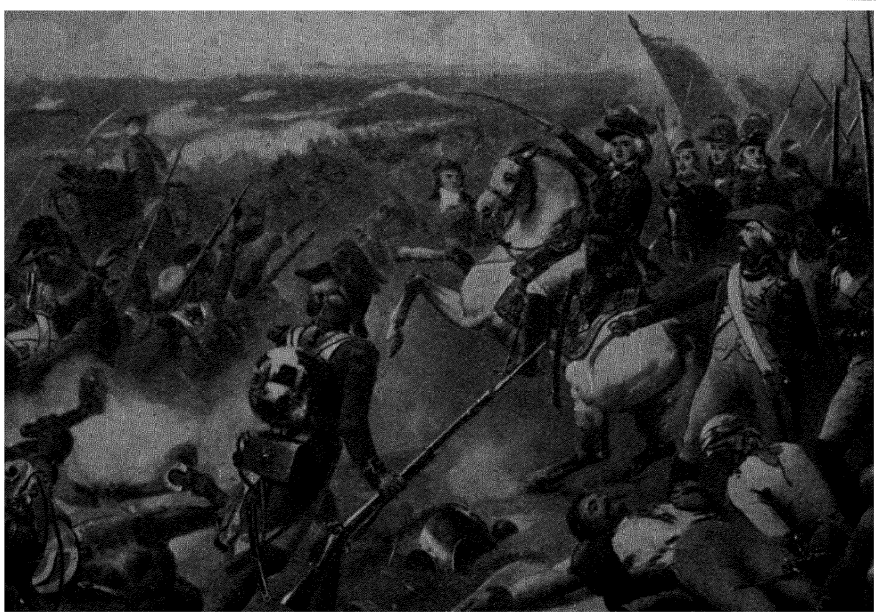
With Dumouriez overrunning Belgium at the end of 1792, the practicability of the scheme of exchange was more than doubtful; moreover, Prussia would give no active assistance in carrying it out, and refused to accede to Austria's further demands for the transfer to her of Anspach and Baireuth. Catharine, however, practically twisted Frederic William to her will; and in January, 1793, the two powers made a secret treaty, arranging a partition, and leaving out Austria—except for a joint undertaking to lend moral support to her acquisition of Bavaria. At the same time, Prussia bound herself to continue the French war. How she interpreted that obligation we have already seen. She took Pitt's subsidies, sent Möllendorf to the Rhine, and remained inactive. In Poland, however, both

Prussia and Russia proceeded to carry out their joint policy with energy. Both invaded that country—to suppress disorder—and appropriated the respective shares agreed upon, that of Russia, it may be remarked, having double the population and four times the area of the Prussian portion. The effect on Austria was to terminate the policy of co-operation with Prussia, which had proved itself utterly untrustworthy, and to bring into power the anti-Prussian Minister, Thugut. Nevertheless, the partition was confirmed in September, while Stanislas, with what was left of his kingdom, found himself a mere vassal of Russia. Again the Poles rose against the Russian dominion, in 1794, under the leadership of Kosciusko. The revolt had no practical chance of success, and it was perceived at Berlin that unless Prussia intervened the spoils would fall to Russia. A Prussian invasion in June resulted in the capture of Cracow, to which prompt action would have added Warsaw. But owing to the lack of it, Warsaw was enabled to hold out until the Prussians found themselves obliged to withdraw in order to suppress insurrection in their own new provinces. Russia took up the task and completed it with thoroughness. The successful general, Suwarrow, defeated and captured Kosciusko, stormed Praga, massacred its inhabitants, and seized Warsaw. Catharine could now afford to disregard Prussia and conciliate Austria. On January 3rd, 1795, the two Powers completed the final partition by a treaty to which Prussia acceded a year later. A portion, including Warsaw, went to Prussia; a larger portion, including Cracow, to Austria; and the lion's share to Russia. Poland had vanished from the map of Europe. An additional secret treaty between Austria and Russia never took effect, and did not, in fact, come to light till half a century had passed; it is of interest as throwing light on the unscrupulous character of the designs and the diplomacy of Thugut, but exercised no practical effect whatever on history.



A POLISH PATRIOT

Tadeuscz Kosciusko headed the national movement in Cracow after the second partition of Poland, and was appointed dictator and commander-in-chief. He died in 1817.



THE DEFEAT OF THE AUSTRIANS AT THE BATTLE OF FLEURUS IN 1794

From the painting by Mauzaisse at Versailles



THE CONQUERING GENERAL OF THE DIRECTORY

BONAPARTE IN ITALY AND EGYPT

BONAPARTE, in the affair of "Vendémiaire"—i e, October 5th—saved the Republic from relapsing into anarchy The new Constitution came into immediate force The five Directors chosen—Carnot, Barras, Rewbell, Letourneur, and La Réveillère—were all members of the regicide Assembly, but their policy was one of moderation, approved by the Legislature, of which bodies, as we noted, two-thirds were members of the Convention The government proved itself to be vigorous and alert, as well as moderate, and the sense of public security began to revive, although the solution of the financial problem seemed as remote as ever

Domestic order, then, was restored But Great Britain and Austria combined to reject peace overtures, and the continuation of the war led directly to the establishment of some victorious general as autocrat The destined Cæsar was the man who had made such excellent use of his chance of deserving well of the new Government Barras had his own reasons for pushing the young man who, amid his ambitions, was consumed with passion for the fascinating widow Josephine Beauharnais Carnot recognised a brilliant military genius in the plan for an Italian campaign which Bonaparte had sent in He was appointed to the Italian command, married Josephine, and, after the briefest of honeymoons, started for the front in March, 1796 He was then six-and-twenty years of age He was one of several brothers, of a leading Corsican family, French only in the sense that Choiseul annexed Corsica just before Napoleon was born

The Early Genius of Bonaparte

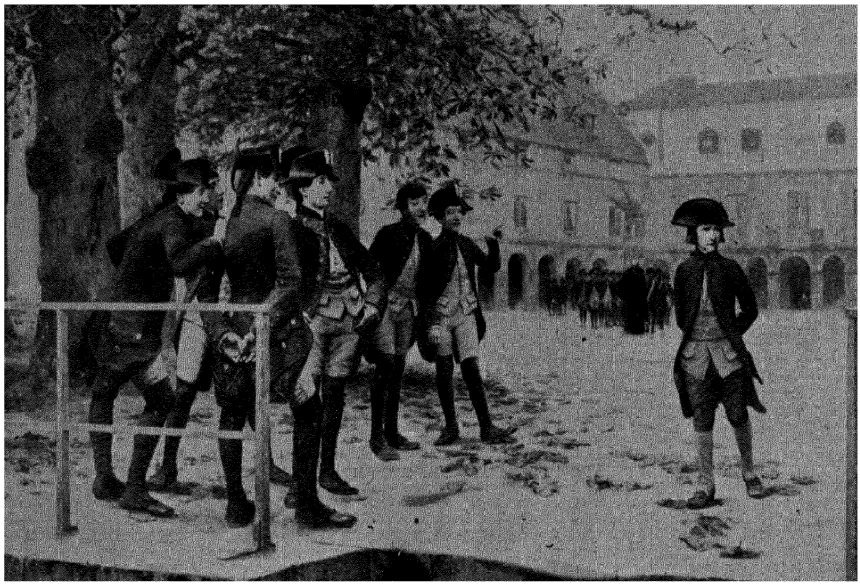
For years past, Corsica, under the leadership of the patriot Pasquale Paoli, had been struggling for freedom from the Genoese rule, and the struggle was renewed against the French The young Napoleon's sympathies were with the patriots to an extent which occasionally brought him into trouble while he was pursuing his studies for a military career in France He attached himself, however, to the revolution, and held an artillery command at the siege of Toulon, where he was on friendly terms with the Commissioner of the Committee of Public Safety, Robespierre's younger brother After Robespierre's fall, this connection went near to destroying his career, and he had been trying to obtain an appointment as organiser of the Turkish sultan's artillery, when he was cashiered, and then reinstated in order to "save the Republic" in Vendémiaire

Bonaparte's Career In Danger

According to the general plan of campaign, two French armies, under Jourdan and Moreau, were to enter Germany and force their way to Vienna, Bonaparte was to force the King of Sardinia—who had already lost Savoy and Nice, but maintained a strong army in Piedmont—to sever himself from the Austrian alliance, and was to drive the Austrians out of Italy

The new general had as subordinates men who had already shown great abilities, such as Masséna and Lannes, he was soon to eclipse them Advancing with some 40 000 men, he found the Austrian and Piedmontese forces under Beaulieu disposed in three divisions, prepared to dispute his passage into Piedmont, and to cut his communications if he proceeded along the coast to Genoa Bonaparte's movements deceived Beaulieu, and he was successful in completely routing the centre division at Montenotte, and splitting the right—the Piedmontese on the west—from the left, Beaulieu on the east The Austrians fell back to the north-east to defend the line of the Po, the Piedmontese to the north-west, to cover Turin But the King of Sardinia, seeing that Piedmont was now practically indefensible, came to terms, and withdrew from the coalition

Austrians Defeated by Bonaparte



THE BOYHOOD OF NAPOLEON: HIS UNHAPPY SCHOOLDAYS AT BRIENNE

As a lad, the future Emperor of the French attended school at Brienne, and having but a scanty acquaintance with the French language, his lot was anything but happy. He even felt so miserable that he attempted to escape, and it is said that he offered himself as a sailor to the British Admiralty. The lonely youth seems to have been an object of amusement to his schoolmates, and Bonaparte's sensitive nature must have been deeply wounded by their unfeeling treatment.

From the painting by Realier Dumas

Bonaparte was free to deal independently with the Austrians before April was ended. Beaulieu took up his position behind the Ticino; again Bonaparte, by rapid movements, completely outmanœuvred him, and effected the passage of the Po at Piacenza. Beaulieu withdrew behind the Adda. But the fury of the French assault, headed by Bonaparte and Lannes in person, on the narrow wooden bridge at Lodi, carried the passage, and the Austrians were routed. Beaulieu, however, managed to draw his scattered forces together beyond the Mincio, and retreat to the all-important fortress of Mantua.

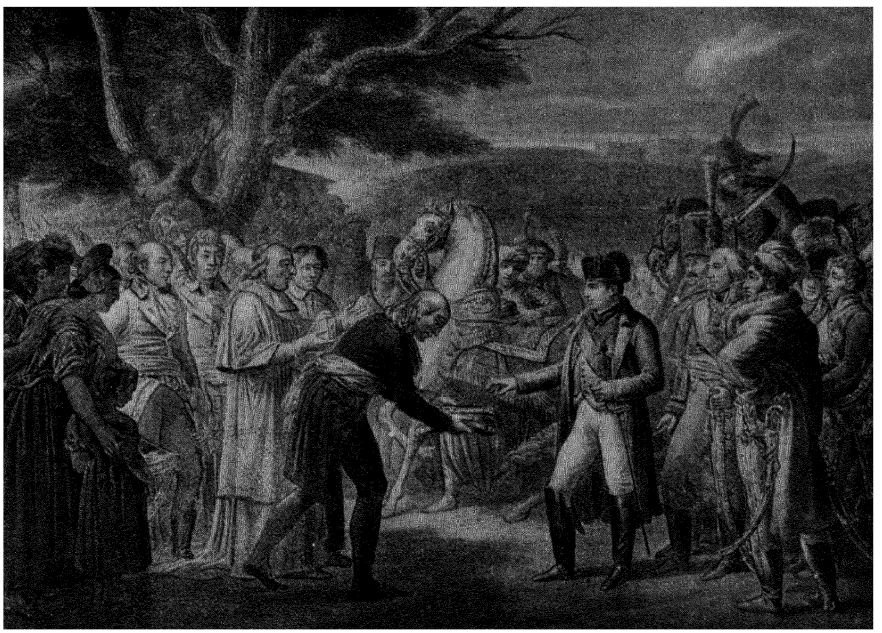
Four days later Bonaparte entered the Lombard capital, Milan. The hypothesis that the Republican army was engaged on a mission of liberation was rendered somewhat unconvincing by the toll which the conqueror levied, not only in cash but in works of art, which the Italians looked upon as national treasures, and various local insurrections of the populace took place which were severely repressed.

Naples, the other Bourbon state which was in the coalition Spain had withdrawn in the previous year—was terrified into neutrality, and the Neapolitan contingent was withdrawn from the Austrian forces. Leghorn was seized—though the Duke of Tuscany, the brother of the emperor, had left the coalition before Prussia—and the British merchants and shipping in that neutral port paid the penalty. Bologna and Ferrara, at the north of the Papal states, were occupied; and the Pope bought respite at the price of a million sterling, the surrender of numerous works of art, and the cession of Bologna, Ferrara, and Ancona. Further, although Venice was neutral, Bonaparte found a pretext for occupying Brescia, within the territories of that republic, thereby virtually compelling Beaulieu in turn to violate the Venetian neutrality by occupying Peschiera, to cover Mantua. Beaulieu was thereupon attacked and driven north into the Tyrol, while a portion of his army remained in Mantua.

Bonaparte's Brilliant Campaigning

The Directory, taking alarm at the sudden and startling prestige acquired in six weeks of brilliant campaigning, proposed, but did not venture to press, that Bonaparte should leave half his army under command of Kellerman to deal with the Austrians, and should proceed with the

them a victory, perhaps the most brilliant of all his brilliant achievements. Had Prussia joined the coalition at the outset, Ulm would have been impossible. Had she followed up the Potsdam agreement by vigorous action, Austerlitz would have been impossible, and the French army might have been overwhelmed in spite of Ulm. Had Austria maintained a strict defensive till the Russian forces could co-operate, she would not have had her main army put out of action. Now, Alexander, shocked by Austerlitz, disgusted with Prussia, and annoyed with Austria, concluded a truce and withdrew. Francis, whose troops shared the defeat of Austerlitz with the Russians, obtained an armistice. The coalition was virtually at an end. The Prussian Minister, Haugwitz, was prompt to accept, at Schönbrunn, a treaty unexpectedly profitable superficially, but extremely dishonourable, which Frederic William did not venture to repudiate. Austria had practically no option in acceding to the terms dictated to her at Presburg on December 26th. In England the news of Austerlitz proved mortal to William Pitt, who died in January, 1809. By the Treaty of Schönbrunn, Prussia gave up Neufchatel, Cleves, and Anspach. For these losses the Power which was negotiating with Great Britain for a subsidy was to be given possession of Hanover, on condition of formally allying herself to France. By the Treaty of Presburg, Austria ceded to Napoleon's kingdom of Italy all her own Italian possessions. Napoleon's obsequious allies, Bavaria, Würtemberg, and Baden, were endowed with her outlying territories, though the Tyrol was presently to repudiate the Bavarian sovereignty. The three were severed from the old Empire, and the two first became independent kingdoms. The penalising process did not stop here. The Bourbon dynasty was summarily ejected from Naples for having attached itself to the coalition, and Napoleon's brother Joseph was proclaimed King of the Two Sicilies, though the British fleet effectively secured the island against the entry of French troops. French forces occupied the Papal states. Holland and Belgium were then united under another brother, Louis. More than a dozen duchies and principalities were carved out of the ceded territories for Napoleon's



THE FRENCH AT VIENNA: NAPOLEON RECEIVING THE KEYS OF THE CITY

marshals. Bavaria and Würtemberg provided princesses as brides for Jerome Bonaparte and Eugène Beauharnais.

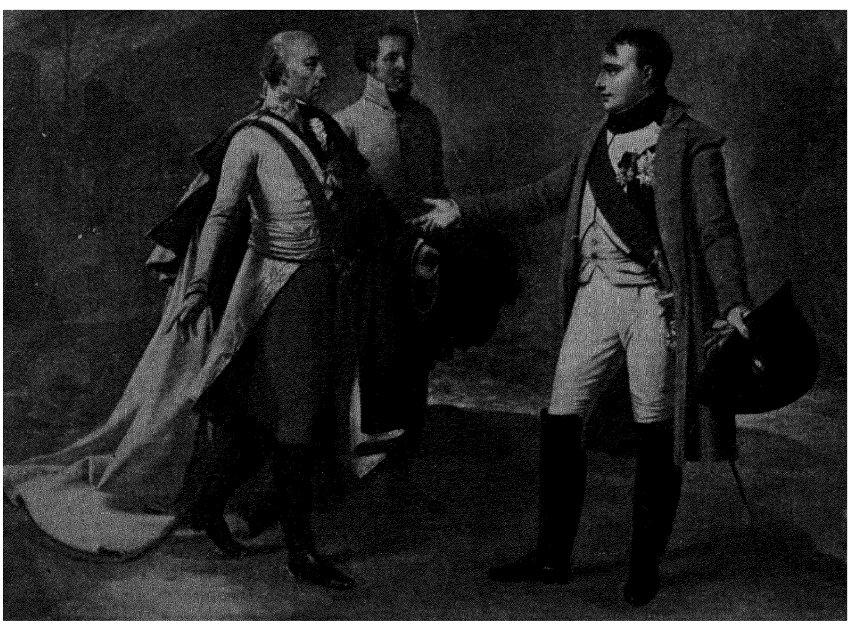
Another mark of the triumph of the new empire over the old was the formation of the German Confederation of the Rhine, a combination of a dozen of the Western states of the old empire, which were severed from it and recognised the much more effective suzerainty of the new—Würtemberg, Bavaria, and Baden at their head, with Dalberg, Archbishop of Mainz, as the prince-primate of the Confederation. For foreign policy and for military services they were at the beck and call of Napoleon. They got their profit by the mediatising of the minor baronies within their borders—that is, the several states absorbed the hitherto independent estates of the remaining tenants-in-chief of the old empire. Francis II. did little more than recognise an accomplished fact when he dropped the Holy Roman title, and called himself only the Emperor Francis I. of Austria. On August 6th, 1806, the Holy Roman Empire ceased to exist.

Meanwhile, Great Britain and Prussia had to be dealt with. Pitt's death brought into power his great rival, Charles James Fox, in the Grenville Ministry, known as "the Ministry of all the Talents," since it was constructed without consideration of party. Fox had always been disposed to take the most generous view of the good intentions and good faith of the French Government.

In spite of the completeness of Great Britain's maritime triumph and of the relative progress of her commerce, the war entailed a heavy strain, which was felt severely by the industrial population, and the conditions were favourable for seeking an honourable peace. Napoleon negotiated on the basis of the restoration of Hanover and the retention of Malta and the Cape of Good Hope, which had been given up at the Peace of Amiens, but reoccupied soon after the renewal of the war. Fox himself, however, was not long in realising that Napoleon had no intention of relaxing his hostility; and his death, in September, removed the one powerful personality that made for amicable relations.

Napoleon's Hostility to Britain

But the negotiations with Great Britain opened the eyes of Prussia, who was to reap the due reward of her fatuous policy. The formation of the Rhine Confederation was a death-blow to any dream of a Prussian hegemony in Germany replacing that of Austria. But by way of placating her,



NAPOLEON MEETING FRANCIS II. AFTER THE FORMER'S VICTORY AT AUSTERLITZ
From the painting by Baron Gros

Napoleon dangled before her hints of a North German Confederation, of which she should be the head, but of which the impracticability was secured. The compulsory closing of the North German ports to English ships at Napoleon's behest provoked England to reprisals which were ruinous to Prussian commerce. The discovery that Napoleon was proposing to King George the restoration of Hanover, the one reward which Prussia had been promised for the ignominious part she had played, was too much for Frederic William. The war party, which included his queen, Louise, carried the day. Great Britain and Russia were indeed both willing to combine against Napoleon, but neither was willing to sacrifice much for Prussia, and neither was ready to render her immediate practical assistance. Nevertheless, on October 9th, Prussia flung down the challenge. The bout was short. The French forces had not been withdrawn from North Germany. Napoleon was with them; they were in motion at once. Brunswick, the Prussian commander, changed his plan of taking the offensive and fell back towards Magdeburg, leaving one wing of his army under Hohenlohe to hold Napoleon in check at Jena. Hohenlohe was completely overwhelmed. The retreating Brunswick was caught on the same day at Auerstädt by a smaller French column under Davoust, and was compelled to retire. The arrival of the rout from Jena turned the retirement into a panic flight on October 14th. Prussia was prostrate. Fortress after fortress opened its gates; only Blücher made a stubborn stand at Lübeck. Napoleon's terms rose as he advanced; Frederic William found that nothing short of abject submission would be accepted. But the limit had been passed. He would not submit to Napoleon's terms. He retreated to East Prussia, to throw himself on Russian support, and dismissed Haugwitz, the Minister whose counsels had guided his policy. A fortnight after Jena, Napoleon was in Berlin. The remaining North German states were joined to the Rhine Confederation, including Brunswick and Hesse-Cassel, which were combined into the kingdom of Westphalia for a third brother of Napoleon, Jerome.



NAPOLEON AND THE QUEEN OF PRUSSIA AT TILSIT
Crushed under the power of the mighty Napoleon, Prussia was left only a fragment of her dominions by the Treaty of Tilsit. Louisa, the brave Queen of Prussia, met Napoleon at Tilsit, and endeavoured on behalf of her country to obtain concessions from him.
From the painting by Gosse

Russia and Great Britain still remained. Against the latter, military or naval operations were entirely useless. But it was to her hostility that Napoleon attributed every check he had received; in her he saw the moving spirit of every combination which had been formed against him, and in her he recognised the most serious obstacle to the expansion of his empire.

To strike at her commerce was the one means of wounding her. Now, apart from Portugal, every port in Europe west of Denmark and the Adriatic was virtually under his control. On November 21st he issued from Berlin the Decree which was to bring her to her knees. Every British port was declared to be in a state of blockade. Every British ship was to be excluded from every port of the French Empire and of the dependencies and allies of the French Empire; all British subjects were to be seized, and all British goods, or goods which had come from Britain, confiscated throughout those territories

The British Government was not long in replying In January, 1807, all ports from which British ships were excluded were declared, by the first of a series of Orders in Council, to be in a state of blockade, the enforcing of which was infinitely more practicable than that of Napoleon's paper pronouncement So far as the European Continent shut out British ships, the Continent should be denied sea-borne commerce The two great belligerents were treating neutrals, on the same principles each claimed forcibly to prevent neutrals from trading with the rival power It was to be a trial of strength, but Napoleon, the challenger, had failed to realise that the arena was precisely that in which all the advantage lay with the sea-power which had no equal and no second She could prevent the neutral trade, Napoleon could not

Britain's Drastic Reply to Napoleon

It was true that neutrals were more irritated against Britain than against Napoleon, for the plain reason that it was the British and not the French who, in actual fact, came near to annihilating their trade altogether On the other hand, it was the dependents of Napoleon who found themselves by Napoleon's orders robbed of British goods which they had stocked and precluded from replacing them—in whom, therefore, a bitter hatred of the new empire was aroused Again, while neutral ports existed where there could not even be a paper blockade to bar the entry of British ships, British goods could find their way into, and European goods could find their way out of, the Continent

Finally, whatever Governments might forbid, the Continent stood in absolute need of goods which could be obtained only through the British, even more than the British stood in need of Continental goods If the traffic was made illegal, difficult, and dangerous, it also became proportionately profitable to those who took the risks of engaging in it, and an immense smuggling trade was generated which preserved a Continental market for British goods in defiance of Berlin Decrees Perhaps we may sum up the results by remarking that Napoleon's "Continental System," while imposing fetters and manacles on the trade of the world, made a present to Britain of that predominance which the man with one wooden leg has over the man with two. In fact, it gave her a monopoly precisely where it had been intended to exclude her altogether Russia, on the other hand, was to be challenged with cannon and bayonet Prussia had entered on the Jena campaign in alliance with both Russia and England, though she had counted disaster before either of her allies could render effective support

Failure of Napoleon's Tactics

Russian armies were now moving on the east of Prussia, whither Frederic William had fallen back From Berlin, immediately after issuing the decree, Napoleon advanced into Poland, proclaiming that he was appearing as a liberator The patriot Kosciusko had no confidence in Napoleon as a liberator, nevertheless, his name, audaciously attached to a proclamation, was made to serve as a call to arms for other Polish patriots An engagement at Pultusk forced the Russians to retreat, but in spite of what even Napoleon regarded as the impracticable condition of the country in mid-winter, the newly-appointed Russian commander, Bennigsen, determined on an active campaign, and appeared in force, threatening the positions of Bernadotte and Ney in the north Napoleon was compelled to march against him, and in February a terrific battle took place at Eylau, in which the Emperor failed to drive Bennigsen from his position Neither army was in condition to renew so desperate an engagement—the casualties exceeded 30,000—and both fell back

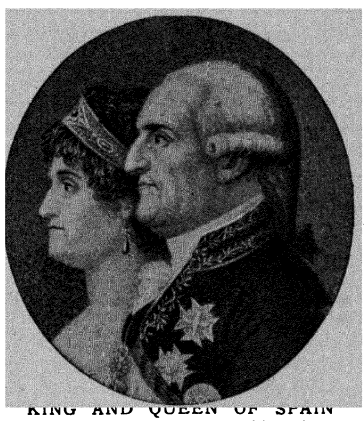
The New British Ministry

The new British Ministry—Portland's—which was formed in March, intended to display vigour, but did not act up to its intentions Even the energy of George Canning could inspire it with only spasmodic activity, and though it undertook in the Treaty of Bartenstein, in April, 1807, in which Sweden joined, to despatch an army to the Baltic in support of Prussia and Russia, the reinforcements delayed, while Napoleon's troops were multiplying The campaign opened in June Bennigsen repulsed Napoleon's attack on his camp at Heilsberg, but on June 14th he was drawn into fighting a pitched battle against superior numbers at Friedland Austerlitz was repeated

Again the Tsar felt that disaster had fallen upon his army through the incompetence or the wavering of those who were or should have been his allies, for Austria might now have played the part which Prussia ought to have played before

Austerlitz. He resolved to negotiate with the French Emperor; and the two met in a personal private conference on a raft in the River Niemen, at Tilsit, on June 25th. The result of the meeting was a complete revolution in the European situation.

Already Prussia was crushed and Austria paralysed; soon, in Napoleon's expectation, Great Britain would find her power sapped and her life-blood drained by the Continental System. It would be preferable to remove Russian antagonism rather than to attempt the conquest of Russia. At Tilsit, Napoleon found his task unexpectedly easy. The Tsar was ready to abandon the allies whom he held guilty of playing him false. Napoleon had a settlement to propose which would place all Western Europe under his own heel, and complete the Tsar's Eastern supremacy by bestowing on him Finland and the better part of Turkey. Between them, the two would be masters of all Europe; and the ruin of Great Britain would be assured when every port in Europe should be closed to her ships and her commerce. The Tsar found himself willing to abandon the liberation of an ungrateful Europe in favour of the aggrandisement of Russia.



KING AND QUEEN OF SPAIN

Charles IV. of Spain was not a king of whom his country had reason to feel proud. After a contemptible reign of fifteen years, Napoleon compelled him to abdicate the throne in 1808.

The Treaty of Tilsit left to Prussia only a fragment of her dominions, and this merely as a concession of Napoleon's to the Tsar's goodwill. Her Polish domains were transformed into the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, controlled by Saxony. Danzig became a free town. Other Prussian districts were added to Murat's duchy of Berg, to Jerome Bonaparte's kingdom of Westphalia, and to Louis's kingdom of Holland. The French army was to remain in occupation until such war indemnity as France might claim should be paid. Turkey was to submit to France's mediation between her and Russia, or take the consequences. Britain was to submit to Russia's mediation, or take the consequences. As provided by secret agreement, the mediation for the one meant the cession of Wallachia and Moldavia; for the other the cession of all conquests since 1805, and the withdrawal of the maritime claims. Rejection was to mean in one case deprival of all European territories except Roumelia and Constantinople, and in the other the completion of the Continental System by the inclusion of Sweden, Denmark, Portugal and Austria. Secret information, which the Government was unable to reveal, reached Canning as to the secret stipulations of the Tilsit agreement. The Danish fleet was to be annexed. The Danish fleet need have caused little alarm to the British, and the Danish Government was no party to the proposal; but Canning felt justified in anticipating Napoleon. A British fleet appeared before Copenhagen, and demanded that the Danish navy should be handed over and neutralised in British ports. The Danes refused, but a three-days' bombardment forced them to submission. The fleet was carried off as prize of war, and Denmark herself was converted to bitter hostility. The action would have been in any case questionable; since the information on which it was based could not be made public, while the Tsar and Napoleon repudiated the interpretation placed on the Tilsit Treaty by the British Ministers, it assumed the appearance of a flagrant and inexcusable breach of neutrality, damaging the British credit.

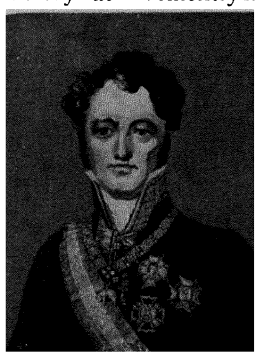
Conditions of the Treaty of Tilsit

The Dutch Fleet Captured by Britain

Portugal now remained alone outside the Continental System. Napoleon treated the bombardment of Copenhagen as warranting the announcement that neutrality in the struggle with England should no longer be recognised. He demanded the accession of Portugal to his system; Portugal, honourably loyal to an alliance of nearly 150 years' standing, refused. In October, Junot was marching on Portugal; Napoleon had already agreed with Spain on the partition of her dominions. Armed resistance was out of the question, and Napoleon's purpose seemed to be consummated. Great Britain

responded by a new series of Orders in Council, imposing additional requirements on neutral traders, on pain of being treated as prize of war; while Napoleon retorted with the Milan Decrees, imposing a corresponding penalty on neutrals who yielded to the British claim. That Gustavus of Sweden still refused to own himself beaten was a quite insignificant detail, since there was no prospect of his receiving any practical help. Nevertheless, defiance was coming from two quarters whence it might least of all have been expected. The French Republic had begun its career as the champion of freedom, in the sense of democracy as opposed to monarchy. It had toppled over dynasties and organised republics on every side; in theory at least it had established popular governments and abolished hereditary privileges, though it had made the new republics dependent on itself. In France itself, democracy had prepared the way, in accordance with the law laid down by philosophers of old, for the *tyrannis* perfected as Caesarism. The Cæsar had converted all save one of the dependent republics into dependent monarchies, absolute in type. He had added to his empire a congeries of minor monarchies; sometimes maintaining old dynasties, sometimes replacing them from his own family stock. For the old ancestral governments he had substituted the arbitrary and grinding yoke of a foreign domination; the peoples had not received the freedom of democracy, and they had been robbed of national freedom as well.

The French Cæsar's Monarchies



FERDINAND VII. OF SPAIN
He became king on the forced abdication of his father, but Napoleon kept him prisoner during the Peninsular War. Ferdinand returned to Spain in 1814, and died in 1833.

Hitherto Germany had all but lacked the nationalist conception; owing to the Napoleonic order, the little leaven was by degrees to pervade the whole mass. In Spain the spirit of the people had been repressed under centuries of despotism; now, when a foreign despot was thrust upon them, it blazed out in sudden defiance. How the triumph of Napoleon acted upon Germany we shall presently examine. It was in Spain that the next phase was to be inaugurated. The Minister Godoy, his mistress, and her husband, King Charles IV., had ruled Spain contemptibly for fifteen years—a melancholy sequel to the enlightened reign of Charles III. For most of the time they had acted as the humble vassals of France, a pawn for Napoleon to play when he thought fit.

At the end of 1807, in order to facilitate the introduction of a French army into the Peninsula, the Emperor arranged with Godoy—as noted above—for a partition of Portugal and her colonies between Spain and France; incidentally, his Italian dominion was to be consolidated by the transfer of the Etrurian kingdom to France. But Napoleon had probably already made up his mind that it was time to substitute a Bonaparte for a Bourbon on the Spanish throne, a process conveniently facilitated by differences between the reigning sovereigns and the heir apparent, Ferdinand. Between the prince and Godoy there was natural hostility, which reached a point which seemed, before the end of the year, to warrant intervention—theoretically in support of the heir against the machinations of the Minister.

But the advancing troops occupied fortresses; alarm was created. A popular outbreak frightened Charles into abdication in favour of Ferdinand; and the queen was soon entreating Murat, whom Napoleon had despatched from Italy, to restore him. King and ex-king proceeded to meet the Emperor at Bayonne; another outbreak in Madrid against the French served as excuse for enforcing abdication on Ferdinand. Charles surrendered his own claims to Napoleon, accepting estates and a pension by way of compensation; and Napoleon nominated his own brother Joseph to the vacant throne in June, 1808. Murat, who had hoped for the crown, had to be contented with that of Naples, from which Joseph was transferred. The pride of a proud nation was touched to the quick; and the whole Spanish people rose to arms in defiance of the Power which had overthrown the mightiest coalitions that all Europe had been able to pour against him.

Spain in Revolt Against Napoleon

HOW TRAFALGAR CHANGED THE FACE OF THE WORLD





BEING A FOOTNOTE TO HISTORY

BY SIR JOHN KNOX LAUGHTON

ON November 18th, 1805, at Znaym, an obscure little town in Moravia, Napoleon received the news of the battle of Trafalgar There had been, he said, some fighting, also a storm, in which a few French ships had unfortunately been lost That was all He pushed on, and a fortnight later won the battle of Austerlitz Here, indeed, was something like a victory Every soldier in the French army knew it, every Austrian, every Russian was keenly conscious of defeat The judgment of war was decisive against the coalition, and the dying Pitt, it has been said, recognised the blow as fatal to the liberties of Europe Jena and Auerstadt in the following year seemed but to confirm the verdict, from which there was no longer any appeal

England's Nightmare Dissipated

In England, public opinion did not take any extended view To the English, as English, it mattered little that the Austrians and Prussians were crushed by the French, but they quite understood that after Trafalgar there was no fear of a French army coming into England The intolerable threat which had seemed to hang over the country for the last two years was dissipated and could not be renewed. Nelson was dead, but his spirit remained, the tutelary deity of his country—a feeling which Canning more distinctly formulated in the celebrated apostrophe

> And when in after-times with vain desire
> Her baffled foes, in restless hate, conspire
> From her fair brow the unfading wreath to tear,
> Thy hand, and hands like thine have planted there,
> Thou, sacred shade! in battle hovering near
> Shalt win bright Victory from her golden sphere,
> To float aloft, where England's ensign flies,
> With angel wings and palms from paradise

But whilst in England people were content to take their own selfish view of the result, on the continent of Europe Trafalgar seemed a very small thing in comparison with Austerlitz or Jena Napoleon himself was probably the one man who, without in the least undervaluing his own victories, could understand that Trafalgar was the destruction of his hopes and schemes We are not to be beguiled or misled by his own statements of what he did or did not intend, we judge from his persistent conduct, from his secret letters and orders, that from the date of the renewal of the war in 1803 his all-absorbing idea was to land his army in England, when, with the help of God, he would put an end to her existence

Napoleon's Hopes buried at Trafalgar

So he wrote repeatedly, but—as a still more illustrious Frenchman is said to have found—the first step was the most difficult One after the other, in quick succession, he drew up different schemes for ferrying his army across the narrow sea—so narrow that men have swum it, so narrow that a boy in a dinghy might paddle himself across, but which to Napoleon was impassable, because a few ships of war—ships of the line, frigates, and smaller vessels—lay in the Downs or ranged along the coast of France, from Dunkirk to Etaples, in force to run down, sink, or destroy any boat which ventured out, because in two years of scheming he was never able to bring up any sufficient force of the French navy to drive these ships away, and secure the safe, uninterrupted passage of these boats, because, before every port in France or Spain, wherever a French or Spanish ship of war was to be found, there was a corresponding force keeping guard over it, because all his plans were rendered futile by the tenacity of

The Vigilance of Britain's Wooden Walls

Cornwallis off Brest, and under him Pellew, Collingwood, Cochrane, and others, in the Bay of Biscay, and of Nelson in the Mediterranean, off Toulon The main force of the French navy was at Brest, and there the watch was the strictest If only the Brest fleet could evade the vigilance of Cornwallis, get out and run up the Channel, Keith, in the narrow sea, might be overpowered and the French army be carried across before Cornwallis or any of his colleagues to the southward knew anything about it

The Changing Schemes of Napoleon

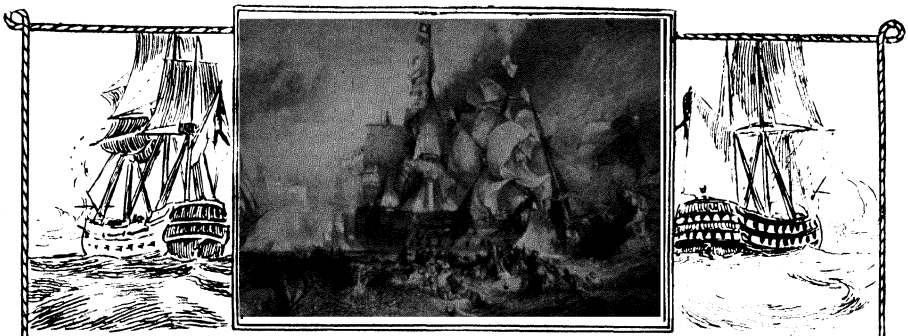
The detailed technical history of these two years, and the confidential correspondence during these two years of Napoleon with his Ministers, admirals, and generals, give positive proofs of the reality of his wishes and hopes But the point to which we would call especial notice is the frequent change of plan As soon as the failure of one became evident, the conception of another began to take form The death of La Touche-Tréville, commanding at Toulon, in August, 1804, put an end to one plan, another had to be evolved, and gradually the Emperor conceived the one, more familiarly known, of a gathering of French and Spanish squadrons in the West Indies, whence they were to return and sweep the Channel in overpowering force When that failed, a modification of it was to be tried The fleet from the Mediterranean was to come off Brest, at the same time the fleet in Brest was to come out, and Cornwallis, caught between the two, was to be crushed By no possibility could such a plan—setting at defiance all principles of navigation and naval war—have succeeded, and if Villeneuve, the admiral commanding the Mediterranean fleet, had brought it off Brest, it must have been destroyed by Cornwallis before ever the fleet from inside could get out. As it was, Villeneuve refused to throw away his fleet in that fashion, and, having come as far as Ferrol, turned in the opposite direction and went to Cadiz His disobedience marked the failure of this plan, and, threatened by a coalition of the European Powers, Napoleon, who had been flattering himself with the idea that if he could crush England the soul of the coalition would be dead, felt obliged to attend to the critical position in Germany before starting on a new plan to get his army across the Straits

Thwarted Plans of the Emperor

That some plan, on lines similar to those that had preceded it, and probably as absurd as any of them, would have been devised appears certain, but the fond hope was destroyed at Trafalgar The knowledge was forced on Napoleon that there was no longer a possibility of his getting the command of the Channel for the few hours or days that he required, and that other means must be found for breaking the power of England She could not be crushed by armed force, she should be crushed by the ruin of her commerce Out of this determination came the Berlin and Milan Decrees, the Continental System, the land blockade, met—on the part of England—by the Orders in Council and the blockade by sea Of the cruel suffering caused by this commercial war, this war of the sea against the land, we cannot speak in any detail In England it was terrible, but the national existence was at stake, and it was endured In France it was the ruin of bankers, merchants, and manufacturers, when the factories were still, the workmen were starving, it was the horror of desolation crowning the desolation of more than a dozen years of titanic war But the glamour of military success and the authority of the Emperor maintained the struggle and sustained the suffering Other nations, not so supported, refused to endure In Spain, in Portugal, in Germany, in Russia, it was maintained past the breaking point, and the Peninsular War, the Russian campaign, and the War of Liberation followed Leipzig and Waterloo were the consequents, the Congress of Vienna, the Holy Alliance, the map of Europe as it remained for fifty years, the kindling of German aspirations succeeded, and the unification of Germany, and—less directly—of Italy, has placed the coping-stone on the edifice whose foundation was laid in the destruction of the French sea power at Trafalgar.

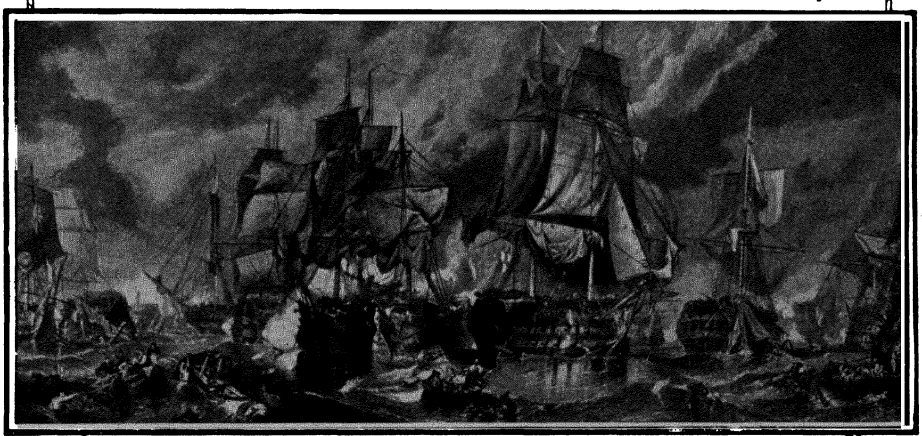
The Great Results of Trafalgar

JOHN KNOX LAUGHTON



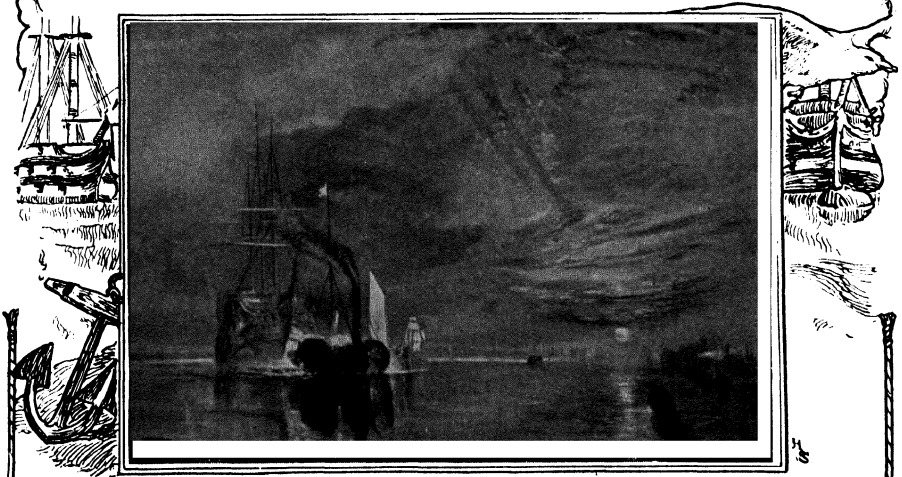
NELSON'S FAMOUS SIGNAL AT TRAFALGAR

In this picture, reproduced from the painting by Turner, Nelson's flagship, the Victory, is shown flying the memorable signal at Trafalgar, "England expects every man will do his duty."



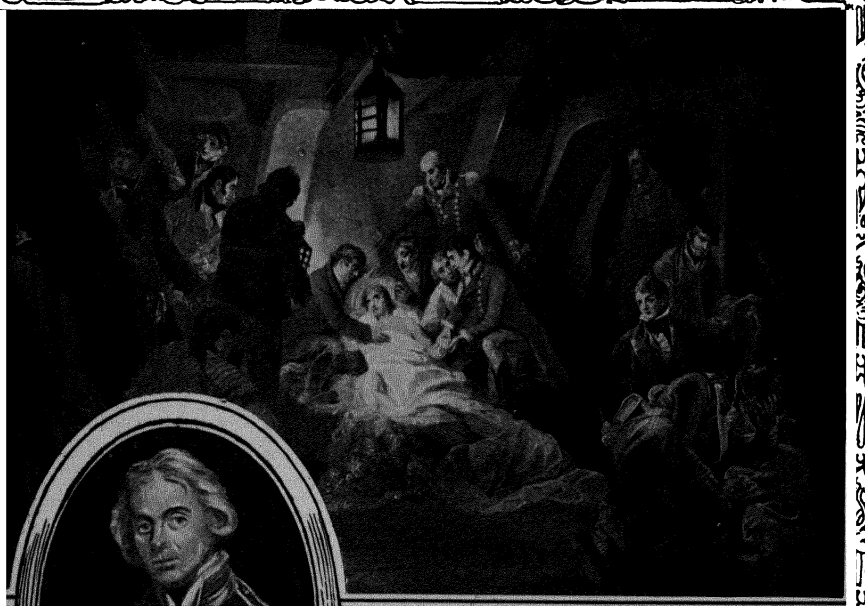
"'TWAS IN TRAFALGAR'S BAY"

This spirited painting, by Stenfield, suggests something of the confusion which ensued when the British ships of war pressed home their attack on the French and won a crowning victory.



THE LAST VOYAGE OF THE FIGHTING TÉMÉRAIRE

This famous picture was painted by Turner after seeing the old Téméraire towed up the Thames.



NELSON'S DEATH IN THE HOUR OF VICTORY
From the painting by A. W. Devis



THE DAY AFTER THE BATTLE OF TRAFALGAR
The Victory, with the body of Lord Nelson on board, being towed into the harbour at Gibraltar by H.M.S. Mars the day after the Battle of Trafalgar.
From the painting by Stemfield

H.S.

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION & NAPOLEON



VIII
By ARTHUR D. INNES M.A.

THE AWAKENING OF NATIONALISM

WELLINGTON'S BRILLIANT TRIUMPHS IN THE PENINSULAR WAR

NAPOLEON had committed himself to an error vast and far-reaching in his attempt to reduce Great Britain to submission by his Continental System. He calculated that Britain had more need of the Continent than the Continent had of Britain; whereas the need for English goods was so great that no decrees could keep them out, and, while a sea-borne trade was a necessity, the British could ensure that no carriers but themselves should be available. In his Spanish policy he committed himself to a second error equally far-reaching, based on a miscalculation which would probably have been shared by almost every observer at the time. He assumed that a Government having for its sanction the force of the Empire could have nothing to fear from popular insurrection. The event was to prove that an insurgent people, supported by a British army, insignificant in numbers but ably led, could keep a quarter of a million French troops locked up in the Peninsula for five years and finally drive them out of it altogether, in spite of the military genius of such generals as Soult, Masséna, and Marmont. The initial miscalculation of the ease with which Spain could be held in subjection being demonstrated, the Governments learned that popular national enthusiasm was a potent instrument at their disposal which they had not hitherto dreamed of bringing into play, and which ultimately wrought Napoleon's downfall.

The French Army Held in Check

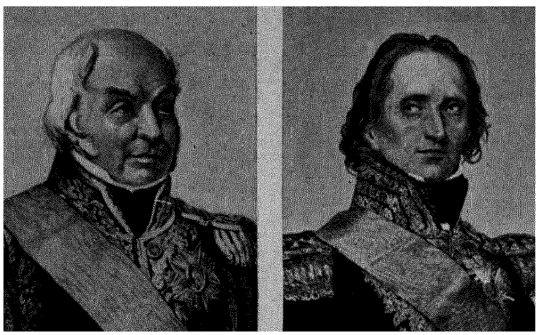
Even at the time when Napoleon was intervening in Spain, and carrying out his scheme for a Bonapartist monarchy, the ground was being prepared in Prussia, and the seed was being sown which should in due time bring forth harvest. Jena and Auerstädt had awakened the existing Government of that unhappy state to a consciousness of the rottenness of its fabric. A complete reorganisation had become an absolute necessity, while it could be brought about only by a drastic suppression of vested interests, which was anathema to the cabal which had hitherto guided the king. Statesmen were not lacking who realised the need; there was only one, Stein, who had the resolution to carry the reforms through; and after Jena, Frederic William himself still lacked the courage to entrust him with the task. Hardenberg, the statesman who took the place of Haugwitz, was of the same school as Stein; but he, too, was not bold enough to override opposition. By a curious fate, it was Napoleon himself who after Tilsit forced Stein upon the king, because Hardenberg's English sympathies were not to be tolerated, and Stein appeared to him in the light of a financier whose skill would raise the funds which he intended to extort from Prussia. Stein was appointed Minister in October, 1807, with a free hand, which he did not hesitate to use.

Russia in Need of Reform

Prussian society was organised in three rigid castes—nobles, citizens, and peasants. Of these, none but the first had any share whatever in the management of the state, while the last were still in the condition of serfage. The nobles supplied all the officers of the army; the rank and file were drawn from the peasants. It was neither expected nor permitted that the wealth-producers should be fighters, just as it was forbidden to the nobles to descend to the degrading occupation of trade. The land itself was correspondingly divided between the three classes and could not pass from one to the other. The Prussian peasant was still in the position legally held by the English villein in the fourteenth century, but which even then was largely modified in practice. To the citizen, in the

The Three Classes in Prussia

sense of a denizen of the cities, as well as to the serf, citizenship in the sense of political rights and responsibilities was denied. Under such conditions public spirit even of the most local kind could scarcely take root; patriotism, the public spirit which is not parochial or provincial but national, was all but an impossibility.

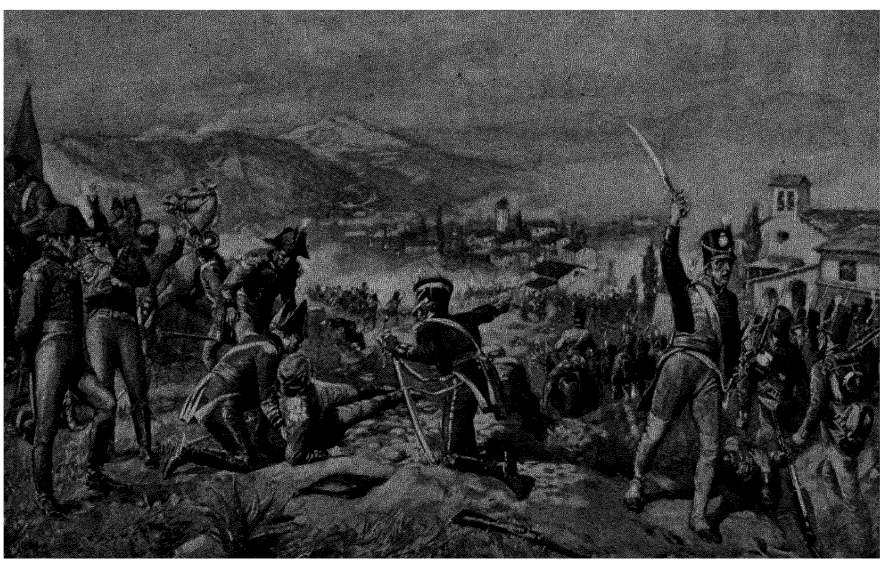


Jourdan Soult

TWO OF NAPOLEON'S FAMOUS MARSHALS

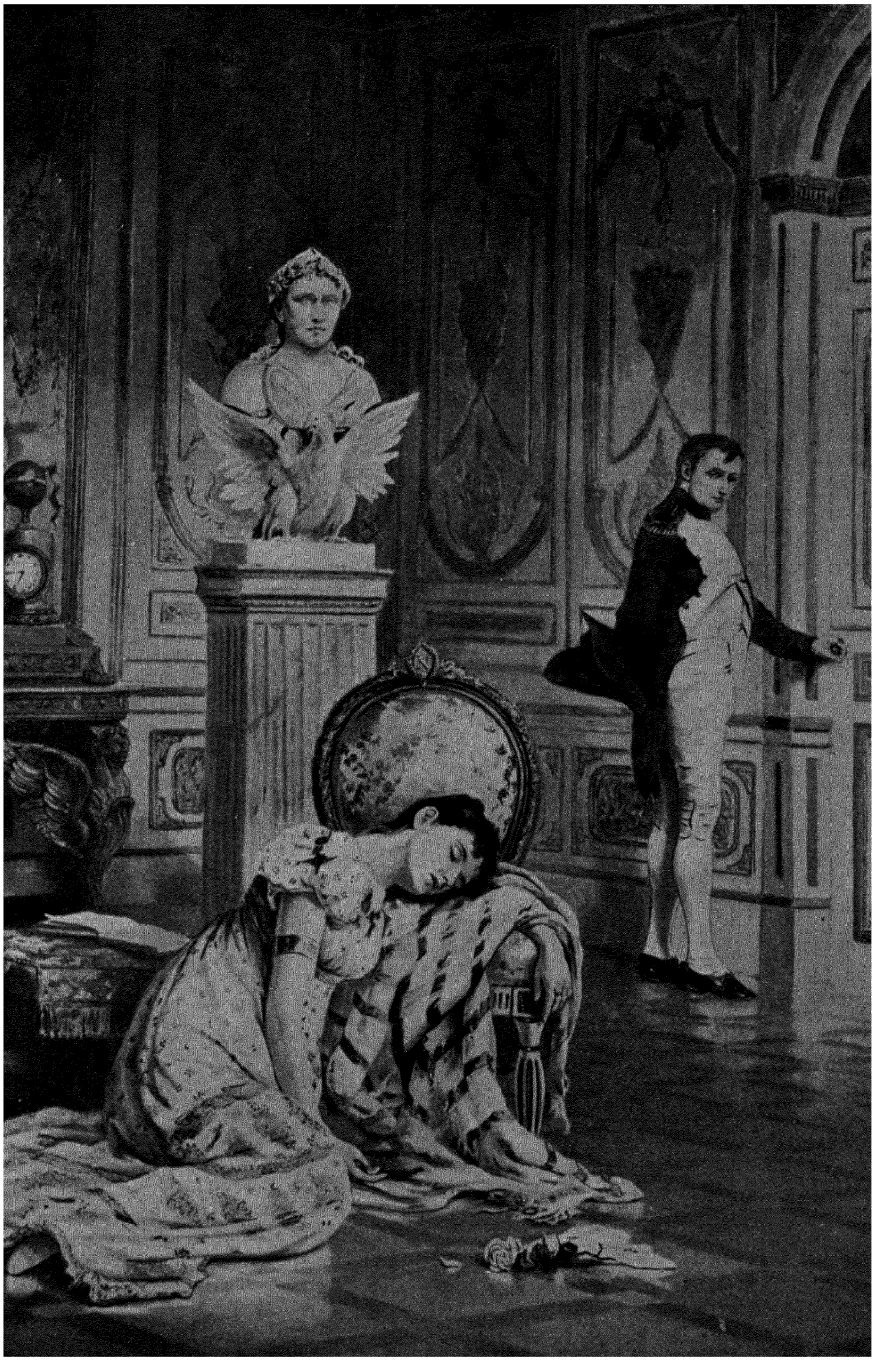
A marshal in the army of Napoleon, Jourdan gained victories against the Austrians, but was defeated by the Duke of Wellington at Vittoria in 1813. Soult was a tower of strength to the French army, and served his country with distinction in Spain and other countries. He was defeated by Sir John Moore at the battle of Corunna.

The first step was to make citizenship possible. A commission of Hardenberg's had made recommendations; before Stein had been a week in office he had translated the recommendations into decrees. The restrictions which bound a man to live and die in the class and in the employment to which he was born were abolished. The law permitted every man to follow whatsoever calling he chose. The transfer of land became free; the peasant was no longer bound to the soil, he was at liberty to seek new pastures or to join in the life of the cities. A little later, not by Stein but by Hardenberg, he was converted into the proprietor of his land; for the present he remained a tenant who had to pay the landlord dues in one form or another for his holding, while both Stein and Hardenberg left the jurisdiction of the baronial class intact. A sense of common citizenship being made possible, Stein saw the means to its development in demanding the fulfilment of the obligations of citizenship, participation



THE DEATH OF SIR JOHN MOORE AT CORUNNA

In chief command of the British army in Spain in 1808, Sir John Moore co-operated with the Spaniards in expelling the French forces from the Peninsula. Learning of the Spanish defeats and of the fall of Madrid, he began a masterly retreat to Corunna, the huge army of France following in pursuit. In a brilliant action at Corunna, on January 16th, 1809, Moore repulsed Soult's attack, but in the hour of victory the gallant soldier was mortally wounded.



THE PARTING OF EMPEROR AND EMPRESS: NAPOLEON'S FAREWELL TO JOSEPHINE

Being without family and desirous of an heir to carry on the dynasty, the Emperor Napoleon resolved to obtain a divorce from his consort Josephine, and with her reluctant consent this was carried through at the close of 1809. The emperor's farewell to the woman who had been his wife for thirteen years is admirably depicted in the above picture.

From the painting by Laslett J. Pott

in public duties. He started at the bottom by instituting local elective bodies to manage minor local affairs—the beginnings of a representative system which was intended to culminate in a representative parliament; not, as in England, controlling administration, but able to make its voice heard and its will felt in public affairs Stein's tenure of office, however, was too brief to enable him to carry his programme beyond the initial stage, which was of itself sufficient to bring into being the sense of individual responsibility and duty to the public, of a common good to be wrought for in common, for which there was no room in the old system

Prussia's Reforming Minister

Besides this there was the reorganisation of the army, a work which, like the abolition of caste, was not the creation of Stein's own genius, but was one which his colleagues would hardly have been able to set on foot without the aid of his vigorous initiative The actual organiser was Scharnhorst As matters stood, promotion among the officers was permanently blocked by superannuated veterans, and the ranks were filled with long-service men, to whom the citizen class had not contributed

The recent development of huge armies had made universal liability to military service a practical necessity, but the conditions laid down after Tilsit restricted the number of troops to 40,000 men By Scharnhorst's plan a short-service period took the place of the former twenty years in the ranks At the conclusion of the period the men were drafted into reserves, so that while the numbers of the short-service army stood at 40,000, there was soon a large reserve of trained soldiers who could be called to arms in case of necessity In addition, a "Landwehr," or militia, was created for home defence, though it was not enrolled till five years later, and the scheme of a "Landsturm," or general arming of the population, was prepared But the reorganiser of Prussia was intensely patriotic, intensely nationalist, his influence soon proved far more seriously antagonistic to the Napoleonic ascendancy than that of Hardenberg, while he aroused a more active hostility to himself in the nobles, who had encouraged the king in his pusillanimous courses of old, and who now found their privileges challenged

Awakening Patriotism In Prussia

Stein was zealous to place the country once more on a fighting basis, and to ally it with Austria, in the sudden uprising of Spain he was not alone in recognising a universal call to arms, and he did not believe in the completeness of the harmony between the Tsar and Napoleon.

The Emperor received information of his plans for an Austrian alliance, and the demands on Prussia immediately took a more stringent form Defiance at the moment was impossible; Frederic William gave way Stein soon after resigned, and the present prospect of Prussia taking arms against Napoleon disappeared A few weeks later Stein was forced by the Emperor's wrath to flee for his life to Austrian territory But the grain of mustard-seed, the nationalist ideal, had taken root

The "Address to the German Nation," issued by the philosopher Fichte during this year, formed a powerful appeal which went home to the hearts of the people, and when their hour came they answered to it magnificently All Europe was startled by the rising of Spain, some months before the fall of the great Minister in Prussia During the last week of May, without organisation, without warning, without any common plan, every district of Spain which was not actually dominated by the presence of French forces was in arms The officials were compelled by the populace to join, those who ventured to refuse were apt to find a short shrift. At every centre of insurrection a "junta," or governing committee, was formed in the name of King Ferdinand, as well as an army The clergy flung themselves into the popular cause in opposition to the Antichrist who was coercing the Pope

Spain Up in Arms

It did not occur to Napoleon that the resistance was serious His generals, Bessières, Dupont, and others, were soon moving on various provinces, but a success of Bessières, which secured the route from the Pyrenees to Madrid, was followed within a week by a disaster to Dupont, who was compelled to capitulate with all his forces at Baylen, and King Joseph, at the end of July, had to flee from Madrid, which he had only just entered.

Meanwhile the Government in London had resolved on a new military policy. Napoleon had seized Portugal, but that country was eager to be set free, and the mistress of the seas had no difficulty in

despatching troops thither The Spanish monarchy was at war with Great Britain, but Spain, now represented by the Central Junta at Seville, was at war with Napoleon, and, in Canning's view, was ipso facto an ally of Great Britain. On August 1st Sir Arthur Wellesley, who had particularly distinguished himself in India, landed in Portugal at the head of 18,000 British troops

At Vimeiro he was met by Junot, who was still in command of the French forces in Portugal Wellesley was victorious, but his success was marred by the arrival on the scene of two senior officers, Burrard and Dalrymple, who, instead of crushing Junot completely, concluded with him the Convention of Cintra, under which the French troops evacuated Portugal, but were conveyed with their arms in English ships to France The indignation of Napoleon with Junot was equalled by British indignation with the generals who had failed to make the most of their success All were recalled, and the command was taken up by Sir John Moore, though Wellesley, cleared of all charges, was to reappear next year

Napoleon's Tight Grip On Prussia

Napoleon was annoyed not so much by the actual events in the Peninsula as by the excitement they were causing in Europe He tightened the curb upon Prussia, which shrank from Stein's proposal of open war, and caused the Minister's fall But the matter of first importance was to overawe Europe by a fresh demonstration of the amity between the Emperor and the Tsar, since Austria, too had been reorganising and arming

In October, a magnificent conference was held at Erfurt, where all the vassal princes were present and the Courts of Austria and Prussia were both represented In appearance, at least, the conference was successful Napoleon left Erfurt with the operations against Turkey for carrying out the Tilsit agreement postponed, and with a free hand for Spain Nevertheless, the display of harmony only veiled the fact that the Tsar's friendship for Napoleon was cooling

The Emperor was fully aware that the suppression of Spain would demand a large force Early in November he himself passed the Pyrenees to conduct the operations The daring spirit of the insurgents had not provided them with a capable central government in the Seville Junta, or with capable military chiefs, and their dispositions were quite inadequate for coping with Napoleon Their extended line was rapidly pierced and scattered, and though Palafox was able to throw himself into Saragossa, where a prolonged and heroic defence was maintained, it appeared as though serious resistance had already been shattered Napoleon marched in triumph to Madrid In the meantime,

Death of Sir John Moore At Corunna

Sir John Moore whose information from the British agent and from the Spanish Government was scandalously inadequate, had advanced under great difficulties to support the Spaniards Learning of the Spanish defeats, and, by an accident, of the fall of Madrid, he turned to effect a diversion by advancing against Soult's division This brought Napoleon himself in pursuit, and Moore began a masterly retreat to Corunna, where English transports should have been awaiting him but were not

Napoleon was satisfied to leave the completion of the pursuit to Soult, while he himself retired from Spain, which he regarded as virtually conquered Moore, in a brilliant action at Corunna, on January 16th, 1809, repulsed Soult's attack, and though his own life was lost, his troops were able to embark on the transports, which had now arrived Six weeks later, Saragossa had fallen Soult entered Portugal, the South of Spain was held in subjection by Marshal Victor, and with a quarter of a million of French troops in the Peninsula, the insurgents seemed to have little enough to hope for

But it was equally obvious that a very large force was necessary to maintain Joseph in Spain In Austria, the war party was in the ascendant, and the active spirit of revolt was spreading in Germany Austria resolved on war, confident that it would take but little to bring about the co-operation of Prussia and of the Rhenish confederation The population of the Tyrol, which had been ceded to Bavaria at the

Austria the Champion Of Freedom

Treaty of Presburg, detested the new regime, which ignored traditional customs and prejudices The Austrian army itself had been placed on a greatly improved footing by the Archduke Charles, and the Minister, Count Stadion, was of Stein's political school—mutatis mutandis—with a strong desire for Austria to take her place as the leader of German nationalism It was as the champion of European freedom and German nationalism that

Austria threw down the gauntlet in April without entering into definite treaties with Great Britain or with the Spanish Nationalists, who had struck a formal alliance in January. In April, Wellesley also returned to the Portuguese command, having under him 20,000 British troops, and being appointed generalissimo of the Portuguese forces. Portugal was to be the basis for co-operation with the Spaniards. In view, however, of the Austrian declaration of war against Bavaria, the British Government resolved to concentrate its main effort on an attack on Holland, which, if promptly and effectively carried out, would have very materially affected Napoleon's campaign on the Danube.

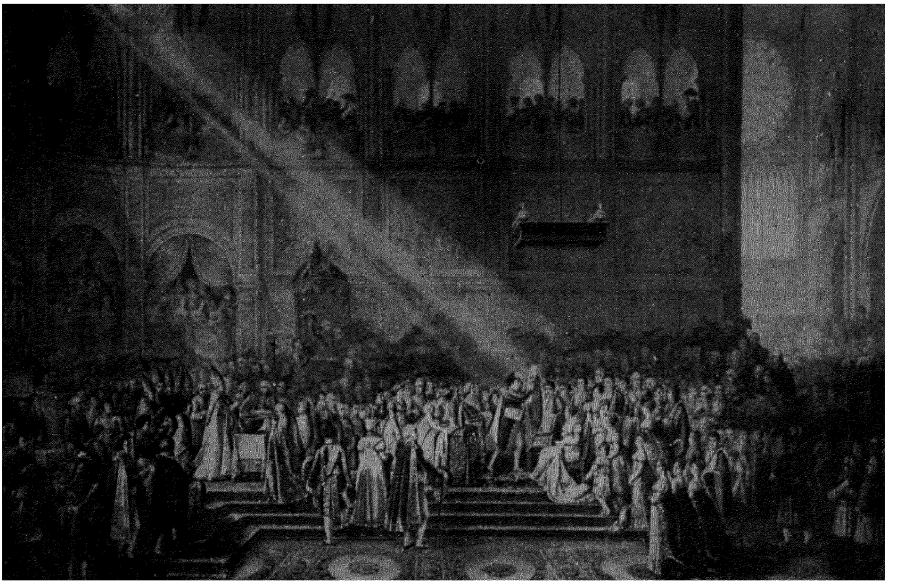
It is by no means clear that the scheme in itself was not well advised, though it is sufficiently obvious that if the 40,000 men who were sent on the Walcheren Expedition had been dispatched to Wellesley instead, the Peninsula campaign of 1809 would have taken a very different course. As the event proved, the brilliancy of Wellesley's personal successes did not enable him to maintain ground beyond the Portuguese frontier; the Walcheren Expedition was ignominious and disastrous, and the only check on Napoleon's operations on the Danube lay in the fact that so many of his troops were detained on the south of the Pyrenees.

The Austrian advance to Regensburg threatened the Emperor's forces with disaster; but his arrival to conduct the operations in person changed the situation. Napoleon's presence had a paralysing effect on the Archduke Charles. In five days, by a series of heavy blows, the Emperor had driven the Austrians before him in full retreat, and the prospect of a general German revolt had already all but vanished. He advanced to Vienna; but a severe and unlooked-for check at the battle of Aspern-Essling on May 21st placed him in a very dangerous position. The archduke, however, lost nerve, and failed to take advantage of his opportunity. The moment passed; French reinforcements were allowed to strengthen the lines of communication. Six weeks later Napoleon succeeded in accomplishing the passage of the Danube by night; the Austrians had to fall back to Wagram, whence they were again forced to retreat after a stubborn battle on July 6th. To the victors themselves the defeat by no means seemed to be a crushing blow; but the Austrians

Austrian Overthrow At Wagram



THE MARRIAGE OF NAPOLEON TO MARIE LOUISE OF AUSTRIA IN 1810
From the painting by Rouget



THE BAPTISM OF NAPOLEON'S HEIR, THE "KING OF ROME," ON JUNE 10TH, 1811
To the Emperor Napoleon and Marie Louise was born an heir on March 20th, 1811, and from his birth he was styled "King of Rome." His baptism on June 10th is depicted in the above picture. His death occurred in the year 1832.

had lost heart, and sought and obtained an armistice. In the north, at the opening stage, the daring but unauthorised raid of Colonel Schill with a regiment of cavalry from Berlin had excited high hopes for the moment; but he had been unsupported, and was annihilated at Stralsund, just after Aspern.

The Duke of Brunswick, successor of the old duke who had formerly commanded the Prussian forces, raided Saxony from Bohemia, but Germany was content to admire without aiding. It was only in the Tyrol that the gallant Hofer remained unsubdued after Wagram. Under his leadership, the Tyrolese had thrown off the Bavarian yoke; and now an invading force met with such disaster that the French evacuated the region. But the Tyrol, too, was soon to find itself deserted. At the end of July the belated British expedition arrived on the Scheldt. An immediate advance on Antwerp might still have dealt a heavy blow; but time was wasted at Flushing while the defences of Antwerp were being secured. In the marshes of Walcheren the troops were laid low by fevers. The bulk of them were withdrawn, and those that were left were more than decimated from the same cause before they, too, were recalled. The whole business was a ghastly failure. In the meanwhile, Wellesley had been showing what it was possible for a brilliant commander to do, and what it was not possible to do unaided.

The British Expedition on the Scheldt

On his arrival at Lisbon in April he organised the defences of the capital and then threw himself northward on Soult's lines of communication, and forced the marshal to evacuate Portugal with the loss of his cannon. He was thus enabled to attempt a swift blow on Madrid, in conjunction with the Spaniards. But he could get no reinforcements from England—the troops were wanted for Walcheren—and the Spanish Government forces, the generals, and the Government itself, were incompetent. Wellesley reached Talavera, where he was attacked by King Joseph and Marshal Victor on July 28th.

The Spaniards broke and fled, yet the valour of the British troops gave them the victory. But the British troops could not take Madrid by themselves, and Soult was already threatening the line of retreat. Wellesley, who was rewarded for his victory by the title of Viscount Wellington, fell back into Portugal, recognising that the present possibilities were limited to the defence of that country.

Wellington's retirement into Portugal and the collapse of the Walcheren Expedition, capping the defeat of Wagram and the failure of Germany to rise, ended any inclination on Austria's part for the prolongation of the contest. Count Stadion was replaced by Metternich, in whom popular sympathies did not exist. The idea of Austria as the head of a German nation vanished. Austria bowed to the conqueror. By the Treaty of Vienna in October, the Tyrol, in spite of promises, was tossed back to Bavaria, its resistance was crushed, and Hofer was betrayed and shot as a rebel. The regions terminating on the Adriatic were surrended to Napoleon, and formed into the "Illyrian Provinces." Cracow was annexed to the Grand Duchy of Warsaw. The Austrian change of front was completed and her humiliation consummated when, in the following March, Napoleon demanded and obtained the hand of the Austrian princess, Marie Louise, an alliance for the sake of which he divorced Josephine.

The Gallant Hofer Shot as a Rebel

Before Wagram, Napoleon had already rounded off his Italian dominion. Pius VII had never been his obedient servant, even after the Berlin Decree, the Pope refused to close the papal ports to the British. In 1808 Napoleon occupied Rome, in May, 1809, he issued a decree confiscating the Papal States, and the Pope was held a still unsubmissive prisoner at Savona. The States themselves were reorganised as departments. The annexation was another move towards stopping the leaks in the Continental System.

Sweden had been secured at last by the fall of Gustavus IV, whose stubborn refusal to submit to overwhelming force brought about his deposition, and the elevation of Charles XIII to the throne. Charles submitted to the inevitable, and since there was no heir to the reigning house, found an excuse for nominating Marshal Bernadotte as his successor. Although Bernadotte did not actually ascend the throne till 1818, he at once assumed practical control of the state. The formation of the Illyrian provinces after the Treaty of Vienna closed what had been the Austrian ports in the Adriatic. There remained only some points on the North German coast, besides Holland, where Louis Bonaparte found the needs of his subjects more exigent than his brother's demands, and permitted a considerable introduction of British goods, which, it must be remembered, covered practically all colonial produce, tea, cotton, and other necessaries, since British ships were the only carriers.

Bernadotte in Control of Sweden

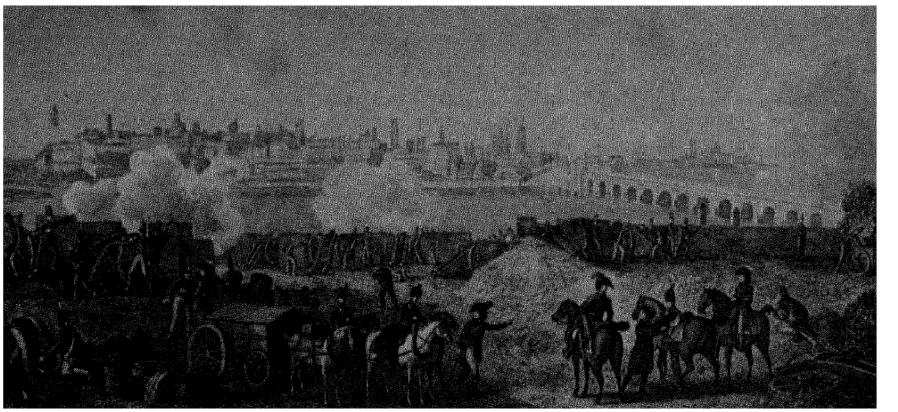
In 1810 the Emperor's demands became so insistent that Louis abdicated, whereupon Holland was annexed to Napoleon's empire. It is noteworthy that Joseph in Spain, as well as Louis in Holland, found the brother's bonds so galling that he, too, would have abdicated if he had been permitted to do so. The annexation of Holland, in July, 1810, was followed up by the incorporation with the empire of the still nominally free Hansa towns and coastal districts, including the Duchy of Oldenburg, with the futile aim of stopping every cranny in the wall which Napoleon was seeking to build up for the total exclusion of British commerce. The seizure of Oldenburg soon proved to be at least a contributory cause of the defeat of the very object with which it had been effected.

The divorce of Josephine was carried through, with her reluctant consent, at the close of 1809. For obvious reasons, Napoleon, like Henry VIII of England, wanted a male heir of his body to carry on the dynasty, a want which Josephine could not supply. Moreover, a matrimonial alliance with one of the two imperial houses would give the dynasty of the Corsican a status which it lacked. The first approaches on the subject had been made to Alexander at Erfurt, by him they had not been warmly received, and of the two available Russian princesses the elder had been promptly betrothed to the Duke of Oldenburg.

Napoleon's Divorce and Marriage

In December, 1809, a formal request for the hand of the second was presented to the Tsar, but already the balance was leaning towards Austria. Napoleon was disinclined to risk receiving a direct refusal from Russia which the Tsar's lukewarm attitude rendered more than probable. Negotiations were opened with Vienna, where Metternich had none of Alexander's scruples. The marriage was arranged and took place in April. The annexation of Oldenburg completed the breach with Russia, which formally withdrew from the Continental System in December, and opened its ports to British commerce.

Napoleon had in fact decided on a change of policy. Austria could no longer be considered as a rival, but she might be



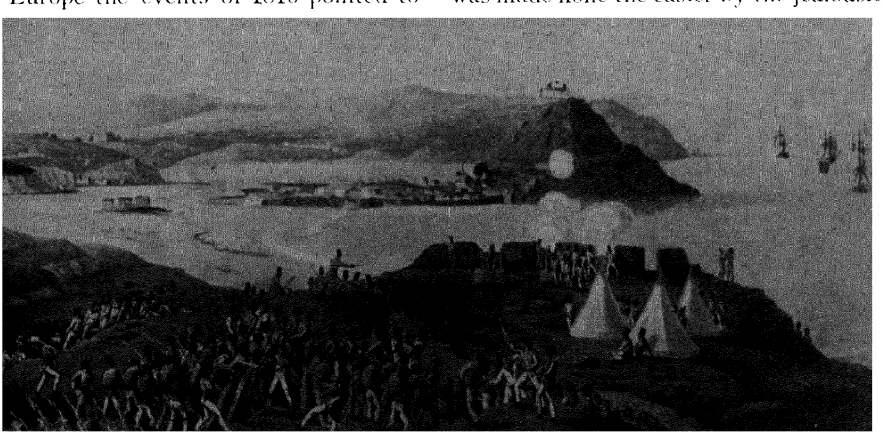
THE SIEGE AND CAPTURE OF BADAJOZ BY THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON IN 1812

Reaching Badajoz in the middle of March, the Duke of Wellington resolved to carry it before Soult could arrive to relieve it, and the storming of the town "was perhaps the most terrific incident of the war." The defence was obstinate and ingenious, but, after appalling carnage, the walls were carried by escalade and the fortress captured.

From a contemporary engraving

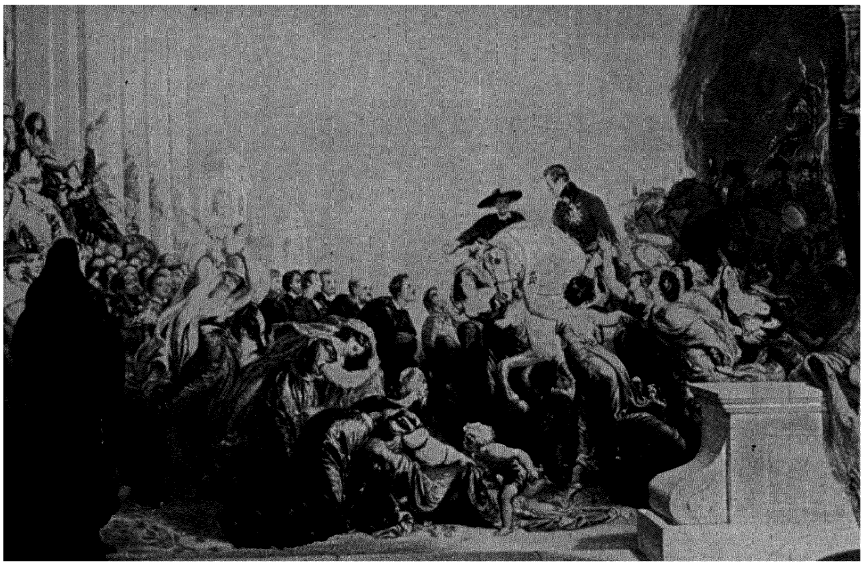
utilised as an associate in consolidating the empire of Western Europe. If Russia chose to assume the role of rival instead of coadjutor, she should in due course be humbled like all other opponents except the maritime Power. The dream which Napoleon may have dreamed after Tilsit of an advance through Asia, in conjunction with Russia, and the demolition of the British power in India, had been of but brief duration at best, though the suspicion of it had caused some commotion in the minds both of the British themselves and of native potentates who hoped to profit by their overthrow. As Napoleon and Alexander drew manifestly apart, the perturbation was speedily allayed. But in Europe the events of 1810 pointed to the development of the rupture between France and Russia into open war before any long time should have passed.

In the Peninsula, moreover, the course of the year's campaigning did not improve the French position. It opened, indeed, not unfavourably. Wellington was making no movement into Spain, and during the first months Soult overran Andalusia, where the Spanish Government was strongest, and drove the Junta and its armies into Cadiz. In the north, Catalonia was being conquered by Suchet. Napoleon resolved to bring the war to an end, and Masséna was despatched with a mighty force to drive the British into the sea; but that rather difficult operation was made none the easier by the jealousies



STORMING THE SPANISH TOWN AND CASTLE OF ST. SEBASTIAN IN SEPTEMBER, 1813

From an engraving published in the same year



THE TRIUMPHAL ENTRY OF THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON INTO MADRID IN 1812

Wellington's brilliant campaigns in Spain, during which he inflicted a series of defeats upon the armies of Napoleon, put an end to the French domination in that country. Reaching Madrid in 1812, as shown in the above picture, he entered the city in triumph, the inhabitants of the place receiving him with wild enthusiasm.

From the painting by Wm. Hilton, R.A.

and disagreements of the French generals. Wellington had advanced to the north of Portugal with the intention of relieving the Spanish garrison of Ciudad Rodrigo, on its frontier, which was invested and was holding out gallantly; but the approach of Masséna with a force considerably larger than the Anglo-Portuguese army under Wellington's command made retreat imperative. Ciudad Rodrigo and Almeida fell. At Busaco, however, Masséna accepted the challenge to an engagement offered by Wellington and met with a severe repulse, which gave heart to the Portuguese on the spot—for Masséna had the flower of the French veterans under his command—and to the British Ministry at home.

Wellington continued his retreat, and the pursuing Masséna suddenly found himself faced by the famous lines of Torres Vedras, behind which Wellington had secured the whole of his forces and his supplies, as well as an immense number of civilians. Those lines he had steadily and silently prepared for a year past, till they were impregnable, though the French had no suspicion of their existence. Also he had systematically stripped the whole of the neighbouring district, and Masséna found himself before a position which he could not force, in a country denuded of supplies, with subordinates who were jealous and intractable. Torres Vedras could not be stormed; with the British in command of the sea it could not be blockaded. He fell back to Santarem; while Soult, who received orders to reinforce him, delayed in order to reduce the fortress of Badajoz on the southern frontier of Portugal—a fine piece of work in itself, but not that which happened to be demanded of him.

The Rapid Movements of Wellington

In March, 1811, Masséna, recognising that his purpose had been definitely foiled, began to withdraw from Santarem, with Wellington following him; while Soult, having secured Badajoz, returned to Andalusia, where an attempt on the part of the garrison at Cadiz to take the besiegers in the rear had been foiled at Barossa. Masséna, wasting the country as he went, so that the pursuing forces were often hard put to it to obtain supplies, was obliged to evacuate Portugal and retire to Salamanca—partly by the perpetual insubordination of Ney, partly by the rapidity of Wellington's movements. The security of Portugal and the possibility

of an aggressive movement into Spain on Wellington's part now depended on the recovery of Almeida and of Ciudad Rodrigo on the north, and of Badajoz on the south. Badajoz, defended with all the resources of engineering skill by the commandant, Philippon, was left to Beresford, and proved too hard a task for him. Wellington's own efforts were concentrated on the two northern fortresses.

The splendid conduct of the British regiments at Fuentes d'Onoro foiled Masséna's attempt to raise the siege of Almeida, and the marshal's supersession by Marmont prevented a repetition of the attempt.

Wellington in Possession of Almeida

The position of the garrison was hopeless, but the commandant, Brennier, blew up his magazines before breaking his way out through the besiegers with most of his forces, and Wellington took possession. In the south Soult advanced against Beresford, and was in June repulsed in the desperate action of Albuera, where practically the whole of the fighting on the side of the allies was done by the British troops, less than 7,000 in number, of whom more than 2,000 were killed or wounded. Marmont, however, marching from the north, effected a junction with Soult, and the preponderance of the French force was so great that the siege had to be raised. But since the country was unable to maintain so large an army, Marmont again withdrew.

While Wellington was doing all the work on the Portuguese frontier with no practical help from the Spanish army and the Spanish Government, the efforts of the French marshals who were engaged on the subjugation of Northern Spain were perpetually nullified by the activities of the Spanish guerrilla leaders, whom no defeats in the field could crush; and presently the French armies began to feel the drain due to the withdrawal of troops who were to form part of the grand army with which Napoleon was projecting the invasion of Russia. To this tremendous scheme must in the main be attributed the fact that Napoleon neglected personally to take in hand the subjugaton of Spain. The marshals to whom he left the task were brilliant commanders,



AT VITTORIA: WELLINGTON LEADING THE THIRD DIVISION TO THE ATTACK

This battle, fought on June 21st, 1813, was the decisive engagement of the campaign. Vittoria was the key to the line of communication with France, and there the French were routed, sustaining an irretrievable overthrow

From the drawing by R. Caton Woodville

but they were not, individually, a match for Wellington, and they habitually failed to act with that concert which Napoleon's own presence would have ensured The Russian scheme so overshadowed all else that Spain lost its true importance in his eyes, and his forces there were weakened, and when he finally gave the scheme effect its disastrous termination necessitated a withdrawal of troops, which at length turned the scale decisively in favour of the British general in the Peninsula

Triumphs of the British Commander

That consummation, however, was not yet reached, although during 1812 Wellington was able to establish his personal superiority unmistakably, it was not till the next year that he could conduct a campaign which should expel the French from the Peninsula altogether Nevertheless, the certainty that a Russian campaign would have precedence of everything else in Napoleon's plans materially affected those of Wellington In January, by a sudden attack, which Marmont had not anticipated, he carried Ciudad Rodrigo by storm, capturing the siege-train without which Marmont could make no effective attempt to recapture the place, which was now occupied by a Spanish garrison

In the middle of March, Wellington was before Badajoz, the second of the two keys to Spain, determined now to carry it at all costs before Soult could arrive to relieve it The storming of Badajoz was perhaps the most terrific incident of the war; the obstinacy and ingenuity of Philippon's defence made the struggle exceptionally desperate, and when, after appalling carnage, the walls were carried by escalade, there were two days during which the British troops, frenzied with their victory, lost all semblance of discipline, and the officers lost all control over them Soult was not to be drawn into an engagement It became Wellington's object to make his junction with Marmont impossible; and this was accomplished by Hill's exploit in capturing the bridge of Almaraz. Holding both Badajoz and Ciudad Rodrigo, Wellington could keep both Marmont and Soult uncertain as to which of them would be his next object of attack, and he had succeeded in making Soult believe that he was on the point of a move into the south when he was already on his way to measure swords with Marmont. The result was the campaign of Salamanca in July. After prolonged manœuvring, neither general being willing to risk a serious defeat, Marmont endeavoured by a flanking movement with his left wing to cut off Wellington's chance of retreat and to crush him.

Wellington's Brilliant Strategy

In doing so a gap was opened between centre and left The opportunity thus given was seized, Wellington was able to deliver a crushing blow. Marmont was seriously wounded The disaster to the French would have been complete but for the skill with which Clausel, who took Marmont's place, drew the defeated army from the field. Wellington was able to march on Madrid, whence King Joseph fled to Valencia, summoning Soult to raise the blockade of Cadiz, leave Andalusia, and join forces with him At Madrid the victors were received with wild enthusiasm Still, Wellington was not strong enough without reinforcements to carry his success further, or even to maintain a secure position in Spain, especially after an unexpected failure to capture the castle of Burgos Once more he found himself obliged to fall back on the Portuguese frontier The decisive campaign was deferred till 1813 The disasters of the Moscow campaign, to be described in the next chapter, gave a new form to the Titanic struggle in Europe, and more and more of the French troops were withdrawn from the Peninsula. Wellington, on the other hand, was somewhat better supported by the British Government, with whom he had a powerful advocate in the person of his brother, the Marquess Wellesley, whose brilliant career as Governor-General of India has been narrated in an earlier volume.

The Titanic Struggle in Europe

Of the 200,000 French troops that remained, which still included contingents from the subject or dependent nationalities, nearly half were occupied in endeavouring to hold down the northern districts, and to repress the irrepressible guerrillas and their brilliant chief, Mina. Soult had been called away to Napoleon's aid, and the armies in Spain were commanded nominally by Joseph, actually by the veteran Jourdan, when Wellington took the offensive in the late spring of 1813, having now under his command nearly 50,000 British troops, supplemented by Portuguese. Deluding the enemy into the belief that his attack was to be directed against the centre of Spain,



THE ROUT AT VITTORIA: FLIGHT OF THE FRENCH THROUGH THE TOWN AFTER THE BATTLE
From the painting by Robert Hillingford

he was on the march into the northern districts before the enemy could concentrate Vittoria was the key to the line of communication with France, and here the decisive battle was fought on June 21st It ended in the utter rout of the French Guns, ammunition, baggage, treasure, all the accumulated spoil of Joseph's five years in Spain were lost The French army was in full flight to France The disaster was irretrievable Soult was once more despatched to do all that could be done to hold the frontier He applied to the task supreme skill and daring, but it was impossible of accomplishment By the end of the year Wellington's Peninsular army was on French soil Between him and Soult the last contest took place on April 10th, 1814, at the hard-fought battle of Toulouse, which could barely be claimed as a victory by the British commander And the battle itself was needless, for although the fact was unknown to Soult or to Wellington, Napoleon had already abdicated, only the terms of the abdication were not fully settled until the following day

The French Disaster at Vittoria

The story of his fall will be told in our next chapter, but first we must turn from the accounts of campaigns with which we have hitherto been occupied to other aspects of the Peninsular War We have remarked on the fact that while the Spanish guerrillas maintained a persistent and successful warfare against the French domination in the north, thereby rendering immense service to Wellington, the Spanish Government and Government troops habitually failed to co-operate with their great ally The guerrillas were not politicians, their one object was to rid themselves of the foreign oppressor

The termination of the regime of the Bourbons and Godoy seemed to give their opportunity to the reformers, who had been multiplied by the French Revolution They succeeded in obtaining the summons of the Cortes, or the nearest thing to the Cortes available, in Cadiz, when the rest of Andalusia was in the hands of the French As had happened in France, the moderates in this national Parliament were soon swamped by the zealots of the revolution, who were no more in sympathy with the anti-revolutionary English than with French Cæsarism, and mutual distrust made anything like cordial relations absolutely impossible Instead of devoting itself to the urgent necessities of a war administration, the Cortes turned its attention to the production of a democratic constitution and democratic legislation, while its members were conspicuously deficient both in political experience and in political capacity The moderation of Jovellanos, the one man of real ability, was translated into treason, and he was put to death in 1811

Bourbon Régime at an End

The new constitution was modelled on the very limited French monarchy of 1791, with a single very democratic Assembly to which the executive, though nominated by the king, was to be responsible It was to be elected every two years, and no one might sit in two consecutive Assemblies, consequently administrative experience was precluded The legislation followed the natural anti-feudal and anti-clerical lines, though it enforced Roman Catholicism and tolerated no other religion A theoretical loyalty to King Ferdinand was essential In the country where, of all others, clerical ascendancy had been for centuries the most marked characteristic, not only of the Government, but also in popular sentiment, it is obvious that party feeling between clericals and anti-clericals ran particularly high, and when the French withdrawal from Andalusia after Salamanca enabled the Cortes to make itself felt in North Spain the discussion became still more serious, and might have paralysed Wellington if the French had been in a position to reap the full advantages of it.

The Peninsula Freed from the Foreign Yoke

The overthrow, final so far as concerned Spain, of the French power at Vittoria delivered the Peninsula from a foreign yoke, but left it on the verge of a constitutional struggle The democrats had tasted power, the king, Ferdinand, who was now to return to his kingdom, had only played the popular part as prince, in opposition to Godoy The Napoleonic monarchy of Spain, absolute though it was except so far as it was subordinated to the behests of the Emperor, had still followed the principle of suppressing feudal privileges Nationalism had won the day, but the seeds of domestic discord were destined to bring forth a plentiful crop And incidentally the war had enabled the Spanish American colonies to throw off their allegiance—a resolution which the mother country was as yet by no means ready to accept.

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION & NAPOLEON



IX
BY ARTHUR D. INNES, M.A.

THE RISING OF THE NATIONS
AND THE FALL OF THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON

WHEN Masséna was sent to take up the Spanish command against Wellington the omens were already pointing to a decisive breach between Napoleon and Alexander The French Emperor's seizure of Oldenburg was almost a personal insult to the Tsar, and when the New Year, 1811, saw Russia withdrawn from the Continental System, a declaration of war between the Eastern and Western Emperors became a mere question of time For the humbling of Great Britain could be accomplished only by an exclusion of her commerce even more rigid than Napoleon had hitherto been able to enforce, and with the Baltic open to her, it was vain to dream that her goods could be shut out of Europe

It is not surprising that the determination to crush Great Britain should have been the dominant passion with Napoleon, for she was the one Power which had persistently defied him and consistently fostered and upheld every effort on the part of other nations to resist him But no such passion possessed the Tsar, and nothing short of it could make endurable the economic strain involved by the exclusion, total or even partial, of British and colonial produce The apparent fact is that whatever subsidiary objects Napoleon may have had in view, the primary consideration which drove him to war with Russia was the determination to seal up the Baltic

Napoleon's Designs on the Baltic

It remains among the most curious of those psychological aberrations which break across the normal forces of historical causation that an intellect so vast and so catholic as Napoleon's should have flatly rejected the economic truths which were patent to all his finance Ministers He could not or would not realise that the Continent could not subsist without British and colonial produce; that the policy of exclusion could, on the one side, only limit without destroying the market for British goods, while, on the other, it enhanced prices enormously Beetroot sugar and chicory could not, for instance, satisfy the demand for sugar and coffee, and the risk of a forbidden traffic compelled the producers to sell only at extravagant prices, which the consumers had no choice but to pay, while the shortage or the high cost of raw material ruined Continental manufacturers In other words, the Continental System could only hamper England, but it crippled and crushed the Continent And in doing so it immensely intensified the forces antagonistic to the French Empire Yet the perfecting of the Continental System overshadowed every other consideration in Napoleon's mind

Where Napoleon Failed

It is hardly less strange that his absorption in this grand object blinded him to the importance of definitely ending the Peninsular War In view of the resources at Wellington's and at Napoleon's disposal, the most enthusiastic admirers of the Iron Duke can hardly doubt that he must have been driven into the sea if Napoleon had made up his mind to conduct in person a fight to a finish in the Peninsula before he advanced upon Russia

Before we follow Napoleon's campaign, it will be well to grasp the territorial situation of the Powers Draw a line from Lubeck on the Baltic to the south of Dalmatia on the Adriatic Between that line and the Pyrenees the whole Continent was under Napoleon's sway Murat ruled at Naples Eugène Beauharnais in the kingdom of Italy was Napoleon's own viceroy. Denmark was now devoted to his cause The Confederation of the Rhine owned his suzerainty Practically the whole of the rest was actually annexed to France East of the line, Mecklenburg and Saxony were in the Rhine Confederation, and the Grand Duchy of Warsaw was a dependency of Saxony. Norway belonged to Denmark, and Sweden was virtually under Bernadotte—the only

Europe under the Sway of Napoleon

doubtful factor Outside of Russia, Great Britain, and the Peninsula, there remained Prussia—what was left of it—Austria, and Turkey, and an Austrian princess was now Napoleon's empress

Before the war began, Alexander neutralised Turkey by the judicious Treaty of Bucharest Both he and Napoleon endeavoured to secure Polish support, and here Napoleon was successful, Polish mistrust of Russia was too deeply rooted Austria and Prussia could hardly avoid participation Austria was disposed to support Napoleon, but to confine herself to a masterly inactivity in doing so For Prussia, the problem was grave Hardenberg, who had returned to the chancellery, was Russian in his sympathies, but saw that Prussia could not take the risk If she declared for Russia, she would be the first victim, and Hardenberg remembered that Russia had almost completely deserted her after Friedland

Polish Mistrust of Russia

Sentiment yielded to judgment, and Prussia offered France her alliance, which meant just so much support as might be absolutely necessary to preserve Prussia from destruction Both Prussia and Austria were careful to explain to an understanding Tsar that their hostility was entirely simulated Finally, Bernadotte, never a warm supporter of Napoleon, resolved to identify himself with the interests of Sweden, to play the part of a Swedish patriot, and to decline the French Emperor's overtures

The enormous resources now at Napoleon's disposal are illustrated by the vastness of the army which he was able to bring together in the spring of 1812 for the Russian campaign Although more than 200,000 men were still locked up in the Peninsula, these forces were so great that the actual army of invasion which crossed the Niemen in June numbered 350,000 men It was Napoleon's intention to thrust between the northern and the southern armies of Russia with his whole force, and render their junction hopeless Progress, while the army was still in Russian Poland, met with few active obstacles But the advance force under Davoust was unable—probably owing to the disobedience of Jerome Bonaparte—to cut off the smaller southern army under Bagration, and the rear-guard of the larger northern army was able to hold St Cyr and Macdonald in check, while its chief, Barclay du Tolly, retired eastwards and effected the junction with Bagration at Smolensk.

The Great Russian Campaign

The exhausting character of the advance and the commissariat difficulties of the Grand Army necessitated a halt, and it appears to have been Napoleon's first intention to restrict his further operations for the year to the organisation of Poland as a base for next year's campaign. But he was accustomed to annihilate his enemies by the fierce swiftness of his blows. The temptation to crush the Russian force at once was too strong, Austria and Prussia, however inert, still stood as ramparts to cover his rear. Instead of staying to organise, he hurled his forces onwards to Smolensk

But Barclay had realised the uses of a policy of withdrawal His rear-guard held the French army at bay while the main body retired, then fired the city, and retired itself under cover of the conflagration, en route for Moscow, luring Napoleon after it in the full hope that he would yet force an engagement and win a crushing victory. Had Barclay du Tolly remained in command an engagement might never have been forced at all The Grand Army was already dwindling, if that term may be applied to a force which still numbered 140,000 men Every mile it marched took it further from its base and its supplies, further into the heart of a passionately hostile country in which supplies were hardly procurable But Barclay's sagacity appeared to more fiery spirits to be pusillanimity, even treason. He was superseded by Kutusoff, a veteran of Suwarrow's training Kutusoff gave his army and the enemy their heart's desire.

The Grand Army in Difficulties

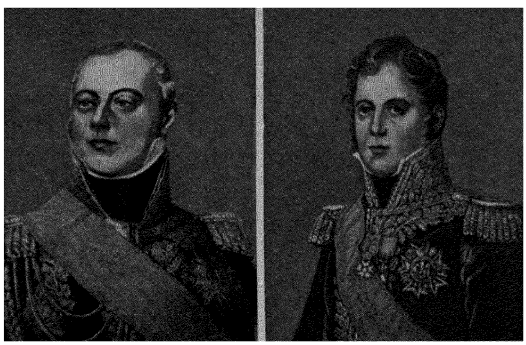
Three weeks after the action at Smolensk, Napoleon found the Russians facing him at Borodino on September 7th After a long and desperate sturggle, he drove them from their position, yet only so that a ridge in the rear could be occupied so as to cover the further retirement effectively Borodino cost Napoleon 30,000 men, and though it was a victory for him in the technical sense that it left him master of the battlefield, he was no nearer his object of shattering the opposing force.

Kutusoff and his Russians, however, found their honour satisfied by a battle in which their courage and skill had been sufficiently vindicated. They were content now to revert to the previous policy.

In another week Napoleon was at Moscow; the historic capital of the Russian Empire was in his hands on September 14th. But he found, not the submission he had hoped for, but emptiness. The population had gone, as well as the army, leaving little but empty houses. The country had been swept by the Russian troops, as Wellington had swept the country before Masséna on the retreat to Torres Vedras. On the night when Napoleon occupied the ancient capital, fires broke out in every quarter—deliberately planned—and a great part of the city was laid in ruin.

Nevertheless, shelter was still afforded. It was even possible to suggest that the army should winter there. But the problem of providing supplies was insoluble. A march on St. Petersburg, dogged by the Russian army, which now lay on the south at Kaluga, was impracticable. For a month Napoleon held on, in the hope that the fall of Moscow might still bring the Tsar to terms; but the Tsar made no sign. It became convincingly clear that retreat was the only course possible. On October 19th, the order was issued. Napoleon had penetrated to Moscow, less, perhaps, from the conviction that by doing so he would reach Russia's heart than from the hope of bringing the Russian army to the decisive engagement which it had eluded. At any rate, he found that if Russia had a heart—a vital spot—it was not at Moscow. Barren, indeed, were the laurels of that victorious advance; such laurels were an inadequate substitute for bread. The five hundred miles that lay between Napoleon and the frontier had been swept bare, and those five hundred miles would have to be traversed again, for Kutusoff lay between the Grand Army and a more southerly route, which had not been swept; and Kutusoff soon proved to be an insuperable obstacle.

The Terrible Tragedy of Moscow



Macdonald Ney

TWO GREAT MARSHALS OF FRANCE

Born at Sedan, the son of a Scottish Jacobite schoolmaster, Macdonald rose to high rank in the French army, distinguishing himself on the battlefield, and becoming marshal and Duke of Taranto. Ney, another great leader, was in charge of the rear-guard in the disastrous retreat from Moscow; he was shot for high treason in 1815.

A fierce battle at Jaroslavitz, though again a technical victory for the French, was Pyrrhic in character. The Grand Army could not fight its way out of the country by such battles as that, and Napoleon found that there was no alternative but to retreat along the line of the previous advance. For nearly three weeks it was conducted amid great hardships and under harassing attacks which reduced the 100,000 men who started from Moscow to half that number. And then, on November 6th, winter descended. But it is well to note that before the bitter winter began Napoleon's force was already less than two-fifths of that which had found the Russians facing it at Borodino two months before. In other words, the Grand Army was already a wreck, a remnant, before that awful frost smote it. Just as in the case of the Spanish Armada, a picturesque fiction has permanently displaced the historical fact in the general belief. The Armada was an irretrievably beaten and broken fleet before the winds blew. The Grand Army was an irretrievably shattered army before the frosts came. But the broken Armada was splintered by the winds, and the shattered Grand Army was annihilated by the frosts; and the world will probably continue to give the winds and frost the whole credit.

The Fate of Napoleon's Grand Army

The frosts came, and the disastrous retreat became a hideous nightmare of misery, relieved only by the indomitable heroism of the rear-guard. It is estimated that not less than 400,000 men must have crossed the Niemen eastwards; only 20,000 made their way back into Prussia on November 14th, apart from the column, of about the same number, under Macdonald's command in the north.

Ten days earlier, the Emperor had left his army in order to hasten in person to Paris to re-establish his authority, against

which, and in his absence, a futile attempt to engineer an insurrection had been made The command was left to Murat—King of Naples—who followed his chief's example, and made for his own kingdom, leaving the army to Eugène Beauharnais, who succeeded in conveying it to safe quarters at Leipzig, in Saxony. Although Wellington's victory at Salamanca had not enabled him to secure the mastery of Spain, it had been made evident that French ascendancy could be established only by a great effort in the Peninsula. The mere fact was sufficient to stir the hopes of Napoleon's foes throughout Europe

European Terror of Napoleon

On the top of Wellington's successes came the terrific disaster of the Russian expedition Yet even now the Governments were afraid or unwilling to break free. Russia, from her own point of view, might well be content with what she had achieved Austria, guided by Metternich, saw diplomatic opportunities in prospect The princes of the Rhine Confederation halted between two opinions And Frederic William of Prussia, with his territories still largely occupied by French garrisons, lacked the nerve to make an irrevocable decision But the decision was taken out of his hands

The Prussian contingent, hitherto serving as in alliance with the French, was under the command of the veteran General Yorck Stein, a fugitive from the wrath of Napoleon, had been called by the Tsar into his counsels, and now exercised a strong influence with him These two men gave the lead which changed the situation Macdonald, with his column, recalled from the siege of Riga by the disaster of the Grand Army, accomplished a successful retreat into Prussian territory, and was on the point of calling upon Yorck to co-operate when he found himself compelled by the Prussian general's defection to withdraw hastily to Konigsberg Yorck, on his own responsibility, but with the enthusiastic support of the officers and men of his army, had concluded a convention with the Russians at Tauroggen Influenced by Stein, the Tsar was once again resolved to resume his early rôle of liberator, in spite of a strong Russian opposition which would have preferred leaving Western Europe to take care of itself. Magnanimity might not have sufficed to bring him to this decision if he had been satisfied that Russian interests would be adequately secured otherwise, but if Napoleon should again terrorise the West into submission, it was more than probable that Russia would again find itself the object of attack The liberation of North Germany by Russian aid could be justified as the most effective defensive policy for Russia Yorck's convention withdrew the Prussian troops from the French alliance, and in effect handed over East Prussia to the Tsar, and the Tsar entrusted the government to Stein Stein forthwith convoked an assembly for the purpose of calling the people of East Prussia to arms, himself acting in the name of the Tsar

The Tsar in the Rôle of Liberator

Frederic William at first repudiated Yorck's action, but very soon found that the whole nation would be with him if he took the courageous course, and would almost certainly take that course itself whatever the Government might do Within a month of the convention he had fled from Berlin, which was dominated by the French, to Breslau, which was not, and at the end of February he concluded the Treaty of Kalisch with the Tsar for war against Napoleon, the Tsar undertaking that the Prussian kingdom shoud be reinstated in its old extent, with equivalents in other quarters to compensate for particular curtailments, which meant mainly that German districts were to be substituted for Polish provinces which in effect would pass to Russia To Prussia, it seemed that a heavy price was demanded It was not realised that in becoming a Power wholly German, instead of largely Slavonic, she would be greatly advancing the ultimate prospects of German nationalism under Prussian hegemony, that, to this end, Prussia would be placed at an immense advantage as compared with Austria, within whose dominions both Magyars and Czechs stood entirely outside German nationalism

Prussia and Russia against Napoleon

Even before the Treaty of Kalisch was concluded, Russian troops were pressing forward through Prussia, and the arming of the whole population was in progress On March 4th, Beauharnais evacuated Berlin, on the 16th the Prussian declaration of war was formally proclaimed; on the 17th, the king issued an appeal to the nation which gave the signal for an overwhelming outburst of national enthusiasm. But when the allies issued

another appeal to German sentiment outside Prussia, there was no similar response. Sweden was the only state which joined the coalition without hesitation, mainly, perhaps, because Bernadotte expected, as the outcome, to acquire Norway from Denmark, which was resolutely fixed in its adherence to Napoleon. But the effect on Prussia itself of Stein's influence, and of Scharnhorst's military organisation, became apparent when the short-service army was trebled by the trained reserves, and, behind these, Landwehr and Landsturm were taking up their training in yet greater numbers. A passion of patriotic ardour, of fervent



MARSHAL NEY DEFENDING THE REAR-GUARD IN THE RETREAT FROM MOSCOW

In the whole history of Napoleon's campaigns there is nothing more terrible or tragic than the experiences of his army during the ill-fated Russian expedition. Retreating from Moscow the Grand Army of the Emperor was subjected to great hardships and harassing attacks, these tremendously reducing the number of the men. The frosts came, and the retreat became a hideous nightmare, relieved only by the indomitable heroism of the rear-guard under Marshal Ney.

From the painting by Adolphe Yvon

self-sacrifice, for the whole German Fatherland, swept through Prussia, strangely rational and sober despite its intensity, which makes this Prussian movement, in its kind, perhaps the most nobly inspiring which history records.

It is hardly less startling to find that the armies of France, which had lost half a million men or little less in the last six months of 1812, were able still to muster half a million, besides the 200,000 left for Wellington to deal with in Spain. So confident was Napoleon of his own invincibility despite the experience of 1812, that he rejected Austria's offer of mediation, though Austria, with more prudent calculation, declined to render him the military aid which he demanded.

Napoleon took the offensive, and drove back the Russians and Prussians, defeating them first at Lützen and then at Bautzen; but the defeats were not of the old crushing character—neither of them approached to a rout. Nevertheless, Barclay, restored to the Russian command, could hardly be restrained from reverting to the purely Russian policy of falling back into Poland, by the consideration that this would destroy all prospect of Austria coming into the coalition. In June, Napoleon, trusting to the moral effect of Lützen and Bautzen on both Prussia and Austria, offered a truce, which was readily accepted. But he had now to deal not with the vacillating King of Prussia, but with her people; with the astute Metternich, who meant to have his price from one side or other, and saw more promise from the allies; and with Alexander, who, having again set his hand to the plough was not to be persuaded or alarmed into looking back. To Metternich the truce presented precisely the opportunity he desired of modifying the plans of the coalition in the Austrian interest. He was himself satisfied that Austria's adhesion to the

coalition would assure it of the mastery, the more so when Great Britain concluded subsidiary treaties with Russia and Prussia, and news came of Wellington's decisive triumph at Vittoria Metternich's mediation was provisionally accepted by both parties But Napoleon was determined not to yield an inch of territory Metternich would not demand less than the retrocession of the Illyrian Provinces to Austria, the partition of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw between Russia, Prussia, and Austria, and the restriction of the French dominion to the west of the Rhine, with his suzerainty over the Rhenish Confederacy Napoleon's refusal of the terms threw Austria into the coalition on August 12th she declared war

The Allied Nations ready for War

The truce had helped the allies, especially Prussia, to increase their levies much more than Napoleon, and now to these were added the Austrian armies which threatened Napoleon's flank from Bohemia The French numbers were far inferior, and were especially deficient in artillery and cavalry, the arms on which Napoleon placed most reliance Still, they had the advantage of the central position in Saxony, and of the controlling master-mind

The value of this was seen in the second great engagement which followed a fortnight after the renewal of the war, when, at Dresden, Napoleon won a brilliant victory over the main allied force But its effect was neutralised by Blucher's defeat of Macdonald at Katzbach, in Silesia, on the previous day, and by the disaster, three days later, which befel Vandamme's column at Kulm Sent to cut off the retreat of the allies, the force was unsupported, surrounded, and compelled to capitulate And a week later Ney, who had advanced on Berlin, was decisively defeated at Dennewitz by Bulow The allies now saw the way open to effect a junction on Napoleon's rear. Blucher from Silesia passed round the northern flank, and from that side, awaiting Bernadotte and Bulow, threatened Leipzig, whither the main army proposed to make its way from the south Napoleon, finding it impracticable to pierce the Erz-Gebirge and attack the latter in Bohemia, left Murat, who had joined him again, to cover Leipzig, and went to destroy Blucher, but Blucher retired, evading battle, while the allies, under Schwarzenberg, pressed Murat back from the south. Napoleon found himself compelled to concentrate on Leipzig and accept battle.

"Battle of the Nations"

On October 16th began the three days' Battle of Leipzig, the "Battle of the Nations." On the south, Napoleon checked Schwarzenberg, on the north, Blucher drove in Marmont The great fight was on the 18th. The French resistance was prolonged and desperate, but now Bernadotte, who had hampered rather than aided the movements of the allies, was arriving, and threatened to cut off the retreat which had become inevitable The final result was a decisive rout, in which a part of Napoleon's army escaped across the Elbe, and a part was driven into the river The series of battles cost Napoleon 45,000 men, besides 23,000 who were left behind in hospital.

Only 70,000 men recrossed the Rhine Yet the allies had suffered so severely—more, numerically, than the French—that they were unable to carry on a pursuit Some weeks before Leipzig the bearing of the Austrian intervention on the future of Germany manifested itself in the Treaty of Toplitz, which ratified the alliances The intention of the Treaty of Kalisch had been to develop Stein's ideas of German nationalism at the expense of the princes of the Rhenish Confederation, who, from this point of view, had forfeited all claim to consideration But to Metternich, the theories of Stein were an abomination His scheme was not that of appealing to German sentiment and establishing free governments, but of detaching Napoleon's allies by promising them monarchical independence in place of monarchical subjection.

Germany's Future in the Balance

Little pleasing as the idea might be to the new nationalism, it was not without its appeal to the still influential body of monarchists and feudalists in Prussia, moreover, Austria's position in the coalition was too strong to permit of her being over-ruled The Treaty of Toplitz embodied Metternich's principle, and its effect was seen in the early adhesion of Bavaria, which had been Napoleon's ally from the beginning, and in the marked inclination of the whole posse of princes to transfer their support to the allies Leipzig was decisive They came in, in haste to secure themselves the benefits of the Toplitz agreement Those whom Napoleon had ejected were restored.

William of Orange was reinstated in Holland, no longer as stadtholder, but as king. Denmark was obliged to give up the French alliance, and to cede Norway to Sweden And most of the fortified places held by French garrisons from the Vistula to the Rhine were soon forced to capitulate Spain was already completely lost to Napoleon, and all that Soult could do was to offer a stubborn resistance to Wellington's entry into France through the Pyrenees

At Frankfort the allies held council in the second week of November Blucher, as befitted the veteran who was popularly known as "Marshal Forward," was eager for an immediate invasion of France Not so the diplomatists They preferred to offer the Emperor terms, restricting France to her "natural boundaries"—the Pyrenees, the Alps, and the Rhine The monarchs were in some fear of the next development of the peoples, into whom the spirit of patriotism had breathed an alarming energy The old dread of the Revolution was very much alive Those terms would have satisfied all the Powers

Invading Armies in France

After Moscow, Vittoria, and Leipzig, they were generous, and they represented nothing more than the accomplished fact But even now Napoleon would not recognise that the odds had become too overwhelming Perhaps he believed that his dynasty would be endangered if he came to terms otherwise than as a victor in the field Perhaps he trusted to a collapse in the unanimity of the allies Whatever his motive, he ignored what was now the predominating sentiment in France in favour of an honourable peace, while the allies had been careful in the form of their proposals to conciliate the amour propre of the French people

By this time Wellington was on French soil, and his admirable control over the invading troops was producing a most favourable impression in Southern France Even the obsequious Corps Législatif presented what was practically an address in favour of such a peace as was offered But the Emperor was obdurate in maintaining larger demands, and on December 1st the offer of the allies was withdrawn In January the invading armies entered France.

In the south of France, the duel between Soult and Wellington continued In the south of Italy, Murat had dropped his brother-in-law's cause; in North Italy, the Austro-Bavarian agreement after Toplitz, by giving the Austrians free passage through the Tyrol, had made the position of Eugène Beauharnais practically untenable On the north-east of France, the allied army of the north was entering Belgium. Their Grand Army of 250,000 men passed the Rhine at Basle and moved

A Million Men Lost by Napoleon

north-west on Champagne, while the eager Blucher with 90,000 crossed it in the neighbourhood of Coblentz, passed the Moselle and the Meuse, and advanced to effect a junction with Schwarzenberg Napoleon was vastly outnumbered, for the campaigns of the last eighteen months must have cost him a million soldiers, and that he could still put an effective force in the field is explicable only when we remember that a great proportion of the soldiery employed on those campaigns was drawn, not from France, but from the subject and dependent states of Germany, Italy, and Poland As it was, the force on which he was now reduced to relying was made up partly of indomitable veterans, but mainly of lads who had been too young to be called to arms before, of the generation which, born in the Year of Terror, was inevitably stamped by physical inferiority

The Seine, which takes its course through Troyes to Paris, the Aube, which joins it a little below Troyes, and the Marne, which joins it just above Paris, all take their rise on the plateau from which the Grand Army was advancing Napoleon's force lay between the Marne and the Seine, covering Paris A vigorous offensive from Schwarzenberg was not to be expected, but Blucher was displaying his habitual energy He was already nearing Schwarzenberg, when Napoleon struck at him and checked him at the end of January at St Dizier and Brienne But Blucher, reinforced, had double the numbers of the opposing column, and inflicted a severe defeat on it at La Rothière on February

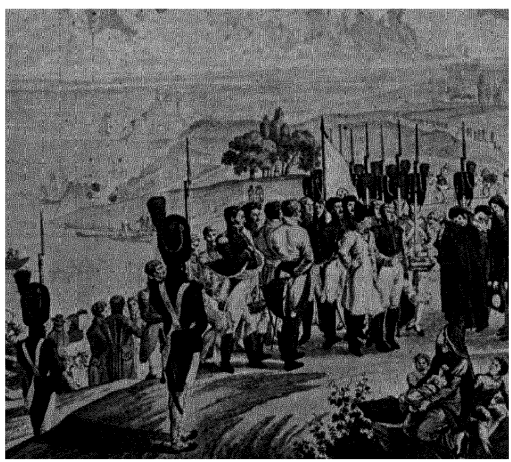
Blucher Defeats the French

1st, 1814 The victory was decisive enough to warrant his desire to march straight on Paris by the Marne and Chalons, but neither Austrians nor Russians wished the campaign to be in effect a Prussian triumph. For commissariat purposes, as it was alleged, it was resolved that the Grand Army should advance by the Seine and Blucher by the Marne—not too fast They still wished, in fact, to give Napoleon the chance of accepting a peace. Austria was

jealous of Prussia acquiring too much prestige; so was the Tsar. Austria was afraid of the Tsar insisting, in the hour of victory, on championing a Republican restoration, for he was the one monarch who had regarded the Revolution principles with favour. Frederic William shared Austria's fear. But Napoleon remained as determined as ever in demanding more than the most conciliatory of his foes would concede.

The Critical Position of the Emperor

In the second week of February, Blücher gave him his chance by endeavouring to break in between Napoleon at Troyes and Macdonald at Epernay, and to cut the latter off from Paris. The movement involved an extension of his column, which enabled the Emperor to inflict on it in detail a series of defeats which drove it back on Chalons and gave the young French conscripts a new confidence in themselves and in their mighty leader. Napoleon's temporary division encouraged Schwarzenberg to advance past Troyes, and the Emperor had to turn back and defeat him at Montereau instead of going on to complete Blücher's discomfiture, which was much less complete than Napoleon imagined.



NAPOLEON ARRIVING AT ELBA IN 1814

Again the allies proposed an armistice; again Napoleon refused; though the former were continually receiving reinforcements, and the latter was not. The overtures being rejected, the allies renewed their treaty at Chaumont on March 1st. The fact that it was to hold good for twenty years suggests that even now they were not contemplating the total destruction of Napoleon's power in the immediate future. Meanwhile, however, the south-west was passing decisively to Wellington, and on March 12th the Royalists in Bordeaux proclaimed Louis XVIII. But what mattered more was that Blücher, by the end of February, was making a flank march on the north, with a view to effecting a junction with the Army of the North, which was now approaching, and of threatening Paris, while Schwarzenberg occupied Napoleon. The junction was effected at Soissons on March 4th. Napoleon attacked the united forces at Craonne and drove them back on Laon, where his success was reversed. The overwhelming pressure of the allies drove the Emperor to the desperate expedient of falling on Schwarzenberg's communications, thus leaving open the road to Paris for the Grand Army; and the Tsar resolved to disregard Napoleon's movement and advance on Paris itself. The covering corps under Marmont were shattered at La Fère Champenoise by the combined forces of the Tsar and Blücher on March 26th. Throughout the 30th a fierce but unequal contest raged in the environs of Paris, till Blücher's capture of Montmartre decided Marmont to act on the licence given him by Joseph Bonaparte, who was nominally in control of the city. Paris capitulated on the next day; it was evacuated by the French troops, and entered by the allied sovereigns. At last Napoleon found resistance hopeless. His marshals one and all gave him to understand that he must consider himself irretrievably beaten. He offered to abdicate, but still struggled to make conditions. The allies would listen to none. They, not he, must decide the future of France. For himself, he might retain the title of Emperor, a substantial but by no means imperial pension, and the sovereignty of the island of Elba. On April 11th, 1814, he yielded. On May 4th he was in Elba.

Napoleon Retires to Elba



THE SETTLEMENT OF EUROPE

NAPOLEON'S RETURN & FINAL OVERTHROW

THE Napoleonic era closes with the abdication in 1814 Fundamentally, the Emperor's return and the campaign of 1815 merely form an episode, intensely dramatic, but productive only of accidental effects, inasmuch as the return silenced the disputes between the Powers which were threatening to disturb Europe afresh, and the victory of Waterloo gave Great Britain an increased prestige in the councils of Europe But the principles on which the Continent was settled in 1815 were no departure from the principles of 1814 We have therefore reached a convenient point for forming some estimate of what was actually accomplished by the Revolution and the Empire

In the first place, the Revolution destroyed once for all in France the old system of aristocratic and clerical privilege The aggressive Republic imposed the same principle on the subordinate republics which it created, and when Cæsarism replaced the French Republic, and Bonapartist dynasties the subordinate republics, the same principles continued to be maintained, and took permanent root In Central Europe those principles had taken sufficient hold to enable Stein and Hardenberg and Stadion to carry reforms up to a point which gave a solid basis for further development, but stopped far short of what the reformers desired Social feudalism had gone in the west, and its foundations in Germany were sapped

What the Revolution Accomplished

Not so with monarchism The Revolution effected only a temporary subversion of monarchism The republics which it created became monarchies again, and so remained, yet those monarchies lacked their old prestige, and under them enough of the machinery of popular government survived to make the way ready for constitutionalism to eject absolutism

The Republic had extended liberty outside the borders of France, in the sense of calling peoples to active participation in the government of the state It had destroyed liberty in the other sense—that it had imposed alien control The Cæsarism put an end to the new liberty, and extended the imposition of alien control Yet where that control was most complete it brought gifts, consistency in the form of law and in its administration The dependent states were better governed when they were dependencies than when they were independent Where the Nationalist idea was non-existent, where subordination to some external authority had been habitual, as in Italy and in Belgium, the French expansion, *per se*, was beneficial Napoleon in his conquests and annexations merely carried out on a larger scale the policy of the Republic itself, and the Republic, intensely Nationalist as concerned France itself, recognised no Nationalism beyond its own borders It was when the French expansion came into collision with Nationalism that it became a tyranny, which stirred patriotic resistance to a passion, and brought it to life where it had hitherto been virtually non-existent

The Tyranny of French Expansion

Nationalism was a late birth of time In England and Scotland it had been vigorous for 500 years, in France and Spain for 300, and in Holland for 200, but the system of the Holy Roman Empire was cosmopolitan in theory and practice, and the Nationalist idea remained no more than embryonic Napoleon's conception of replacing the amorphous Holy Roman Empire by reviving a living empire of Charlemagne is not to be dismissed as the outcome of mere personal ambition, but it was doomed to failure in the long run precisely because it disregarded the Nationalism which, once awakened, could not be reconciled with cosmopolitan imperialism The perfidy by which he seized Spain, the tyranny to which he subjected Prussia, raised

Napoleon's Ruined Scheme of Imperialism

Nationalism into an irresistible antagonistic force which brought the whole imperial scheme to complete ruin.

The apologists for Napoleon have some warrant for claiming that the conception of such an empire, and the attempt to give it effect should be admired and applauded as being for the advantage of civilisation. The upholders of Nationalism are entitled to take the contrary view. For Great Britain, the assumption that the forces of the Napoleonic Empire, when its construction and organisation should be completed, would be devoted to her overthrow was so overwhelming that she had no choice but to resist Napoleon with her whole force. In the endeavour to crush her resistance Napoleon imposed, or tried to impose, upon Europe the Continental System, which inflicted on the Continent itself hardships which more than counterbalanced such benefits as were conferred by his consummately organised methods of administration. Added to this, the realisation of the imperial idea could be attained only through a series of wars, with all the evils thereof in proportion to the vast scale on which they had to be waged, destroying property, ruining industry, and draining every country in Europe of its most vigorous sons, leaving it in the main to those physically inferior to impart their defects to the next generation.

Great Britain's Resistance to Napoleon



JOACHIM MURAT

A general in the French army, he married a sister of Napoleon, and in 1808 was proclaimed King of the Two Sicilies. He was shot in 1815, after trial by court-martial.

The French Revolution, in spite of its own excesses and the monarchical reaction in which it ended, made the conception of civic freedom a part of the inheritance of future generations, not only in France, but throughout Europe. Napoleon, overriding but not uprooting civic freedom, set his seal on the revolutionary charter which abolished a caste system that was tightening its coils about Europe. His overthrow established the principle by which it was accomplished, that through neither Empire nor Provincialism, but through a healthy and tolerant Nationalism the progressive development of Europe must be achieved. The lesson was not learnt then; it was obstinately and repeatedly ignored in the century that followed, and each attempt to ignore it has ended in its more decisive confirmation. Perhaps in time it may come to be recognised universally and decisively, instead of only partially and occasionally.

Among the allies at the moment of Napoleon's abdication there were not a few prominent persons who entertained illusory hopes of a Nationalist development. They were doomed to disappointment; but the first business of the victorious Powers was the settlement of France. Neither Russia nor Great Britain viewed a Bourbon restoration with enthusiasm, but both wished the choice of the French themselves to be confirmed, and the Legitimists carried the day, with the warm approval of Austria and Prussia. Talleyrand, always a monarchist at heart, made himself the real controller of the situation. Louis XVIII., recalled from exile, entered Paris on April 29th, but the royalist victory was endangered at the outset by his reactionary tone. Under pressure from the Tsar he was induced to concede a Constitution by grace of the Crown.

On the hypothesis that the Revolution was over, and that France had returned to her legitimate Government, the legitimate Government made a treaty with the allies. The French frontier was withdrawn to its maximum pre-regicide limit, that of 1792, with some additions: Great Britain restored her conquests, except Mauritius, St. Lucia, and Tobago. The allied armies withdrew, and no indemnity was required. Broadly speaking, the whole period of the Republic and the Empire was wiped out as covering merely an unfortunate episode. It was provided at the same time that Holland should receive an increase of territory, and that Great Britain should restore the Dutch colonies—all of which she had captured—except the Cape and Demerara. The German princes were to have full sovereignty, but were to be federated; Italy was to be resolved into a congeries of independent states, except for a portion to be restored to Austria. The disinterested attitude of Great Britain was marked not only by her unique surrender of actual conquests, but by her insistence

Territories Restored by the Powers

on a clause in the treaty directed against the slave-trade. Other questions and details were to be referred to a congress which was to meet at Vienna in November. At that congress the five great Powers were represented respectively by Metternich, Hardenberg, Nesselrode, Castlereagh, and Talleyrand. Every European state, large or small, was represented, except Turkey. The four victorious Powers had agreed to reserve to themselves the decision of burning questions, but the diplomatic skill of Talleyrand not only added France herself to the four, but made him practically the most important of all the notable negotiators.



LOUIS XVIII OF FRANCE
The younger brother of Louis XVI., he became monarch on the fall of Napoleon in 1814. He ruled with severity, and when Napoleon returned from Elba, fled from Paris.

The congress had to reconstruct a Europe which had been decomposing and recomposing territorially and constitutionally at brief intervals for more than twenty years, and it had no intention whatever of allowing its reconstruction to be affected in the one field by Nationalism, or in the other by the principles of 1789. Talleyrand successfully gave them their keynote by offering them the principle of legitimism as the basis of harmony. It did not produce harmony, but it eliminated certain discordant possibilities. The treatment of Poland and Saxony and of German Nationalism became the crucial questions. Russia wanted Poland as a modest return for her disinterested efforts in the cause of Europe; but Prussia, if she were to lose her share of Poland, wanted Saxony by way of compensation; while the King of Saxony had forfeited all right to consideration by supporting Napoleon till his defeat at Leipzig. But in the Austrian view that would give



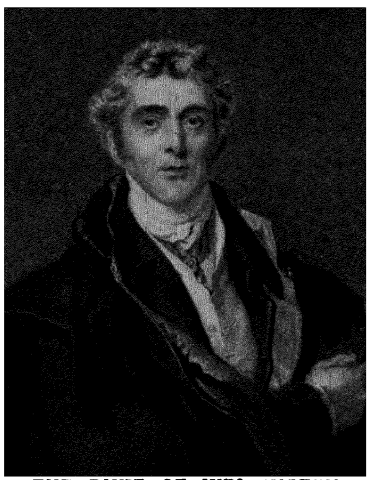
THE BEGINNING OF "THE HUNDRED DAYS": NAPOLEON'S RETURN FROM ELBA
Brooding in Elba, Napoleon saw the unpopularity of the Restoration régime in France, and he determined to make one more struggle with fate. Escaping from Elba, he landed near Cannes on March 1st, 1815, and appealed to the French nation's loyalty to its emperor. Though France, on the whole, acquiesced in his return, the old enthusiasm was lacking.
From the painting by Steuben

Prussia too great a preponderance in Germany; nor did it meet with the approval of England and France, both of which disliked the advance westward of the Russian frontier. Matters reached a stage at which these three Powers entered into a compact to resist the undue aggrandisement of Russia and Prussia. Talleyrand's doctrine of legitimism, however, carried the day with the Tsar. The King of Saxony was allowed to retain half his kingdom, Prussia getting the other half, and, by way of compensation, the districts on the west which she held before Tilsit, together with the old ecclesiastical districts of Trèves and Cologne; and Danzig, Thorn and Posen, conceded by Russia, on the east. Protestant Prussia was rather troubled by the acquisition of the archbishoprics; neither she nor France realised that by having her frontier brought to the Rhine she was bound to become the protagonist in any Franco-German contest over frontiers, and to gain a corresponding predominance among the German states. We need not enter into further details of the territorial rearrangements in Germany, but some points remain to be noted. The promised extension of Holland gave her Belgium and Luxemburg; Austria thus ceased to rule over provinces coterminous with France. Victor Emanuel of Savoy recovered his provinces in North Italy, with his kingdom of Sardinia, while Austria recovered her northern provinces in that country, as well as the Tyrol from Bavaria. The rest of North Italy resumed its character as a congeries of small states, and the papal dominions were restored. Murat was permitted to retain Naples, but ruined himself by again going over to Napoleon on his return; he was deposed, and was finally captured in an attempt to recover Naples, and was executed; the Bourbons were reinstated in the kingdom of the Two Sicilies. Norway was transferred from Denmark to Sweden, which had lost Finland to Russia after Tilsit.

The Divided Kingdom of Saxony

The restoration of Ferdinand VII. in Spain, and of the House of Braganza in Portugal, resulted, in both countries, in the Government which presented in its extremest form the monarchical reaction against those "principles of 1789" which had been so completely predominant in the war of liberation.

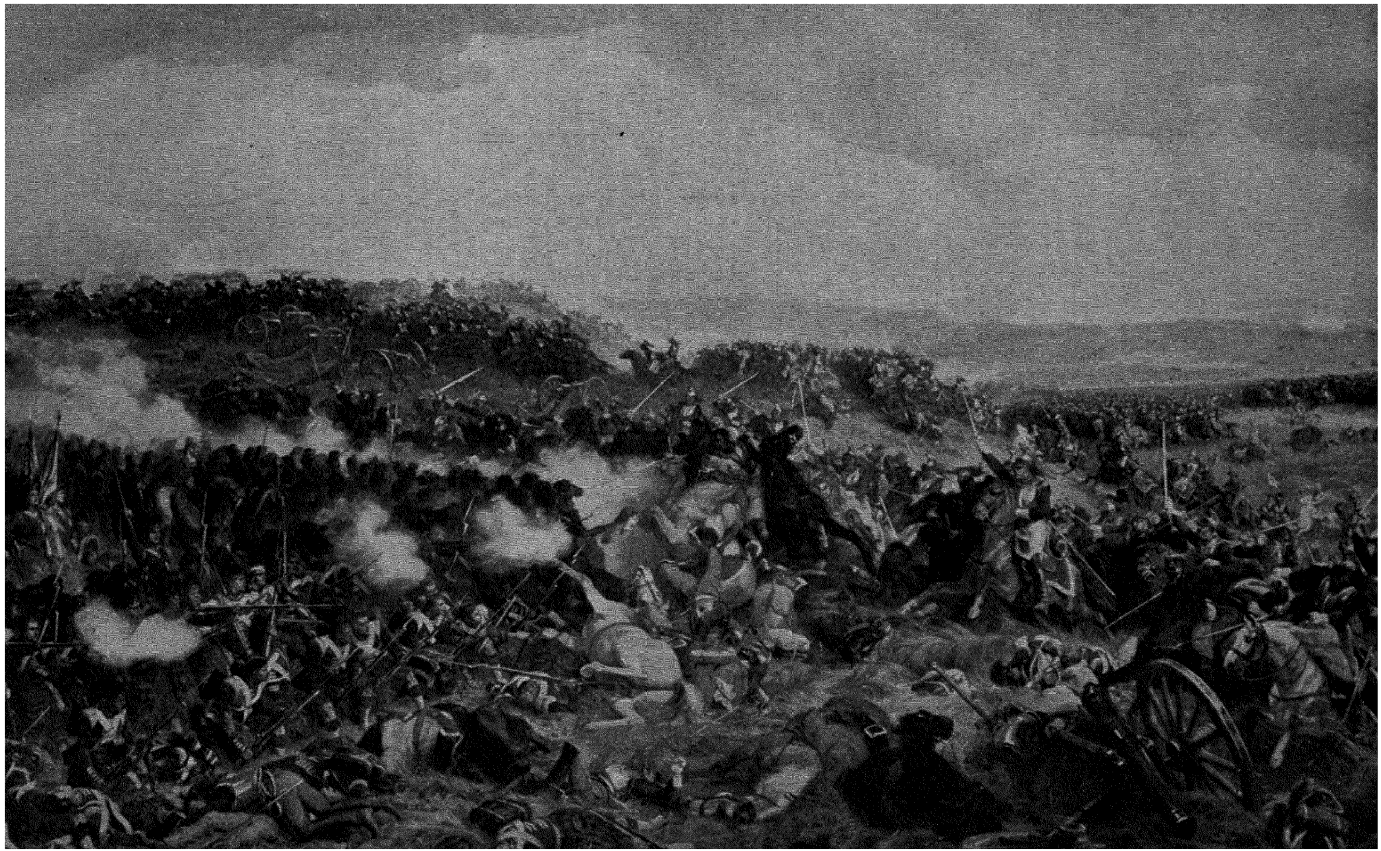
The hardest disappointment was reserved for the German patriots who had revivified Prussia under the inspiration of German Nationalism. They had looked for a reorganisation which would establish German unity, or, at least, two vigorous federations, headed by Austria and Prussia respectively, if the conflicting claims of those two Powers to the hegemony could not be reconciled. Stein and his allies had looked further for the completion of the work in which Stein himself had been stayed by the intervention of Napoleon; of developing constitutional government and free institutions. All these hopes were dashed. Some two score of principalities, whose "legitimate" sovereigns were restored with sovereign rights uncurtailed, were associated in a headless confederation which lacked even the semblance of unity provided by the defunct Holy Roman Empire. Not German unity but the total suppression of the "principles of 1789" was the one requirement of Austria under the sinister guidance of Metternich. While the diplomatists wrangled and collogued, a catastrophe was preparing which came near to shattering the whole edifice they were constructing. France had regarded the fall of the Emperor with something like relief; the strain of the last eighteen months had been too exhausting, and Napoleon's obstinate refusal to accept honourable terms had



THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON

By his great victory at the Battle of Waterloo, in 1815, this famous general broke for ever the power of Napoleon and rid Europe of the disturber of its peace. A grateful nation covered him with honours, and in 1827 he became Prime Minister. He died in 1852.

France Tired of Napoleon



THE EPOCH-MAKING BATTLE OF WATERLOO: THE FRENCH CUIRASSIERS CHARGING THE BRITISH SQUARES
From the painting by Felix Philippoteaux in the Victoria and Albert Museum

created a reaction against him But the peace and the Bourbon restoration brought back to France immense numbers of veteran soldiers who had been prisoners of war, and gave the Royalists the opportunity of flaunting their determination to carry the reaction back beyond 1789, and more particularly of procuring the restitution of the property which had changed hands in the Revolution. In the intense and increasing unpopularity of the Restoration régime, Napoleon, brooding in Elba, saw his chance of making one more struggle with fate Eluding the vigilance of the warder frigates, he succeeded in embarking, landing near Cannes on March 1st, and appealing to the French nation's loyalty to its emperor

Napoleon's Last Struggle with Fate

There was a critical moment when the garrison of Grenoble was marched out against him With theatrical instinct he bade them fire upon him if any among them sought his death, they responded with enthusiastic shouts In that hour the soldiery took him back to their hearts, loyalist marshals and generals had to flee for their lives as he progressed triumphantly towards Paris Louis was not behindhand in dramatic fervour, he announced that he would remain steadfast and die to protect his people. Having said which, he incontinently ran away to Ghent On March 20th the Emperor was back in Paris Ney had gone out to destroy him, and had joined him with all his troops instead

Napoleon declared that he had come back not to embroil Europe, but to save the Revolution It is conceivable that this was his intention at the moment, it is not conceivable that it would have remained so for long The Powers, at any rate, declined to take the risk They refused to recognise him, and a week before he reached Paris declared him the public enemy of Europe Their wrangles were brought to a sudden end in the face of common danger In a treaty on March 25th, each of them agreed to put 150,000 men in the field, and maintain war until Napoleon should be effectively deposed and removed from all possibility of troubling the world. Whether he wished for war or not, he must either fight or go.

Napoleon the Enemy of Europe

With the army at his back, whatever the sentiment of the rest of France might be, there was no sort of doubt that he would fight. France, on the whole, acquiesced in his return, but without unanimity or general enthusiasm. He gave it to be understood that he intended to rule not as an autocrat, but constitutionally It was evident that a revival of despotism would meet with active resistance, and there were many men in France, as well as outside, who felt that no confidence could be placed in assurances of good intentions But in any case, Napoleon was once more de facto lord of France, and the attitude of the Powers required him to organise his forces and strike before the armies of Europe were gathered together against him

In June, the Emperor had concentrated his forces, some 124,000 men, on the Belgian frontier at Valenciennes Great Britain had thrown 36,000 troops into Holland. Combined with these were 22,000 Brunswickers, 20,000 Dutch and Belgians, 6,000 of the King's German Legion, and minor contingents Wellington had under his command something over 90,000 men, with his headquarters at Brussels Blucher had 120,000 men, nearly all Prussians, with their base at Namur The rest of the allies had not yet brought up their forces. The Prussian van had advanced as far as Charleroi, and Wellington had not combined with them, when Napoleon began his advance Space forbids us here to enter on the endless discussions as to what each of the generals may have intended to do The primâ facie interpretation of the campaign must suffice Napoleon struck straight at the Prussians, with the object of driving them back on Namur, and cutting them off from a junction with Wellington, at whom he could then strike, crushing him or driving him back on Brussels The destruction first of one army and then of the other could then be completed in detail, before the appearance of the allies

Napoleon Again on the Battlefield

On June 15th, then, Napoleon advanced on Charleroi, while it was Wellington's expectation that his blow would be directed not to severing the British from Blucher, but to cutting the communications of that Power with the sea From Charleroi he drove back the Prussian van

Blucher took up a strong position at Ligny Wellington was tardy in his movements. Ney was despatched north with a column to secure the cross-roads at Quatre-Bras on the Brussels road, blocking Wellington's advance, and from

that point to descend south-eastwards by the Namur road on Blucher's rear, while Napoleon himself made the main attack on Blucher. Ney found Quatre-Bras weakly held by the Prince of Saxe-Weimar, who had seized it without orders.

Ney, however, on the one hand, expected the support of a corps under D'Erlon, who received contradictory instructions, and hovered all day between Quatre-Bras and Ligny without rendering help in either quarter, and, on the other hand, the Dutch were reinforced by British regiments, who retrieved the position Meantime, Napoleon attacked Blucher, and, after a stubborn fight, compelled the Prussians at last to retreat under cover of darkness. The victory at Quatre-Bras prevented the defeat at Ligny from becoming a disaster, but Napoleon's object of severing the hostile armies seemed to have been accomplished

Under this impression, Napoleon lost valuable hours in delaying either to press on after Blucher or to advance against Wellington Moreover, he was misled by the intelligence he received on the 17th into believing that Blucher was retiring on the line of his communications to Namur, whereas the valiant Prussian had resolved to effect the junction with Wellington, risking his exposed communications, and was retiring upon Wavre, northwards, parallel to the road from Quatre-Bras to Brussels Wellington called in his troops from Quatre-Bras and took up his position on the ridge at Waterloo

The Decisive Battle of Waterloo

Soon after midday on June 17th, Grouchy was detached with 33,000 men to find Blucher It was not till after midnight that the pursuing force learned definitely that their quarry was not at Namur, but at Wavre Napoleon himself advanced against Wellington The crisis had arrived It was primâ facie improbable that Wellington could inflict a defeat on his adversary, who had a slightly larger force and very much stronger artillery. Moreover, of Wellington's 67,000 men, only 24,000 were British, and those for the most part were young recruits, his Hanoverians and Brunswickers could be relied on—they were burning to avenge the death of the Duke of Brunswick at Quatre-Bras—but the rest, for the most part, were of very uncertain quality The great questions were, for the Prussians, whether Wellington would hold on at Waterloo or beat a retreat, for Wellington, whether the Prussians would be able to come to his help at all, and if at all, whether he could hold out till they came.

Wellington's troops were drawn up, screened by the summit of their ridge, and occupied the slopes, in front the château of Hougomont, guarding their left, and the farm of La Haye Sainte on the centre A valley lay between them and Napoleon's army on the fronting ridge The Emperor, not believing in the possibility of Blucher's arrival, delayed his attack till near midday on Sunday, June 18th, because the drenched state of the ground was unfavourable to the cavalry movements on which he relied

Wellington's Brilliant Defence

Fierce attacks on Hougomont and La Haye Sainte, gallantly repulsed, were the features of the early stages of the Battle of Waterloo But Grouchy had failed to interpose his force between Wellington and Blucher, and the fact that Prussians were approaching was ascertained before the fight had been going on for two hours A dispatch was sent to Grouchy, recalling him to the main army, but it did not reach him till too late

It became evident that if Wellington was to be routed before reinforcements arrived, his centre must be pierced Masses of troops in dense columns were hurled against it and rolled back by the stubborn fire of the infantry and charges of British cavalry At about 4 30, the fury of the attack began to be redoubled, and still charge after charge was hurled back by the obstinate, unyielding British squares, and shattered by the flank fire of the extended British line on the massed columns

It was probably not till after six o'clock that La Haye Sainte, resolutely held by the King's German legion, was decisively carried But by that hour Blucher's approach had withdrawn the reserves which should have occupied the captured ground. Still, though the Prussians were now threatening the French flank, they had not yet arrived in such force but that the field might yet be won if the British could be routed in a last desperate effort That desperate effort was made The Old Guard was hurled up the slope, only to be hurled back, broken and shattered The Prussians were already in touch with Wellington's left. The Duke gave the order for a general

The Last Attack of the Old Guard

advance, the cavalry, hitherto to a great degree withheld from action, fell upon the staggering column The Prussians, crashing in on the French right, turned what was already becoming a rout into a wild "sauve-qui-peut," and carried far into the night a pursuit in which the exhausted British could not share Napoleon's army had ceased to exist. There are English critics who would have it that Wellington would have defeated Napoleon if there had been no Blucher There are German critics who would have it that nothing but Blucher's arrival saved Wellington from utter disaster There are Bonapartist critics who hold that Napoleon would have destroyed both Wellington and Blucher but for the incompetence of his own marshals And there are critics from whom one would gather that the most characteristic feature of this most decisive of battles, in which the two most uniformly successful commanders since the days of Marlborough and Eugene were pitted against each other, lay in the blunders that each of them committed The last point hardly demands discussion As for the third, if Grouchy and Ney held commands for which Soult and Davoust were better fitted, it was by Napoleon's own choice

Napoleon's Great Army Annihilated

For the other two, it was Wellington's business to hold his position till Blucher arrived, and to be prepared for the contingency of Blucher's not arriving It is by no means inconceivable that if the approach of the Prussians had not drawn off Napoleon's reserves, the position would have become untenable before the end of the day It is also conceivable that the doggedness of Wellington's troops would even in the same event have proved invincible, also that he might in any case have been able to retire, defeated, but not routed The obvious fact is that Wellington with the British, the Hanoverians and Brunswickers, and the German legion, held Napoleon at bay for half a day while Blucher completed the dangerous and daring movement which turned a stubborn defence into an overwhelming victory.

Flight of the Emperor to Paris

The Emperor fled to Paris, to find Carnot practically the only man still zealous that France should and could yet once more be rallied to his support Fouché, crafty, self-seeking, indispensable, was at one with Lafayette in insisting on the Chambers being treated as the supreme authority. Paris gave no hope, and there was none outside Paris Napoleon abdicated in favour of the son born to him by his Austrian spouse, attempted to embark on an American frigate at Rochefort, and finding that impossible, surrendered himself on July 8th to the commander of the British warship Bellerophon, declaring that he threw himself on the generosity of England But generosity carried too many risks for Europe to be contemplated by England or assented to by the Powers In the mid-Atlantic, where stands the lonely rock of St Helena, the sun of Napoleon set for ever

The last desperate effort, crushed on the Field of Waterloo, made no difference to the settlement of Vienna save as regarded France herself Wellington and Blucher swept on to Paris On July 3rd the city capitulated On the 8th, Louis XVIII re-entered the capital, and was recognised by Wellington The monarch was quite capable of grasping the necessity of adopting a much more constitutional attitude than at his last restoration Talleyrand convinced the Tsar that the choice lay between Louis and Napoleon, and Napoleon was impossible That being settled, the question of the penalty to be imposed upon France arose, and here the cool judgment of the victor of Waterloo carried the day The natural wrath of Prussia must be restrained--the dynastic restoration would be doomed if it were accompanied by the territorial losses which that Power called for Something was taken, the boundaries not of 1792 but of 1790 were granted France was to remain one of the Great Powers

France's Monarchy Restored

These considerations outweighed the demands of Prussia for a rectification of the frontier which would have ended the military possibility of renewed aggression by France, and would hardly have given Prussia herself an excessive compensation for all that she had endured and all that she had lost Finally, her fortresses were to be occupied by the allied troops for five years, she was to pay a heavy war indemnity, and was to restore to their rightful owners the art treasures which Napoleon had annexed. The settlement was finally confirmed, on November, 1815, in the Treaty of Paris, which in other respects was a practical confirmation of the settlement arrived at by the Congress of Vienna. ARTHUR D INNES



GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND IN THE NAPOLEONIC WARS

By H. W. C. Davis, M.A.

SELDOM has a coup d'état proved more successful than that by which George III. destroyed the power of the Whigs in 1783. His old servant North had joined with Charles James Fox, the most advanced of parliamentarians, to form a coalition Ministry, and the allies seemed to have the Crown at their mercy, since they controlled an assured majority in the House of Commons. But by their ill-advised attempt to obtain control of the Indian patronage they drew upon themselves the suspicion of meditating an unparalleled system of jobbery. The king was able to turn them out of office on the pretext of a defeat which they had sustained in the Upper House through his influence with the Lords; and the younger Pitt, a stripling of twenty-five, whom he called into power because it was impossible to obtain a more experienced lieutenant, was able by skilful management to carry the country with him at the next general election. The nation was weary of the Whigs, and of Ministers who were mere figure-heads. It recognised in Pitt something of the great qualities which had distinguished his father. He became, accordingly, a popular dictator; and, justifying his great position by the success of his financial and foreign policy, he remained in office until 1801. It was the longest and most powerful Ministry since Walpole's time.

The Whigs' Fall From Power

The relations of the king with the Prime Minister were friendly. Even if George III. had been disposed to rebel against the ascendancy of his chosen adviser, he could not have dispensed with Pitt except at the price of submission to the Whigs. But he was never forced to consider this alternative. He found in Pitt an adviser of conservative temperament, who was guiltless of any designs to curtail the royal prerogative; and after 1788, when his mind began to be clouded by intermittent insanity, the king left everything to his adviser. Pitt had entered politics as a reformer. The early measures of his administration went far towards gratifying the expectation which he had excited by his speeches as a private member. From the first he showed himself a master of finance. He undertook with energy the thankless task of liquidating the liabilities incurred in the American war. He brought forward, though he was not able to carry, a measure for the redistribution of parliamentary seats, proposing to increase the representation of London and the largest counties by disfranchising a number of pocket boroughs. He was also prepared, upon certain conditions, to give French commerce a more favourable treatment in the present with the offer of complete equality in the future; but on this plan also he was out-voted.

Pitt as Prime Minister

The theory of party government was still immature. A Prime Minister could not in Pitt's time count upon the support of his party for every legislative proposal; nor did he conceive himself obliged to treat the defeat of his Bills as a command to retire. So long as his administrative policy was approved by Parliament, he could retain his position. Pitt might have threatened to resign if his reforms were not carried; but he preferred to relinquish them and remain in power. This has been made a charge against him. But the principles on which he acted were those of all Prime Ministers before him, and for some time afterwards. He hoped, no doubt, that time would convert his minority into a majority. As a matter of fact, the course of time brought new problems much more pressing than those of internal reform; and, after 1793, every other consideration was perforce subordinated to that of national defence. The initial stages of the French Revolution were generally viewed in England

The Problem of National Defence

with indifference or approbation. Fox and his friends, the remnant of the Whig party, applauded the fall of the Bastille as an event which heralded the dawn of a new and brighter era in the history of mankind. Pitt considered that the Revolution was a crisis of purely national significance which need not interest other countries. He welcomed it, but solely because it offered the prospect of a lasting peace. For some time, he thought, the aggressive policy which the French monarchy had so long pursued towards the rest of Europe would be out of the question. His attention was concentrated upon financial reforms which could be effected only in a prolonged period of peace. The sinking fund by which he hoped to extinguish the national debt was not expected to produce its effects in less than fifteen years.

How Britain Regarded the Revolution

At first it seemed as though the Revolution would fulfil Pitt's anticipations. France did not come to the help of Spain in the affair of Nootka Sound in 1790, and Dumouriez, the first Foreign Minister of talent whom the Revolution produced, was anxious to obtain an English alliance. But Dumouriez was at the same time meditating war on Austria, and all other party leaders in France were united in desiring, for one reason or another, that the Revolution should throw down the gauntlet to Europe. The Royalists thought that war would be the ruin of the Republican cause, the Republicans looked upon war as the best means of identifying their interests with those of the nation. The opening of the Scheldt in defiance of all treaties, and the propagandist decree of the Convention in November, 1792, promising assistance to any nations which would revolt against their Governments, were a direct challenge to Europe, and early in 1793 they were followed by a declaration of war upon England. The pretext was found in Pitt's protests against the measures of 1792, the real motive was the desire to find employment for the armies of Dumouriez, which were as dangerous to France as to foreign Powers.

British Clamour for Vengeance

The British nation was far from sharing Pitt's aversion to a war. The execution of Louis XVI had produced a thrill of horror; the king and Pitt were followed through the streets by crowds clamouring for vengeance. Edmund Burke fanned the flame. He had attacked the Revolution in his "Reflections" as long ago as 1790. He represented it as a madness which, unless roughly repressed, would spread, and sap the foundations of European society. There was, indeed, some reason to fear that Jacobin doctrines would take hold upon the industrial population of the English manufacturing towns. England was passing through a period of bad harvests and commercial depression. Wages were low, in some localities there was actual famine, and it was known that clubs professing sympathy with the Revolution had been formed in more than one centre. The war was therefore regarded as a war of self-defence, and in that spirit it was undertaken by Pitt.

Britain was at war with France from 1793 to the Treaty of Amiens in 1801, at first as member of a coalition which included more than half the Powers of Europe. But the coalition was from the beginning composed of Powers with divided aims. To Prussia and Austria the question of Poland seemed more important than that of France, and the Jacobin administration, guided by the skilful hand of Carnot, was able not only to clear France of invaders, but even to undertake conquests. The Austrian Netherlands, Holland, and the west bank of the Rhine, fell a prey to the Republic in 1794. Holland was converted into a republic under French protection, Prussia retired from the war and was followed by a number of the lesser German states in 1795, Spain became the active ally of France. There remained in the coalition only Austria, Sardinia, and Britain, and Bonaparte's invasion of Italy in 1796 had the immediate effect of detaching Sardinia. The French victories of Lodi, Arcola, Rivoli, and La Favorita, enabled Bonaparte to impose terms of peace upon Austria in 1797. From that time till 1799 Britain stood alone.

Britain and France at War

But the formation of the second coalition—with Austria and Russia—at length enabled her to conclude a peace upon favourable terms. In the early part of the war Pitt pursued a policy which was expensive and unsuccessful. He maintained in the Netherlands an army of 10,000 men, which was incompetently commanded by the Duke of York, the king's second son, he showered subsidies upon the Continental allies, spending for this purpose upwards of £9,000,000.

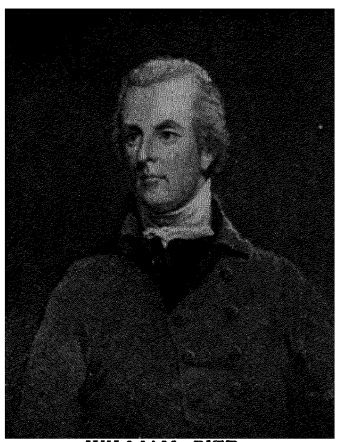
The desirability of waging a maritime war appears to have forced itself upon Pitt's mind only by slow degrees. But the British navy had never been in a better condition. The reorganisation effected by Hawke had borne lasting fruits; Rodney and Howe proved themselves worthy pupils of this great master.

An army, on the other hand, had still to be created; and it was in the preliminary work of raising, equipping, and training troops that Abercrombie, Moore, and Wellesley, who afterwards distinguished themselves in the field against the best French leaders, were for a long time to be absorbed. But even the naval war was not really begun before 1797, when the victory of Jervis off Cape St. Vincent annihilated the Spanish fleet; and it was only the mutinies of Spithead and the Nore, in the same year, which forced the Government to abandon an ill-advised system of economy under which the crews had been insufficiently paid and fed.

After the mutinies, indeed, there followed a period of wonderful successes. Duncan defeated the Dutch at Camperdown in October, 1797; in 1798, Nelson, by the Battle of the Nile, ruined Bonaparte's schemes for the conquest of Egypt and the Levant. In the war of the second coalition (1799–1801) Pitt pursued a sounder course than formerly. He left the reconquest of Italy, Switzerland, and the Rhine to the land Powers, and made it the business of Britain to maintain her supremacy at sea. This was brilliantly vindicated by the battle of Copenhagen; the surrender of the Danish fleet put an end to the armed neutrality of the northern Powers, by which Bonaparte had anticipated that he would bring Britain to her knees. When peace was signed at Amiens, Britain reaped the fruits of sea power; while surrendering the bulk of her colonial conquests she retained Trinidad and Ceylon. These renunciations, made at the expense of Spain and Holland, cost little to France, although the acquisition of Ceylon was a blow to the chimerical project, long entertained by Bonaparte, of disputing the British supremacy in India. But Trinidad and Ceylon were acquisitions of the first importance to Britain, and may even be regarded as an equivalent for the vast sums lavished on the European war. The war was one into which Pitt had been driven against his will. His successor, Addington, may therefore be excused for insisting upon an indemnity; nor was it reprehensible that the indemnity should be taken from Holland and Spain, Powers which in the latter stages of the war had been arrayed on the side of France. The great event of internal history in this period of war is the union with Ireland. The Act of Union was Pitt's solution for grievances and dangers which had been accumulating since the Revolution, and a brief retrospect is necessary to understand the circumstances under which he felt justified in bribing the Irish Parliament to commit suicide.

Holland's Fleet Captured by Britain

Pitt Driven into War



WILLIAM PITT

This great parliamentary leader and Prime Minister was the second son of the Earl of Chatham. He showed himself a master of finance, and won the nation's confidence. He died in 1806, and was buried in Westminster Abbey.

The Irish were, in the eighteenth century, a disunited people. There was the old feud of Catholic and Protestant, at bottom as much a feud of races as of religions. There was also the feud between the nationalists and the representatives of English rule, which went far, at the end of the century, towards obliterating religious and racial differences. Last, and more deeply rooted than either of these, there was the feud between the landlord and tenant, which could be traced back to the days of the plantation policy, and was kept alive by the absenteeism of the ordinary Irish landowner.

Of all the grievances which Ireland cherished against England, that connected with religion was the most reasonable. In 1691, the Treaty of Limerick, which concluded the "Glorious" Revolution so far as Ireland was concerned, had given an express promise of relief to Roman

Catholics So far was this promise from being observed that the Test Act, never before applied to Ireland, was immediately afterwards accepted and enforced by the Whig majority of the Irish Parliament Immediately afterwards began a period of penal legislation (1795–1815), which is happily unparalleled in the history of Great Britain Under the penal acts no Catholic parent might send his children to be educated abroad, and no Catholic teacher might set up a school The lands of a Catholic, instead of passing to the eldest son, were equally divided among the children, unless one of them happened to be a Protestant, in which case he was entitled to the whole No Catholic might acquire land from a Protestant, or own a horse of a value greater than £5, or keep weapons in his house for the purpose of self-defence It was a penal offence for any Catholic ecclesiastic to enter the country from abroad Any attempt to convert a Protestant was punished as a crime

The Persecution of Irish Roman Catholics

For these and other measures the blame must be laid, in the first instance, on the Irish Protestants, whose fanaticism was sharpened by the wildest fears and suspicions But the English Government, which could easily have withheld the royal assent from such legislature, cannot be acquitted of responsibility The persecution was the more inexcusable, because neither in 1715 nor in 1745 did the Irish Catholics show any inclination to throw in their lot with the House of Stuart

It must be admitted that many of the penal acts were so atrocious as to defeat their own purpose The law officers did their best to avoid prosecutions, juries could be induced to convict only with the greatest difficulty. But the Acts were galling They held a sword of Damocles over the heads of the Catholics, who, being without representatives in Parliament and disqualified for the franchise, felt that at any moment an outburst of persecuting zeal might make their condition intolerable The Protestant tyranny was the more odious because it excluded a large proportion of the Irish Protestants from all public employments This was the result of the Test Act, which the Irish Anglicans refused to relax in favour of other Protestant sects In fact, it was not until 1719 that liberty of public worship was accorded to the Presbyterians

Ireland's Reign of Intolerance

The political grievances of Ireland were in part connected with Poynings' Law (1492) and the Declaratory Act of 1721. By Poynings' Law the assent of the English Privy Council was necessary before any Bill could be introduced in the Irish Parliament By the Declaratory Act the English Parliament claimed the right of legislating for Ireland Even more galling, however, was the position of the viceroy In Ireland he took the place of the sovereign and was not responsible to Parliament, but at the same time he was a member of the English Ministry, and compelled to regard interests other than Irish in his administration Some viceroys, such as Lord Chesterfield in 1745, were disinterested and solicitous for Irish interests, but even the best of them could not resist the pressure of their English colleagues, who treated the Irish patronage and pension fund as a part of their resources for purchasing English supporters

Signs of a national opposition to England showed themselves about the middle of the century In Parliament it is true that the Opposition was no less unprincipled than the Castle party A number of the great Irish families combined to prove the market value of their services by obstructing Government measures. The only result was a further increase of parliamentary corruption The Castle at first tried the plan of periodically buying the Opposition, and finally adopted the safer plan of building up a rival combination by means of wholesale bribery More effective was the opposition in the country

National Opposition to England

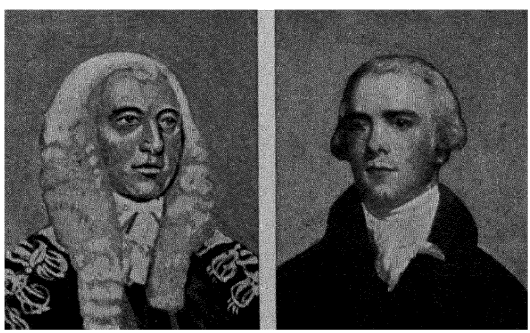
About 1760 the secret societies, formed by peasants to resist tithes, enclosures, and demands for the arrears of rent, became a serious difficulty They were not at first political, but through them the agricultural classes received an apprenticeship in concerted resistance to authority More formidable was the Catholic Committee formed in 1759, which pressed for the repeal of the disabling laws The Government, fearing a stoppage of the supply of Irish recruits for the army, made some slight concessions in 1771 and again in 1778 But the Catholics were still unsatisfied, and they now combined with the party of Nationalists which Flood and Grattan were forming in the Irish Parliament. The difficulties of the American War enabled this coalition to press its demands with irresistible force.

The fear of a French invasion compelled the Government to sanction the enrolment of volunteer corps. These were composed of Protestants, but soon fell under the influence of the Nationalists in politics. Numbering 50,000, they had the Government at their mercy, since no regular troops could be spared for Ireland. There was no rioting and no use of overt threats. But the volunteers in every part of the country held monster meetings, and everywhere formulated the same demands. One of these was for free trade with England, and for the removal of the legislation by which the cloth manufacture and other Irish industries had been depressed in the interests of England. Free trade was conceded by Lord North in 1779, but the clamour for Home Rule became only more urgent, since North's action was rightly interpreted as a proof of weakness. The volunteers rapidly increased in numbers; new measures of Catholic relief and the passing of the Habeas Corpus Act for Ireland in 1782 failed to satisfy them. Fox and North, on coming into power, resolved that the independence of the Irish Parliament must be recognised. This was accordingly done, the English legislature repealing the Declaratory Act and passing an Act of Renunciation in 1783.



AN IRISH PATRIOT
Henry Grattan was a member of the Irish Parliament, and opposed the movement which ended in the rebellion of 1798. He afterwards sat in the Imperial Parliament.

Unfortunately for Ireland and for England, the settlement which the coalition Ministry had thus effected was hasty and unworkmanlike. The future relations of the two Parliaments were left ambiguous. It was clear that Ireland was to be subordinate to England in all questions of foreign relations. But no provision had been made for an Irish contribution to military and naval expenses. And if the Irish Parliament chose to frame a protective tariff, it was legally entitled to present such a measure for the royal assent. Pitt's generous proposals for a commercial settlement were foiled by the factious opposition of the English Whigs and the impracticable temper of the Irish Parliament. Equally unsatisfactory were the relations of the latter body with the disfranchised majority of the Irish nation. The Protestant oligarchy consented to give Catholics the franchise, but it would not admit them to Parliament; under these circumstances the Catholic franchise was a mere mockery, and the Catholic gentry felt little sympathy with the cause of national independence. It was, however, the French Revolution which gave the first shock to the settlement of 1783. The Irish received the doctrines of Rousseau and Paine with the same enthusiasm which they had shown for the preaching of the Counter-Reformation. The United Irishmen, a society controlled by Wolfe Tone, Napper Tandy, Emmett, and Fitzgerald, which had originally contented itself with demanding parliamentary reform and a full measure of Catholic emancipation, turned for help to the French Government. The leaders were Protestants or Rationalists, but they were joined by a large proportion of discontented Catholics; and in 1798, having received promises of a French invasion, they raised the standard of revolt in Ulster and Leinster. The Protestants, however, rallied to the cause of the Government. The largest force collected by the rebels was routed at Vinegar Hill, near



Addington — Grenville

EMINENT POLITICIANS IN THE REIGN OF GEORGE III.
Speaker of the House of Commons from 1789 till 1801, Henry Addington was invited to form a Ministry upon the resignation of Pitt. His administration came to an end in 1804, and in the following year he was created Viscount Sidmouth. Lord Grenville, another eminent Parliamentarian, formed the Government of "All the Talents."

Enniscorthy, the French force arrived too late, and though it landed in Connaught and gained one victory, was soon forced to surrender for lack of support

The rebellion proved that the Protesant ascendancy had failed to conciliate the Catholics. Pitt believed, rightly or wrongly, that Catholic emancipation would never be completed by a Protestant Irish Parliament, from the fear that the Catholic ascendancy which must result would be turned to account vindictively, and he resolved to prepare the way for removing all religious disabilities by fusing the Irish legislature with that of Great Britain No doubt the impracticable behaviour of the Irish leaders in their dealings with England made him more inclined to accept this solution The nightmare of an independent Ireland declaring war upon England had haunted the minds of Englishmen for many years

Passing of the Act of Union

To an unbiassed critic it may seem that the same methods of persuasion which sufficed to procure the Act of Union might equally well have procured measures for Irish parliamentary reform and Catholic emancipation Inevitable or not, the Act of Union was framed, and it passed the Irish Parliament in 1800, under a fire of eloquent protests from every independent member in both Houses It gave Ireland a hundred seats in the United House of Commons and thirty-two in the House of Lords, established absolute free trade between the two countries, and fixed the Irish contribution to the revenue of the United Kingdom at two-fifteenths It left the Irish judicature and executive untouched, but united the Irish Church and Army to those of England

The promise of Catholic emancipation remained a dead letter till 1829 George III. refused to hear of any measure of relief, and Pitt accordingly retired from office. He did not return until 1804, when the country was again at war with France. He then gave up the Catholic cause on the ground that a revival of the question would be fatal to the old king's unsettled reason The circumstances were peculiar, and historians have hesitated to accuse Pitt of bad faith The fact remains that he missed a possible opportunity of reconciling the Irish Catholics to the Union The Peace of Amiens was a mere armistice, which Bonaparte had no intention of observing. He declined to withdraw his armies from Holland and Italy; he occupied Switzerland on the pretext of mediating in a civil war, he refused to offer the United Kingdom any satisfaction or compensation for these breaches of faith.

The Question of Catholic Emancipation

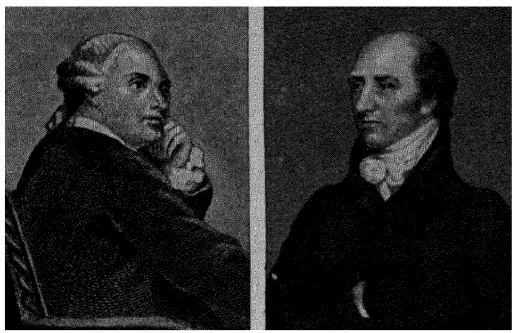
She, on her part, refused to surrender Malta, as she had promised at Amiens, until the First Consul fulfilled his part of the treaty Malta was of vital importance in case of war with France The Cape was in French hands, the only safe route to India lay, therefore, through the Mediterranean The struggle with France was assuming the same character as the wars of 1740–1763, in the future little was to be heard of Liberty, Equality, Fraternity, but much of sea-power, colonies, and commerce

War was declared by the Addington Ministry in May, 1803 The challenge was answered by an embargo on British shipping, and preparations for a descent upon England A flotilla was prepared with this object at Boulogne, the combined French and Spanish fleets were instructed to draw the British admirals off to the West Indies, and then, giving them the slip, to return and cover the invasion Nelson fell into the trap, but Calder met the returning fleet of Villeneuve at Finisterre, and won a victory, which gave Nelson time to return from his chase and refit his ships In October, 1805, Nelson met Villeneuve off Cape Trafalgar, and won a crowning victory More than half the French fleet were put out of action, and Villeneuve was taken prisoner. The victory cost Nelson's life, but it removed the fear of invasion, the prodigious successes of Napoleon on land brought him no nearer to his ultimate ambition of reducing England and appropriating her empire

The Crowning Victory of Trafalgar

Pitt died in 1806, prematurely worn out by his exertions and heart-broken at the apparent failure of his policy His loss was inestimable, for he had been the soul of each successive coalition against France, and had maintained an unshaken hold upon the confidence of the nation. The Ministry of All the Talents (1806–1807), which succeeded him, failed to secure a peace; Fox died nine months after his great rival, and the Ministry resigned because it refused to pledge itself to silence on the question of Catholic emancipation. George III was driven to fall back on the

support of the Tories, and it was this party which finally brought the war to a successful conclusion. They remained in power for twenty-three years. They saved Britain from Napoleon, and afterwards came near to involving her in a civil war. They provided her with a Wellington and a Canning; but they also saddled her with a Liverpool, a Castlereagh, and an Eldon. It was the greatest of Britain's misfortunes in the war that the prestige of victory fell to the share of reactionaries, who were disposed to make their services a plea for checking all reforms. The Grenville Ministry has to its credit the abolition of the slave trade. It fell in maintaining the principles that Ministers are entitled to tender their advice on whatever subjects they think fit, and that the king could act only on their advice. Such was the reaction produced in England by the French Revolution that even such recognised doctrines as these were in danger of being discredited; the Tory rule which followed was as unhappily stubborn in its fear of the Revolution as it was happily stubborn in its resistance to Napoleon. In the Portland Ministry, which followed, the two most remarkable figures are those of Canning and Castlereagh; as concerns the war, it was responsible for the bombardment of Copenhagen and the seizure of the Danish fleet, the undertaking of the Peninsular War, the appointment of Wellesley to the command, and the Walcheren Expedition. On this last head there was such angry dissension between Canning and Castlereagh that both resigned in 1809, and the death of Portland placed Perceval at the head of the Ministry, which was joined by the Marquess Wellesley and by young Lord Palmerston. In the following year the old king sank into permanent imbecility, and the future George IV. became the Prince Regent in 1811. A ministerial crisis in 1812 gave the personnel of the administration a still more decisively Tory cast, Wellesley retiring and Castlereagh returning—a modification which was confirmed only by the assassination of Perceval in April, and the accession of Lord Liverpool to the post of Prime Minister, which he retained till the year 1827.

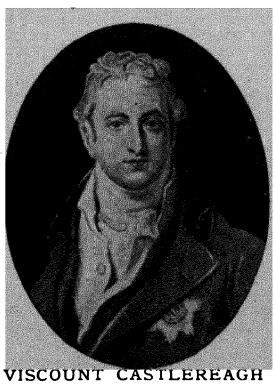


Portland Canning

LEADERS IN THE BRITISH PARLIAMENT

The Duke of Portland succeeded Lord Rockingham as leader of the Whig party; he was twice Prime Minister and held office as Home Secretary under Pitt. One of the most brilliant of Foreign Ministers, George Canning had a seat in various administrations, and made a reputation as a parliamentary orator of much eloquence and wit.

The part played by the United Kingdom in the struggle with Napoleon has already been sufficiently described; but, incidentally, that struggle involved her, in 1812, in another non-European war, the outcome of the Berlin Decrees and the answering Orders in Council. The United States found themselves seriously inconvenienced, at least as concerned their southern portion, by the consequent restrictions on their commerce, and the inconvenience was more immediately due to the British than to the Napoleonic regulations. Exasperation reached a climax at the moment when the Government in Britain was thrown into confusion by the assassination of the Prime Minister, Perceval, with the result that war was declared in 1812 on the eve of Wellington's victory at Salamanca. The American contest received little attention in England, preoccupied with the greater struggle, and although American attempts upon Canada failed, the British were astonished to find their



VISCOUNT CASTLEREAGH

Famous as Foreign Secretary, and as a leader of the reactionary party in England. He died by his own hand in a fit of insanity in 1822.

own ships repeatedly worsted in engagements. Having awakened to the facts, they were of course able to send to American waters a naval force which could effectively control the seas. The termination of the European war at the beginning of 1814 was followed by the immediate despatch of a part of the Peninsular force to the United States.

The Capture of Washington

Washington, the capital of the States, was captured; other expeditions distributed in desultory and disconnected fashion over the American continent were for the most part failures. Negotiations which had been opened between the belligerents at Ghent resulted in a Convention, signed on December 24th, 1814, which terminated actual hostilities, though a singular bitterness of feeling survived. It was unfortunate that the news of the Convention reached America too late to prevent a disaster to the British arms at New Orleans, where the courage of the Peninsular veterans did not save them from a complete defeat in attempting to capture the city.

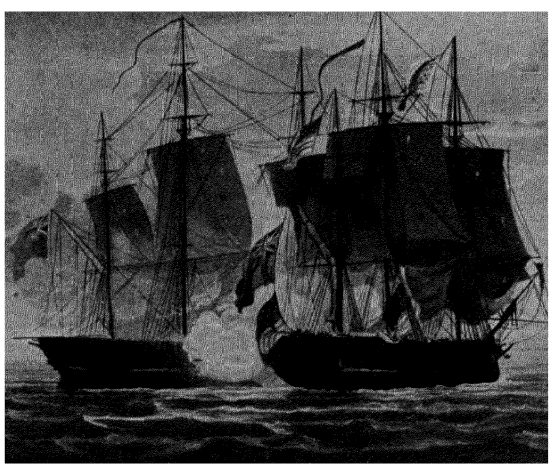
The nation emerged from the Napoleonic wars oppressed by a debt of £800,000,000, and with a credit which had been strained to the utmost. It was necessary for the Bank of England to suspend cash payments as early as 1797; its bank-notes could not be made convertible again until 1819. Taxation had been intolerably severe, and pauperism had assumed appalling dimensions. But from the economic point of view there had been compensations. British trade developed in spite of the Continental System; it is a well-known fact that the armies of Napoleon were largely fed and clothed with English exports. The Berlin and Milan Decrees could be defeated only by a costly process of smuggling, but the expenses of the trade were defrayed by the Continental consumer; and the wars resulted in no inconsiderable additions to the empire. At the final settlement of 1815 England retained Malta.

She also kept Ceylon, and she acquired a legal title to the Cape of Good Hope and to Mauritius. In the western hemisphere she kept Trinidad, Dutch—henceforth British—Guiana, Tobago, and St. Lucia. The Indian acquisitions of the period, although they did not come under the notice of the Congresses of Paris and Vienna, may be regarded as in a sense the fruits of the revolutionary and Napoleonic wars. The Mysore war of 1799, which established the British supremacy over the southern extremity of the peninsula, and the Mahratta war (1803–1804), which led to a great augmentation of territory and influence in the centre and north-west, were both the outcome of French intrigues. In 1815 there could be no doubt that it was the destiny of Great Britain to predominate in India.

Gains of the Napoleonic Period

Such, then, were the gains of the Napoleonic period. But years were to elapse before their value was adequately realised. The Peace of 1815 was followed by a period of commercial depression and bad harvests, by agitation against the restraints which the Tory Government had thought fit to impose, with parliamentary sanction, upon individual liberty; and by the perplexities arising from political and social evils which were deeply rooted in the past, but had assumed a more serious aspect during twenty years of strain and stress.

H. W. C. DAVIS



THE CAPTURE OF THE "CHESAPEAKE"

On June 1st, 1813, a fight took place in Boston Bay between the American frigate Chesapeake and the British frigate Shannon. The battle lasted but a few minutes, the Chesapeake falling as a prize to the British.



EUROPE
SIXTH DIVISION
THE RE-MAKING OF EUROPE

We enter now upon the last phase of completed European history—the century which has all but run its course since the decisive overthrow of Napoleon's ambitions at Waterloo. Although during this period the United Kingdom and the Eastern Powers, Russia and the whole Eastern peninsula, pursue their course in comparative independence of the complications which involve the rest of Europe, the latter being no longer in isolation sufficient to warrant us in maintaining the earlier complete separation of East and West.

Following immediately after Waterloo, we have a period of strong reaction against the political ideas of the French Revolution, a period in which the claims to power and to territory of "legitimate" dynasties are looked upon as paramount, while the control of the Sovereign People and demands for the recognition of nationalities are held in check, though Greece attains her liberation from Turkey. The second period opens and closes with two revolutions in France—the expulsion of the Bourbons and the coup d'état of Napoleon III.

During this period the demands of Constitutionalism and of Nationalism are fermenting, Germany in particular making futile efforts in the latter direction. The third period coincides with that of the Second Empire in France, and is marked by the unification of Italy and the triumph of German nationalism in the new German Empire, consummated by the Franco-German war, and attended by the establishment of the Third French Republic.

Finally we follow the fortunes of the now reconstructed Europe—the whole narrative having interludes associated with the modern Eastern Question—until we reach our own day.

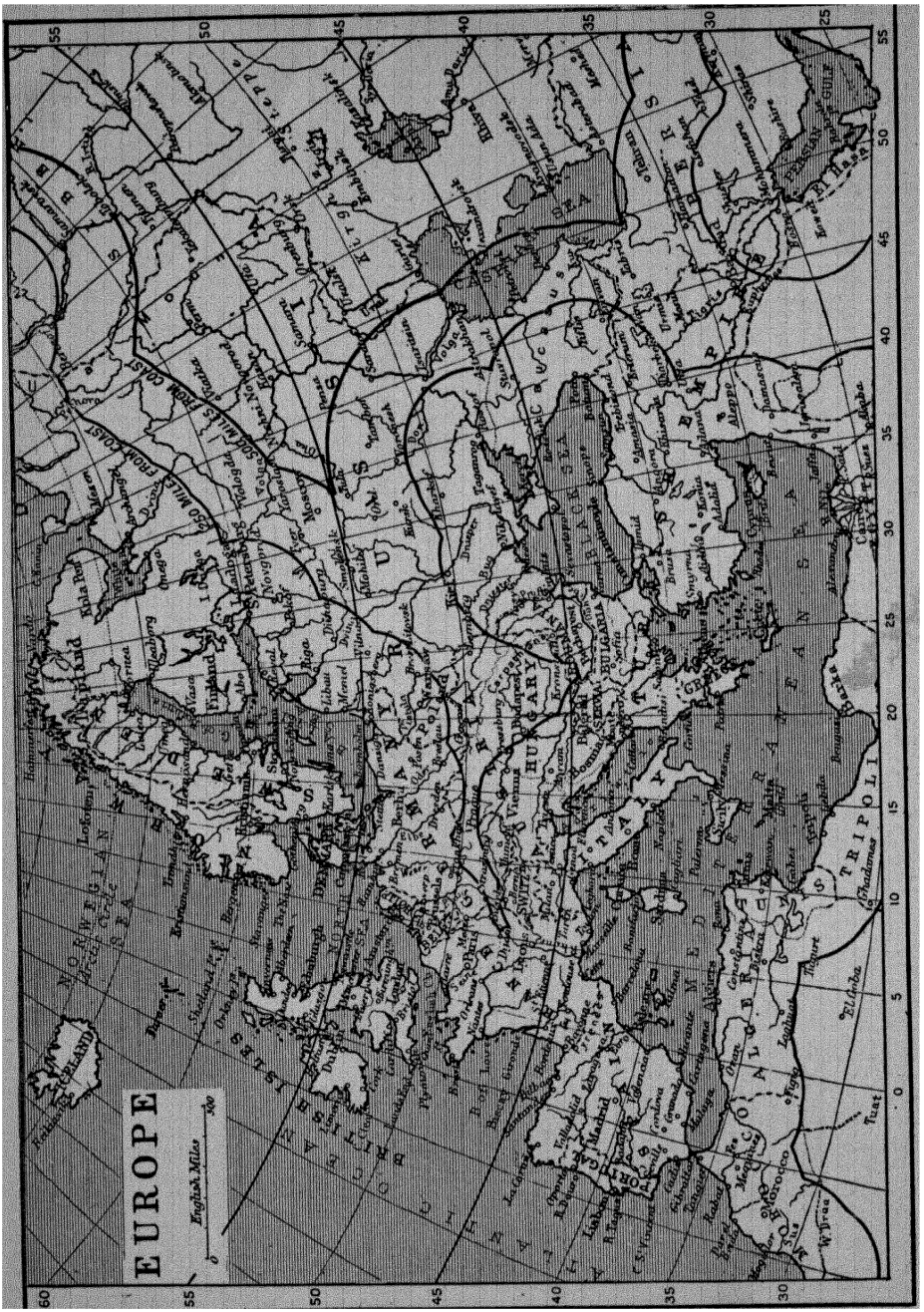
GENERAL SURVEY OF THE PERIOD
By Oscar Browning, M.A.

THE CONTINENT
By Dr. H. Zimmerer, Dr. Heinrich Schurtz, Dr. Georg Adler, Dr. G. Egelhaaf, Dr. H. Friedjung, and other writers

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THE BRITISH ISLES
By A. D. Innes, M.A., and H. W. C. Davis, M.A.





MAP TO ILLUSTRATE THE SIXTH DIVISION OF EUROPE

The above map shows the Europe of our own time, with the boundaries of the various states as we know them to-day. The period thus illustrated is not the whole of the time covered by "The Re-making of Europe," but rather the eventual settlement of the Continent, as a result of the movements which were initiated on the downfall of Napoleon, and involved such international conflicts as the Crimean War, the Italian revolt against Austria, the Franco-Prussian, the Russo-Turkish, and the Greco-Turkish wars. The changes in the map of Europe since the close of the Franco-Prussian War have been insignificant. The areas within 250 and 500 miles of the coast are also indicated.



GENERAL SURVEY OF THE PERIOD

By Oscar Browning, M.A.

EUROPE SINCE THE YEAR 1815

BEFORE the French Revolution Europe was in a condition of unstable equilibrium. Anyone who studies the condition of the map of Europe in the last years of the eighteenth century will perceive this to be the case. France, Spain, and Great Britain were in a fairly homogeneous situation, but the position of the rest of Europe was intolerable. The German Empire, the mere phantom of its glorious past, was honeycombed by the territories of ecclesiastical princes, while its neighbours, Hungary and Poland, better consolidated than itself, were a menace to its permanence. Russia was in the throes of expansion to the east, west, and south.

The Turkish Empire, when it crossed the Bosphorus, found itself ruling dominions which it could not hope to maintain, and which were now slipping from its grasp. Greece and Bosnia, Moldavia and Wallachia, Servia and Bulgaria were moving from a position of subjection to vassalage, from vassalage to independence. Berlin was divided from Königsberg by a long stretch of territory which could not in any sense be called Prussian.

Barriers to European Solidarity

Italy was cut up into a number of impotent and warring states, which denied it a voice in European affairs. Naples and Sicily were parts of Spain. Norway was a part of Denmark. There was no solidarity, no unity in the component parts; railways, had they existed, would have been impossible, commerce was impeded by every kind of artificial barrier. A traveller who changed a sovereign when he crossed the Channel found it reduced to nothing before his return by the charges of perpetual discount. The awakening was rude. Sluggish Europe shook herself to resist the dangers of the Revolution. She threatened to march to Paris to punish the regicide miscreants who bore sway in the capital, and to restore the Bourbon to his throne. But regenerated France laughed gaily at this unwieldy Titan. She threw off with ease the attacks directed against the missionaries of a new political gospel, and carried war into the territories of those who had assailed her. Her generals were everywhere victorious; but from among them arose Napoléon, the greatest of all generals of modern times.

The Rude Awakening of Europe

It is too common to represent this commanding genius as a man of blood—insatiable with slaughter, uncontrolled in ambition, and regardless of the sacrifices with which it might be gratified. The empire of Napoleon was, at least in part, a carrying out of the programme of the Directory, and the consummation of the efforts which France had originally begun to resist intrusion. When that empire had reached its height, it was, either in direct government or in powerful influence, nearly coterminous with civilised Europe, with the exception of Russia and England, who remained unsubdued. Spain and Portugal were under France, Belgium and Holland were a part of her dominions, the kingdom of Italy reached to the frontier of Naples, and Naples was French.

Switzerland was devoted to the man who had given her a good government, the Confederation of the Rhine included the kingdom of Westphalia as well as the tributary states of Saxony, Bavaria, Wurtemberg, and Baden, Scandinavia listened to the advice of the Tuileries, Prussia was reduced to insignificance

The Unstable Empire of Napoleon

The Grand Duchy of Warsaw, a French creation, lay as a buffer state between Prussia and Austria, and Austria, having given an empress to the French throne, was in a position in which her best hope of influence and power lay in her alliance with Napoleon, a position which she had not the wisdom to realise

But Napoleon's empire was itself in a condition of instability What form it would have taken if he had continued to reign, we do not know The claims of nationality had begun to assert themselves before his fall—indeed, they had been to a large extent the cause of his ruin, and if he desired to rear a lasting edifice he must have found a way of reconciling them with his scheme of a European Empire He wished for a second son, and if such a one had been born and grown to manhood, or at least to adolescence, the formation of a united Italy might have been anticipated by many years But his empire, constituted as it was, was certain to perish at his fall, and his fall came sooner than was expected

We do not yet completely know the causes of the great Russian war, and we cannot properly apportion the blame of it between the emperor and the tsar He believed that this would have been his last enterprise, his last war Russia once brought to his feet, Europe would be at peace. But he miscalculated the difficulty of the task, and the stolid stubbornness of Russian resistance Fortune turned against him, his star paled, and his empire was no more It is a mistake to sup-

The Fatal Error of the Hapsburgs

pose that he could have made peace at Frankfort or at Châtillon, the terms offered him were delusive, and were intended to be so by Metternich Had Austria obeyed the voice of honour and of interest the empire might have been preserved, but by deserting these fundamental principles, the empire of the Hapsburgs, which has made so many mistakes, committed a last fatal error, which it has since most bitterly expiated.

The Congress of Vienna endeavoured to repair the shattered fabric, but the unprejudiced observer will not credit the diplomatists of that assembly with much wisdom or with much prescience

Ignorant of, or ignoring, the principle of nationality, which has since governed the world with a dominating force, they were led by Talleyrand to adopt the principle of legitimacy, which they had not the courage to follow out when it became a question of punishing Napoleon's friends or rewarding his enemies Consequently, many arrangements of Vienna have been upset Belgium has been divorced from Holland, Norway from Sweden, Prussia has united its severed territories and secured the headship of Germany Italy has consolidated herself at the expense of the provinces and the prestige of Austria, and Turkey has lost, one after another, the dominions which it was a disgrace to civilisation that she should have held at all

The change from the Restoration which succeeded the fall of Napoleon to the conditions of the present day is divided

Britain's Electoral Revolution

into certain well-defined epochs marked by periods of disturbance, wars, or revolutions The period between 1820 and 1830 is one of disheartening reaction, controlled by a desire to suppress everything which could remind the world of the principles of 1789, and to undo everything which the administrative ability of the great emperor had accomplished This led to the Revolution of July, accompanied by other disturbances in Europe, and indirectly to the emancipation of the Catholics in England and the Reform Bill of 1832 It is characteristic of our country that the only revolution which we have experienced since the close of the seventeenth century has been an alteration in our electoral system, a change quite as important as, and more permanent than, any which has taken place in any other country

After 1830 the democratic strivings of the nations of the Continent were either suppressed or appeased, but the fire broke out with greater intensity in 1848, when a series of revolutions either shook or shattered every throne in Europe but our own Then followed a series of wars—the Crimean war of 1854, the Italian war of 1859, the Danish war of 1863, the Austrian war of 1866, and the Franco-Prussian war of 1870 Since

1870 Europe has been at peace, and the severance of Norway from Sweden and the final consolidation of Italy have been brought about without an actual conflict Belgium is no longer the cockpit of Europe—that has to be sought further afield Rivalries which have a European side to them are fought out in Asia and in Africa, and we dread the time when the horrors of war may possibly be brought within our own experience

Yet progress, in which international jealousies must have a part, still goes on, and war, if averted, is often threatened The world knows of many mortal struggles which have never taken place, but which have been regarded as inevitable by well-informed and responsible statesmen At one time we were certain to have a war with Russia, at another time with France, at another time with America, and a final war with Germany is looked upon by so many as the doom of fate that they think it useless to discuss its probability or even to take means to avert it If the possibility of these catastrophes is known to the public at large, how many are in the cognisance of Ministers who are acquainted with the secrets of foreign affairs? Happily, the past is quite sufficient to occupy the historian, without troubling too much about the future

French Revolution of 1830

Let us consider separately the effect of each of these crises on the course of European politics The Revolution of July in Paris had broken out as a quarrel between the people and the king, it ended by establishing the authority of the people The royal title was changed from King of France to King of the French The Charter was a Bill of Rights on the English model, dear to the heart of Guizot It fixed the limits within which the people were willing to accept the government of a king It was a decided advance towards democracy The new constitution which followed the Revolution in Belgium was framed on similar lines, and in the spirit of the English Revolution of 1688

It laid down the principle that all power emanated from the people, and that the king possessed no authority beyond that given him by the constitution He could do no executive act except through the Ministers, and they were responsible to the Chambers If the Ministers failed to command a majority in Parliament, it was their duty to retire. The English colour of these arrangements seems to have suited the character of the Belgian people and the temper of the king

The Revolution of July produced a powerful effect upon Switzerland, and inaugurated what is called the Period of Regeneration It began with a movement to reform the constitutions of some of the cantons, in order to give a share in the government to classes who did not possess it The Forest Cantons, the ancient heart of Switzerland, remained passive, but the population of the others bombarded their Governments with petitions for reform, and reform was speedily accorded Zurich was the leader of the movement The programme of the radical party was sovereignty of the people, universal suffrage, direct election, freedom of the Press, of petition, of religious belief, and of industry

Switzerland's Period of Regeneration

The movement was essentially democratic, and the struggle became so severe that the Federal Government had to intervene The Canton of Basle was separated into two half cantons, Basle Town and Basle Country Seven cantons formed a separate confederation, and a counter league was organised to oppose it The conflict, embittered by the presence of refugees from other disturbed countries, lasted till the convulsions of 1848

In Spain and Portugal the struggle between the Constitutionals and the Absolutists was complicated by a disputed succession In the first country, Isabella was the watchword of the Liberals, Don Carlos of the reactionaries, their place being taken in Portugal by Maria da Gloria and Don Miguel In Italy the agitation was more serious It seized upon the states which had not been affected by the previous movements of 1820 At Rome the death of Pius VIII gave the signal Louis Napoleon took part in the plot to make his uncle, Jerome, King of Italy In the Romagna and the Marches provisional governments and national guards were the order of the day Governments of this kind, with a dictator at their head, were formed in Parma and in Modena But the movement came to nothing Louis Philippe would not help, and Metternich was at hand with his Austrian army With their assistance he brought back the Duke of Modena, and pacified the States of the Church. But

Italy in a State of Unrest

the "Young Italy" of Mazzini was born in the conflict, a secret society devoted to the realisation of the unity of Italy under the form of a republic. Eventually the first object was attained, but the second was not

A similar impulse animated the Liberals of Germany, who had long been discontented with the policy of the Holy Alliance

Poland's bold Stand for Independence

The War of Liberation had only subjected them to a worse despotism than that of Napoleon Brunswick, Hesse-Cassel, Saxony, and Hanover obtained constitutions, in Bavaria and Baden men of enlightened minds were allowed to express themselves more freely A stronger movement took place in Poland, then divided between two parties, the Whites and the Reds The Whites were composed of the large proprietors, the higher officials, and the clergy Provided that Poland was suffered to retain a nominal independence, they were content to wait for constitutional reforms The Reds were patriots and democrats, but they were violent and impatient

In the last month of 1830, when the emperor had mobilised the Polish army in order to suppress the revolution in France and Belgium, the national troops turned against their oppressors The students of the Military College seized the palace at Warsaw, and the Grand Duke Constantine fled for his life The Romanoff dynasty was deposed, and the union of Poland with Lithuania was proclaimed Britain and France were sympathetic, but refused to give active assistance, the Polish army was crushed by superior numbers, and a military dictator was set up The end of Poland had arrived In 1835 the Emperor Nicholas told the Poles plainly that unless they gave up the dream of a separate independent nationality the guns of the newly built citadel should lay Warsaw in ruins. We see, therefore, that the Revolution of July had made a great breach in the system established by the Congress of Vienna The Bourbons,

Political Changes in Britain

who based their title on the principles of legitimacy, were succeeded by a king of the barricades, professing the doctrines of 1789, and waving its flag The British Constitution remained unshaken, but the Reform Bill of 1832 brought about a revolution in the balance of political power not less momentous than the others, because it was pacific, and destined to produce results not less important although slow in coming

Eighteen years later the Revolution broke out with greater violence, and spread with the rapidity of a plague It began in Switzerland in 1847, showed itself in Sicily in January, 1848, and overthrew the throne of Louis Philippe in France in February of the same year The fall of monarchy in France gave the signal for disturbances throughout Europe England, the Iberian Peninsula, Sweden, Norway and Russia alone escaped In Holland, Belgium and Denmark it ran a comparatively mild course The symptoms were more severe in Austria, Prussia, Germany, and Central Italy, it led to bloodshed in Northern Italy, Schleswig-Holstein, and Hungary

The outbreak in Switzerland was the result of a conflict which had been smouldering for many years It was caused by two movements, one civil, the other religious, one an effort to democratise the constitution, the other a desire to restrain the influence of the Roman Catholic Church The Liberal party was divided into Moderates and Radicals, but the Moderates gradually lost their influence The Radicals were strengthened

Revolution in Switzerland

and stimulated by the refugees of other nationalities, who had found an asylum in Switzerland when driven out of their own countries The Poles organised raids against Neuchatel and Savoy, Mazzini used Switzerland as a place of arms Austria and Bavaria demanded the extradition of German "patriots," and when this was refused, broke off diplomatic relations France insisted upon the expulsion of the supposed authors of the conspiracy of Fieschi, and sealed their frontiers against the passage of the stubborn Switzers

A few years later they asked for the surrender of Louis Napoleon, who had his home at Arenenberg The Catholics based their hopes on the peasants, and posed as the supporters of democracy. In Schytz the two parties of "Horns" and "Hoofs" came to blows over the use of the public pastures, in Canton Ticino, the Radicals won by force of arms, in the Valley of the Rhone the Upper and Lower districts were in hopeless disorder The Puritans of Zurich drove Strauss, the author of the "Life of Jesus," from his professorial chair. The Jesuits succeeded in founding Catholic Colleges at Schytz, Freiburg, and Lucerne Argau answered this challenge by suppressing eight convents, and demanding the expulsion of the Order. The

result of this prolonged tension was a civil war. In 1845 the seven Catholic cantons formed a "sonderbund," a separate league, which the government determined to suppress by force, and in three weeks General Dufour effected this object The Radicals were victorious, the Jesuits were expelled, and civil war was averted The result of this struggle was the formation of a new constitution, by which Switzerland, from being a statenbund—a confederation of states—became a federal state—a bundesstat A new nation came to life in Europe

The French Revolution of 1848 was equally a surprise for the victors and the vanquished It raged for two days, the first of which witnessed a revolt of the reformers against Guizot, the second a revolution of the Republicans against the monarchy At 10 a m on February 24th, the Palais Royal was captured, at 4 30 p m the throne was destroyed in the Tuileries, and shortly afterwards the Republic was proclaimed at the Hotel de Ville The result of this was a democratic movement throughout Europe In Holland

Italy in Revolt against Austria

the personal government of the king was changed into a constitutional monarchy, in Belgium the Liberals were confirmed in power, in Denmark the accession of a new king presented an opportunity for substituting a constitution for absolutism and for setting the Press free

Italy was shaken from Monte Rosa to Cape Passaro The movement began in Sicily, where for a fortnight in January the insurgents fought against the Royal troops, demanding the constitution of 1812 At Naples, Ferdinand accorded a constitution based upon the French Charte, and appointed a Carbonaro as Prime Minister At Turin, Charles Albert promulgated a constitution, which, in all the storm of conflict, has never been abrogated, and the Grand Duke of Tuscany did the same

At Rome, Pio Nono nominated three lay Ministers, but the supreme power remained with the College of Cardinals The passionate desire of the Italians was to shake off the hated domination of Austria. They shouted, in the words of the "Garibaldi hymn" "Va fuori d'Italia, va fuori o Stranier!" [From Italy from sea to snow, let the hated stranger go!] For this the revolution in Vienna gave an opportunity Here the storm broke in March, the direct consequence of the French Revolution of February The desires of the people were voiced by booksellers, students, and Liberal clubs, they demanded liberty of religion, of teaching, of speech, and of writing, and a budget controlled by a representative government Their cry was "Down with Metternich! Down with the soldiery!" and Metternich was dismissed The emperor fled to the Tyrol, and the Archduke John, the darling of the people, took his place A Constituent Assembly met at Vienna in July In Hungary, a country better suited for self-government, the change took a more solid shape The seat of Parliament was transferred from Pressburg to Budapest It issued a coinage, and formed an army under the Hungarian tricolour Austria was compelled to weaken her garrisons in Italy in order to subdue her revolted provinces north of the Alps

Republic of St Mark in Venice

In March, Milan rose, and Radetsky retired within the Quadrilateral Modena and Parma were left to themselves, and obtained constitutions Cavour called the Piedmontese to arms, Tuscany, Rome and Naples sent their troops to join their brethren of the North In Venice, Daniele Manin, like-named but not like-minded with the last Doge, awakened to life a Republic of St Mark A revolution was organised, at once Liberal, monarchical, and national, under the three colours of the Italian flag, the emblems of passion, purity, and hope

The dream of liberty was short lived It vanished before the approach of foreign armies The Austrians defeated the Sardinians at Custozza, and reconquered the whole of Lombardy A still more fatal blow fell at Novara, where Charles Albert was routed in March, 1849, and abdicated in consequence The crown came to his son, Victor Emmanuel, who afterwards became the first monarch of a united Italy Venice fell, after a long siege, in August of the same year Modena and Parma, who had joined themselves to Piedmont, were occupied by Austria, and their ducal governments were restored Tuscany suffered the same fate, and the Grand Duke was compelled by the Austrian army of occupation to abrogate the constitution of 1848, so that his country became less free than it was before the revolution. Four Catholic Powers—

The Siege and Fall of Venice

France, Spain, Austria, and Naples—offered their assistance to the Pope, but the main burden of recovering the Holy City fell upon France Rome, defended by Mazzini and Garibaldi, was captured in June, 1849, the Cardinals came into power with Antonelli at their head The tricolour was surrendered Italy was again split into fragments, dependent upon foreign force Sardinia alone remained a germ of liberty and hope

Italy Split into Fragments

In Austria, the champion of reaction, the war of nationalities, which has always been to her a danger, now proved her salvation

A Panslavic Congress had been summoned at Prague, which was attended not only by Bohemians, Moravians, and Silesians, but by Russians, Poles, and Servians But the Croatians turned against the Magyars, and the South Slavs against their brethren of the North Prague was bombarded and Bohemia conquered, the Croats marched upon Budapest The emperor, who had fled from his capital and sought refuge in Moravia, made a common war against the German democrats and the Hungarian rebels, who had chosen Kossuth as their leader Croats attacked Vienna from the east, Bohemians from the north After a short struggle they were victorious, the Hungarians, who had come to the assistance of the friends of liberty, were repulsed and an absolute government was restored Hungary held out a little longer

A Hungarian Republic was established, with Kossuth as President But the Russians declared themselves the enemies of revolution, and Nicholas came to the aid of his brother emperor An army 80,000 strong entered the country from the Carpathians The Magyars capitulated at Vilagos, preferring to fall into the hands of the Russians rather than into those of their ancient tyrants Kossuth, after burying the Hungarian crown, sought refuge in Turkey Metternich was again master, and the last state of the rebellious provinces was worse than the first Prussia also had her "days of March," but here the middle-classes stood aloof, and the Liberals were left to fight out their battle against the army

The Brief Republic of Hungary

The chief object of their attack was the Prince of Prussia, brother of the king, who was destined at a later period to be the first Emperor of Germany The king at first tried to temporise He promised a constitution, withdrew his troops, and sent the Prince of Prussia to England. He adopted the German tricolour, threw himself upon the affection of his Prussians, and invoked the confidence of Germany He granted a written constitution and a National Assembly elected by universal suffrage But he soon discovered his mistake, and was obliged to follow the example of Austria The army re-entered the capital, took possession of the Parliament buildings, dissolved the National Guard, and soon afterwards dispersed the Assembly Absolute government was restored, veiled under the forms of a constitution

The Provisional Government in France, which succeeded the Orleans monarchy, was formed by a coalition, and therefore contained within itself the seeds of dissolution One party aimed at the establishment of a democratic republic based on universal suffrage, the other desired a democratic and social republic, the chief object of which should be the elevation of the working classes The tricolour of 1789 was opposed by the red flag of Louis Blanc The battle raged round the organisation of labour and the establishment of national workshops However, the Socialists had opposed to them the whole of France and half the capital, and they were unable to hold their own A civil war broke out in the streets of Paris, and three days' fighting was required for the capture of the suburb of St Antoine by General Cavaignac The Socialist prisoners were shot or transported and their newspapers were suppressed Eventually a constitution was agreed upon, which established a single chamber, a president holding office for four years, and a Council of State

Civil War in the Streets of Paris

The president was to be chosen by universal suffrage, and the election took place on December 10th, 1848 Ledru Rollin was the candidate of the Socialists, Cavaignac of the Democrats, but both had to give way to Louis Napoleon, the inheritor of a mighty name, who was chosen by an overwhelming majority This election could have no other result than the establishment of a monarchy The coup d'état of December 2nd, 1851, dissolved the Assembly, and arrested the leaders of the Republican party Following the example of his uncle, Louis Napoleon was first made president for

ten years, and shortly afterwards Emperor The plebiscite accepting him as Emperor of the French was taken four years, to a day, after he had been elected president

By the events we have described absolute government was established over the whole of Europe, excepting Switzerland and the countries which had not been affected by the revolutions of 1848 However, France preserved her principle of universal suffrage, Prussia and Sardinia their constitutions, with the fixed resolve of achieving the unity of Germany and of Italy, founded on the principle of nationality, which had been ignored by the Congress of Vienna We now pass from the epoch of revolutions to the epoch of war

The Crimean War of 1854 belongs to those events of history of which we do not precisely know the cause There are probably few Englishmen who feel satisfied with their country's share in it, or who support it as an act of political wisdom There are few, also, who would deny that we were led into it by the Emperor of the French Louis Napoleon came to the throne of France pledged by conviction and by honour to effect the liberation of Italy from the Austrian yoke This could not be done without war, and although France was strong enough to meet Austria in the field, she could not contend against Austria and Russia united It therefore became necessary to weaken Russia before such a war could be undertaken, and the question of the Holy Places was seized upon with great adroitness as a colourable pretext for a war with Russia

The Crimean War

Britain was easily, too easily, stirred to defend Turkey against aggression and dismemberment, and thus a conflict was begun of which we have little reason to be proud Russia was prepared to meet an attack in the Baltic, in Poland, or on the Danube, but the Crimea was only feebly garrisoned Still, Sebastopol held out, and the resources of the allies were strained to the utmost A winter campaign became necessary in a desert country, subject to intense cold The British lost half their troops, and no assistance came from Austria or Prussia

In the spring of 1855 the Emperor Nicholas died, and the war no longer had a motive However, it continued under his successor, and Sebastopol did not fall until six months afterwards Napoleon was ready to make peace, although Palmerston wished to go on fighting, and a treaty was eventually concluded at the Congress of Paris Turkey lost the Danubian provinces, but the integrity of her empire was guaranteed, while she promised reforms of administration which were never carried into effect The navigation of the Danube was declared free, and the Black Sea neutral Cavour had been clever enough to join the alliance, although Sardinia had no interest, direct or indirect, in the questions in dispute This gave him a right to take part in the congress, and the liberation of Italy entered for the first time into the domain of practical politics The war undoubtedly raised the prestige of the French Emperor, and gave him a commanding position in European affairs It called Roumania into existence, and it recognised the claims of nationality in Italy It was another blow to the principles of the Congress of Vienna, and it weakened the influence of Austria

Consequences of the Crimean War

It will be seen from this narrative that the Crimean War led directly to the Italian War of 1859 By adroit diplomacy Austria was induced to invade Sardinian territory, and the armies of France crossed the Alps to defend her The two allied armies were able to concentrate at Alessandria before they could be attacked in detail The Battle of Magenta, having been lost in the morning, was won in the afternoon, MacMahon playing the part of Desaix at Marengo

The Austrians evacuated Lombardy and retired into the Quadrilateral to defend Venetia After a hard struggle the Austrians were again defeated at Solferino, but the bloodshed had so unnerved the emperor, and the quarrels between his marshals had so disgusted him, that he broke his promise of setting Italy free to the Adriatic, and made a peace which secured only Lombardy to Sardinia He received in exchange Savoy and Nice, but this second war was as fatal to his prestige as the first had been favourable Italy alone profited by the result Parma, Modena, and Tuscany drove out their dukes, Romagna set herself free from the Pope, provisional governments were established in these provinces, ready for incorporation with the kingdom of the House of Savoy Cavour, who had resigned after the Peace of Villafranca,

The Damaged Prestige of Louis Napoleon

again became Prime Minister. The spell of Austrian domination was broken, and the establishment of an Italian kingdom, so long the dream of poets and patriots, became only a question of time

The scene of our drama shifts to another quarter What Cavour had done for Italy Bismarck was to do for Germany The rivalry between Austria and Prussia for the leading position in Germany, and for the inheritance of the Holy Roman Empire had been active ever since the Congress of Vienna The policy of Napoleon would have annihilated Prussia and strengthened Austria, but Metternich committed the fatal blunder of joining the coalition of which the profits were to come to his rival instead of himself

Metternich's Fatal Blunder

There was a time when Hanover might have disputed with Prussia the first place in a Teutonic Empire, but it was impossible that such a position could be held by a King of England, and the sovereignty of the British Isles was regarded as more valuable than the chances of a Continental crown The share which Prussia had taken in the Waterloo campaign rendered her reward certain, and the world was disposed to favour Protestant progress rather than Catholic stagnation

Still, it is doubtful if Prussia would have gained the position which was the object of her desires unless Bismarck had been in her service, who, with a mixture of statesmanship and craft, of courage and audacity, half untied and half cut the Gordian knot of the situation The Danish War of 1864 would probably never have taken place unless Bismarck had conveyed to the Danes the false assurance, based probably upon an intercepted dispatch, that she was certain to receive the support of Britain The defeat of Denmark was speedy and inevitable, and the arrangements made by the Peace of Vienna ceded the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein to Austria and Prussia under conditions which made a future quarrel inevitable The Schleswig-Holstein difficulty rose in great measure from the fact that whereas Holstein was almost entirely German—and, indeed, claimed to be a part of the old German Empire—Schleswig was more than half Danish, and yet the two duchies were united by a permanent bond which national feeling declared was never to be broken "Schleswig-Holstein sea surrounded" was the text of their patriotic hymn. The arrangements for the joint occupation of the provinces by the two conflicting rivals provided that the German province should be occupied by Austria, the semi-Danish by Prussia. This made a quarrel certain The Prussian governor of Schleswig persecuted the partisans of independence, the Austrian governor of Holstein encouraged them The rupture was delayed for a time by the Convention of Gastein, but it came at last

Cessions of the Peace of Vienna

In order to attack Austria with success it was necessary that Prussia should have Italy on her side But Italy could not act without the consent of France, and this implied the approval of the Emperor Napoleon At the interview of Biarritz, in October, 1865, Napoleon agreed to support Prussia against Austria, and declared himself in favour of the unity of Italy, if some compensation were given to his own country by an increase of territory He desired to tear up the settlement of Vienna, so hostile to Napoleonic ideals Bismarck adroitly encouraged these aspirations, but took care not to commit himself It was found difficult to overcome the distrust which the Italians felt for Bismarck They hoped to obtain Venetia without a war, possibly by ceding the newly-created Roumania to Austria Even King William was averse from force, and Bismarck stood alone, supported by his clear insight and his iron will At last, in April, 1866, an offensive alliance with Italy was concluded for three months Italy was to support Prussia in obtaining the hegemony of Germany, and was to receive Venetia in return She asked for Trieste, but it was refused to her Napoleon promised to remain neutral

Italian Distrust of Bismarck

In June, Prussia declared the federative tie which bound her to Austria dissolved But she found herself alone Bavaria, Wurtemberg, Saxony, and Hanover, together with Hesse-Nassau, and Baden, supported Austria Prussia had to rely upon her well-drilled army and her admirable arrangements for mobilisation Napoleon hoped that between combatants so equally matched the war would be of some duration, and that, when both were exhausted, he could come forward as a mediator, and make his own terms But these hopes were shattered by the rapidity of the Prussian movements Before the end of June the army of Hanover had

capitulated, Saxony was occupied, Bohemia invaded, and on July 3rd the Battle of Koniggratz, won largely by the genius of the Crown Prince Frederic, ended the struggle, and the way lay open to Vienna

At the same time the Italians were defeated at Custozza by a force inferior in numbers, but this did not prevent the Austrians having to surrender Venetia to Napoleon, who gave it to the Italians The southern states of Germany were incapable of effective action They were beaten in detail, Frankfort was occupied, Austria was compelled to abandon her allies, who had no alternative but to make peace, Prussia became the undisputed head of the German confederation Europe was dazed and bewildered by the rapidity and completeness of her success

Napoleon found himself deceived, and every step which he took to recover his position led to new disasters His attempt to gain possession of the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg proved a failure He looked about in vain for allies A triple alliance was proposed with Austria and Italy, but Austria was exhausted and dreaded another war, while Italy demanded the withdrawal of the French from Rome Nothing could be obtained beyond general declarations of sympathy and friendship A proposition made in the beginning of 1870 for a mutual disarmament came to nothing At last, at a moment when peace seemed to be assured, war broke out with the suddenness of an earthquake The clumsiness of a French Minister who, not satisfied with a material victory, demanded a humiliating declaration from the Prussian king, the genius of Bismarck, who seized an unequalled opportunity for precipitating a conflict which he regarded as inevitable, so as to have the nation and the sovereign on his side, caused the greatest war of modern times, by the results of which Europe is still dominated

The Greatest War of Modern Times

War was declared on July 19th, and the emperor left for the front But he had no illusion as to the result The empress who, stung to the heart by the taunts of Germany, had stimulated the conflict, was unable to inspire him with hope He left St Cloud, accompanied by his son, as a victim led to the slaughter, and the final catastrophe was not long delayed The war of 1870 was more than a local conflict It must be reckoned among the vital struggles which have convulsed Europe since the fall of the Roman Empire; a scene, but probably not a closing scene, in the secular rivalry between the Roman and the Teuton

It was said at the time that Sedan avenged Tagliacozzo, that the French emperor expiated on that field the murder of the Hohenstauffen Conradin by the brother of St Louis Regarded from a more prosaic point of view, it upset the politics of Europe It created a German Empire, with Prussia at its head, and gave that country a preponderance in Europe It achieved the unity of Italy, and destroyed the temporal power of the Pope It opened the question of the East by putting an end to the neutrality of the Black Sea It established in France a republican government which seems to be durable, and it transferred that neutral territory between Neustria and Austrasia—which appears to have come into existence from the accident of Lewis the Pious having three sons instead of two—from the French to the German side of his dominions Whether this arrangement will be permanent or not, none can say It produced by force a settlement of Europe very different to those which were established at Munster, at Utrecht, or at Vienna, and we still lie under the conditions which it created

Creation of the German Empire

Nearly forty years have elapsed since the war of 1870, almost as long a period as intervened between the Battle of Waterloo and the Crimean war Can Europe be now declared to be in a state of equilibrium, or is she menaced by convulsions similar to those which we have sketched?

Political prophecy is always dangerous, rarely can the most far-sighted statesman foresee what is going to happen The danger long dreaded frequently never comes, and the catastrophe arises in a season of complete security Still, if we pass the map of Europe in review, we shall find a great improvement since the Congress of Vienna, and we may believe that our hopes of peaceful development for European nations rests upon a firmer basis France appears to be firmly established in the form of a republic, and is supported by the friendship of the British Empire Even if she were to change her government, it would not necessarily produce a European war Spain is recovering from her disasters and entering upon a new

The Relations of France and Britain

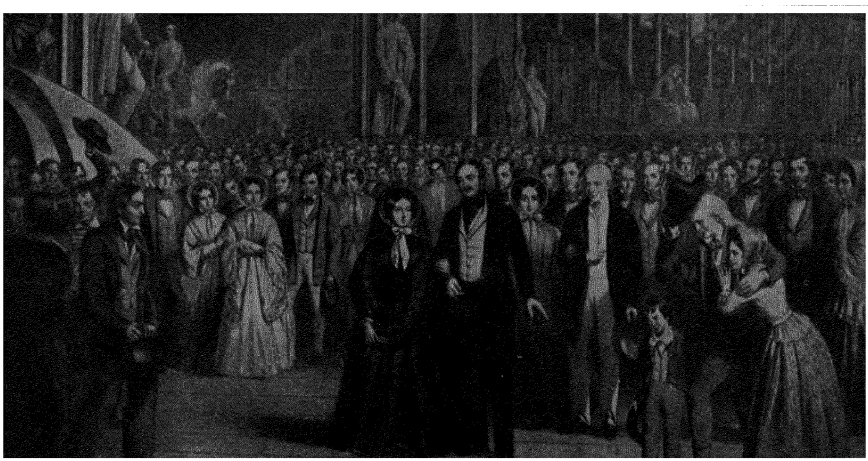
It is probable that the principle which is destined to conciliate divergent interests, to reconcile rivalries, and to establish the government of Europe upon a firm basis of stable equilibrium, is the principle of federation, a mode of government which is possible only in an advanced state of civilisation, and is certain to be accepted in proportion as civilisation advances. Much of the unrest which now renders government difficult is due to the fact that legislation which benefits one part of a country is harmful to another part.

Ireland cannot be governed satisfactorily on English methods, and measures which are beneficial to Lombardy are inapplicable to Sicily. The particularism of Spain, which makes Catalonia a centre of disorder, can be remedied only by a policy which allows the provinces of that country to a large extent to govern themselves. The world is shrinking. The trend of affairs in the world of our time is towards the creation of vast empires, the formation of large political units.

But this spirit of what is sometimes called imperialism can be safely carried out only by strengthening the smaller political units of which the larger units are composed. Extensive outlooks, the management of affairs on a vast scale, cannot be indulged in unless care is taken not to weaken the intensive feelings which are equally essential to political well-being. A statesman must rely not only on the wider patriotism, which carries with it untold benefits wherever it is found, but on the domestic virtues of local and municipal patriotism, the love of our country, our province, and our town.

The tendency to foster local languages and local ties, which is sometimes regarded as injurious to the higher interests of humanity, is in reality the outcome of a natural instinct of self-preservation. Long ago the Romans taught us that the two essential bases of all government are Imperium and Libertas—ill-translated Empire and Liberty—one the exercise of firm rule, the other the concession to the freedom of individual action. The reconciliation of these two forces is to be found in federation, a form of government which is constantly making progress among us. By this every citizen owes a double allegiance, one to his municipal surroundings, which appeals to sentiments which belong to his birth, his education and his race; and the other to his imperial position, which enables him to enjoy a larger life and to take his proper share in the administration of the world. The Roman Empire, the Holy Roman Empire, have passed away; a British Empire and other similar combinations are coming into being. The scientific pursuit of this ideal, guided by the best political thought, and carried into execution by the highest political wisdom, is the only means by which we may hope to realise the theme of poets, the dream of statesmen, a goal which is yet far distant, but which is not impossible, the Federation of the World.

OSCAR BROWNING



QUEEN VICTORIA AND THE PRINCE CONSORT AT THE GREAT EXHIBITION IN 1851
From the painting by S. N. Reynolds

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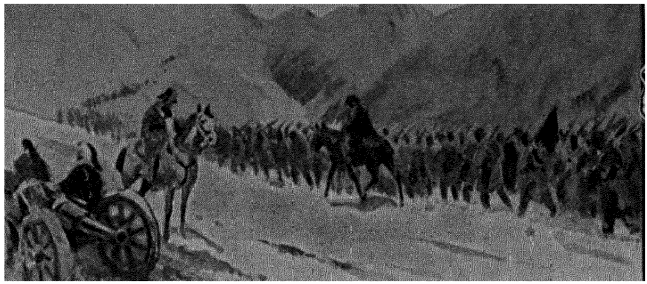
QUEEN VICTORIA AND THE PRINCE CONSORT AT THE GREAT EXHIBITION IN 1851
From the painting by S. N. Reynolds



REORGANISING THE POLITICAL SYSTEM OF EUROPE: THE EPOCH-MAKING CONGRESS OF VIENNA

After the first fall of Napoleon, a congress of the European Powers assembled at Vienna, on November 1st, 1814, with the view of repairing the shattered fabric and reorganising the political system of Europe, which had been disturbed by the conquests of the French. The restoration of Napoleon put a sudden end to the deliberations of the congress, but its agreements were signed by the eight Powers interested on June 9th, 1815. The Powers represented were Austria, Prussia, Russia, Britain, France, Sweden, Spain, and Portugal.







EUROPE AFTER WATERLOO

THE GREAT POWERS IN CONCORD AND THE FAILURE OF THE HOLY ALLIANCE

AT the Congress of Vienna nations were but rarely, and national rights and desires never, a subject of discussion. The Cabinets—that is to say, the princes of Europe, their officials, and in particular the diplomatists—arranged the mutual relations of states almost exclusively with reference to dynastic interests and differences in national power; though in the case of France it was necessary to consult national susceptibilities, and in England the economic demands of the upper classes of society came into question. The term "state" implied a ruling court, a government, and nothing beyond, not only to Prince Metternich, but also to the majority of his coadjutors. These institutions were the sole surviving representatives of that feudal organism which for more than a thousand years had undertaken the larger proportion of the task of the state.

Principalities of this kind were not founded upon the institutions of civic life, which had developed under feudal society; the rule of the aristocracy had fallen into decay, had grown antiquated or had been abolished, and as the monarchy increased in power at the expense of the classes, it had invariably employed instruments of government more scientifically constructed in detail. Bureaucracies had arisen. Governments had intervened between princes and peoples and had become ends in themselves. The theory of "subordination," which in feudal society had denoted an economic relation, now assumed a political character; it was regarded as a necessary extension of the idea of sovereignty, which had become the sole and ultimate basis of public authority in the course of the seventeenth century. The impulse of the sovereigns to extend the range of their authority, and a conception more or less definite of the connection between this authority and certain ideal objects, resulted in the theory that the guidance of society was a governmental task, and consequently laid an ever-increasing number of claims and demands upon the government for the time being. To this conception of the rights of princes and their delegates, as a result of historic growth, the French Revolution had opposed the idea of "the rights of man." To the National Assembly no task seemed more necessary or more imperative than the extirpation of erroneous theories from the general thought of the time; such theories had arisen from the exaggerated importance attached to monarchical power, had secured recognition, and had come into operation, simply because they had never been confuted.

European Governments in Evolution

The French Idea of "The Rights of Man"

Henceforward sovereignty was to be based upon the consent of the community as a whole. Thus supported by the sovereign will of the people, France had entered upon war with the monarchical states of Europe where the exercise of supreme power had been the ruler's exclusive right. It was as an exponent of the sovereign rights of the people that the empire of Napoleon Bonaparte had attempted to make France the paramount Power in Europe; it was in virtue of the power entrusted to him by six millions of Frenchmen that the Emperor had led his armies far beyond the limits of French domination and had imposed his personal

will upon the princes of Europe by means of a magnificent series of battles Within a period of scarce two decades the balance of power had swung to the opposite extreme, and had passed back from the sovereign people to the absolute despot Monarchs and nations shared alike in the task of overpowering this tyranny which had aimed at abolishing entirely the rights of nations as such, but from victory the princes alone derived advantage. With brazen effrontery literary time-servers scribbled their histories to prove that only the sovereigns and their armies deserved the credit of the overthrow of Napoleon, and that the private citizen had done no more service than does the ordinary fireman at a conflagration

The Growing Power of the People

However, their view of the situation was generally discredited It could by no means be forgotten that the Prussians had forced their king to undertake a war of liberation, and the services rendered by Spain and the Tyrol could not be wholly explained by reference to the commands of legally constituted authorities, in either case it was the people who by force of arms had cast off the yoke imposed upon them The will of the people had made itself plainly understood, it had declined the alien rule even though that rule had appeared under the names of freedom, reform, and prosperity

Once again the princely families recovered their power and position they had not entertained the least idea of dividing among themselves the spoils accumulated by the Revolution which had been taken from their kin, their relations, and their allies, at the same time they were by no means inclined to divide the task of administering the newly created states with the peoples inhabiting them They tacitly united in support of the conviction, which became an article of faith with all legitimists, that their position and prosperity were no less important than the maintenance of social order and morality It was explained as the duty of the subject to recognise both the former and the latter, and by increasing his personal prosperity, the subject was to provide a sure basis on which to increase the powers of the government However, "the limited intelligence of the subjects" strove against this interpretation of the facts, they could not forget the enormous sacrifices which had been made to help those states threatened by the continuance of the Napoleonic supremacy, and in many cases already doomed to destruction The value of their services aroused them to question also the value of what they had attained, and by this process of thought they arrived at critical theories and practical demands which "legitimist" teaching was unable to confute

The Subject's Duty to the State

The supreme right of princes to wage war and conclude peace rested upon satisfactory historic foundation, and was therefore indisputable In the age of feudal society it was the lords, the free landowners, who had waged war, and not the governments, and their authority had been limited only by their means Neither the lives nor the property of the commonalty had ever come in question except in cases where their sympathies had been enlisted by devastation fire, and slaughter, to actual co-operation in the undertakings of the overlord the man of the people had never been bound, and such help had been voluntarily given After the conception of sovereignty had been modified by the idea of "government" the situation had been changed Military powers and duties were now dissociated from the feudal classes, the sinews of war were no longer demanded from the warriors themselves, and the provision of means became a government duty However, no new rights had arisen to correspond with these numerous additional duties The vassal, now far more heavily burdened, demanded his rights, the people followed his example That which was to be supported by the general efforts of the whole of the members of any body politic must surely be a matter of general concern The state also has duties incumbent upon it, the definition of which is the task of those who support the state Such demands were fully and absolutely justified, a certain transformation of the state and of society was necessary and inevitable

Evil Results of the Revolution

Few princes, and still fewer officials, recognised the overwhelming force of these considerations, in the majority of cases expression of the popular will was another name for revolution The Revolution had caused the overthrow of social order It had engendered the very worst of human passions, destroyed professions and property, sacrificed a countless number of human lives, and disseminated infidelity

and immorality; revolution therefore must be checked, must be nipped in the bud in the name of God, of civilisation and social order. This opinion was founded upon the fundamental mistake of refusing to recognise the fact that all rights implied corresponding duties; while disregarding every historical tradition and assenting to the dissolution of every feudal idea, it did nothing to introduce new relations or to secure a compromise between the prince and his subjects.

This point of view was known as Conservatism; its supporters availed themselves of the unnatural limitations laid upon the subject unduly to aggrandise and systematically to increase the privileges of the ruling class; and this process received the name of statecraft. This conservative statecraft, of which Prince Metternich was proud to call himself a master, proceeded from a dull and spiritless conception of the progress of the world; founded upon a complete lack of historical knowledge, it equally failed to recognise any distinct purpose as obligatory on the state. Of political science Metternich had none; he made good the deficiency by the general admiration which his intellect and character inspired. His diaries and many of his letters are devoted to the glorification of these merits. A knowledge of his intellectual position and of that of the majority of his diplomatic colleagues is an indispensable preliminary to the understanding of the aberrations into which the statesmen of the so-called Restoration period fell. The restored Government of the Bourbons in France was indeed provided with a constitution. It was thus that Tsar Alexander I. had attempted to display his liberal tendencies and his good-will to the French nation; but he had been forced to leave the Germans and Italians to their fate, and had satisfied his conscience by the insertion of a few expressions in the final protocol of the Vienna Congress. Subsequently he suffered a cruel disappointment in the case of Poland, which proceeded to misuse the freedom that had been granted to it by the concoction of conspiracies and by continual manifestations of dissatisfaction. He began to lose faith in Liberalism as such, and became a convert to Metternich's policy of forcibly suppressing every popular movement for freedom. Untouched by the enthusiasm of the German youth, which for the most part had displayed after the war of liberation the noblest sense of patriotism, and could provide for the work of restoration and reorganisation coadjutors highly desirable to a far-seeing administration; incapable of understanding the Italian yearnings for union and activity, and for the foundation of a federal state free from foreign influences, the great Powers of Austria, Russia, and Prussia employed threats and force in every form, with the object of imposing constitutions of their own choice upon the people, whose desires for reform they wholly disregarded. Austria had for the moment obtained a magnificent position in the German Confederacy. This, however, the so-called statecraft of Conservatism declined to use for the consolidation of the federation, which Austria at the same time desired to exploit for her own advantage. Conservatism never, indeed, gave the smallest attention to the task of uniting the interests of the allied states by institutions making for prosperity, or by the union of their several artistic and scientific powers; it seemed more necessary and more salutary to limit as far as possible the influence of the

The Restored Government of the Bourbons

The Tsar's Lost Faith in Liberalism



PRINCE METTERNICH

After the fall of Napoleon, in 1815, Metternich stepped into the place vacated by the emperor as the first personality in Europe, and, as the avowed champion of Conservatism, opposed forces that were destined to ultimate triumph. He was overthrown in 1848, and died in 1859.

popular representatives in the administration of the allied states, and to prevent the introduction of constitutions which gave the people rights of real and tangible value. The conservative statesmen did not observe that even governments could derive but very scanty advantage by ensuring the persistence of conditions which were the product of no national or economic course of development, they did not see that the power of the governments was decreasing, and that they possessed neither the money nor the troops upon which such a system must ultimately depend In the East, under the unfortunate guidance of Metternich, Austria adopted a position in no way corresponding to her past or to her religious aspirations, in order not to alienate the help of Russia, which might be useful in the suppression of revolutions, Austria surrendered that right, which she had acquired by the military sacrifices of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, of appearing as the liberator of the Balkan Christians from Turkish oppression

Austria's Surrender to Russia

Political history provides many examples of constitutions purely despotic, of the entirely selfish aspirations of persons, families, or parties, of the exploitation of majorities by minorities, of constitutions which profess to give freedom to all, while securing the dominance of individuals, but illusions of this kind are invariably connected with some definite object, and in every case we can observe aspirations for tangible progress or increase of power

But the Conservatism of the Restoration period rests upon a false conception of the working of political forces, and is therefore from its very outset a policy of mere bungling, as little able to create as to maintain. Of construction, of purification, or of improvement, it was utterly incapable, for in fact the object of the conservative statesmen and their highest ambition were nothing more than to capture the admiration of that court society in which they figured in their uniforms and decorations For many princely families it was a grave misfortune that they failed to recognise the untenable character of those "principles" by which their Ministers, their masters of ceremonies, and their officers professed themselves able to uphold their rights and their possessions, many, indeed, have disappeared for ever from the scene of history, while others have passed through times of bitter trial and deadly struggle

Defects of Restoration Period

From their armed alliance against Napoleon a certain feeling of federative union seized the European Cabinets The astounding events, the fall of the Cæsar from his dizzy height, had, after all the free thinking of the Revolutionary period and the superficial enlightenment, once more strengthened the belief in the dispositions of a Higher Power The effect on the tsar, Alexander I, was the most peculiar

His temperament, naturally idealistic, moved him to an extreme religiosity, intensified and marked by strong mystical leanings, to many minds suggestive of the presence of something like mania He was not without friends who encouraged him to regard himself as a special "instrument" with a religious mission, who was to raise Europe to a new level of Christianity through his power as a ruler, in contradistinction to Napoleon, whom he probably, in common with a good many other mystics, had come to regard as Antichrist Alexander did not pose as the champion of a Church, but he wanted to assume the rôle of the ideal Christian monarch, and to lead his brother monarchs along the same path Unfortunately, the conception of the divine mission developed the idea of divine monarchical authority, so that from his early notions of Liberty he passed to the stage of identifying the cause of Absolutism and of Legitimism with the cause of Christianity Thus, he was moved to materialise his ideals in the form of a Christian union of nations, a Holy Alliance This scheme he laid before his brother rulers

The Tsar Inaugurates the Holy Alliance

Frederic William III, also a pietist in his way, immediately agreed, so did Francis I, after some deliberation On September 26th the three monarchs concluded this alliance in Paris They wished to take as the standard of their conduct, both in the internal affairs of their countries and in external matters, merely the precepts of Christianity, justice, love, and peaceableness, regarding each other as brothers, they wished to help each other on every occasion As plenipotentiaries of Divine Providence they promised to be the fathers of their subjects and to lead them in the spirit of brotherhood, in order to protect religion, peace, and justice, and they recommended their

own peoples to exercise themselves daily in Christian principles and the fulfilment of Christian duties. Every Power which would acknowledge such principles might join the alliance Almost all the states of Europe gradually joined the Holy Alliance. The sultan was obviously excluded, while the Pope declared that he had always possessed the Christian verity and required no new exposition of it Great Britain refused, from regard to her constitution and to parliament, Europe was spared the presentation of the Prince Regent as a devotee of the higher morality

There was no international basis to the Holy Alliance, which only had the value of a personal declaration, with merely a moral obligation for the monarchs connected with it. In its beginnings the Alliance aimed at an ideal, and its founders were sincere in their purpose But it soon became, and rightly, the object of universal detestation, for Metternich was master of Alexander, and from the promise of the potentates to help each other on every opportunity he deduced the right to interfere in the internal affairs of foreign states The Congresses of Carlsbad, Troppau, Laibach and Verona were the offshoots of this unholy conception

League of European Powers

In addition to the Holy Alliance, the Treaty of Chaumont was renewed On November 20th, 1815, at Paris, Russia, Great Britain, Austria, and Prussia pledged themselves that their sovereigns would meet periodically to deliberate on the peace, security, and welfare of Europe, or would send their responsible Ministers for the purpose France, which had so long disturbed the peace of Europe, was to be placed under international police supervision, even after the army of occupation had left its soil

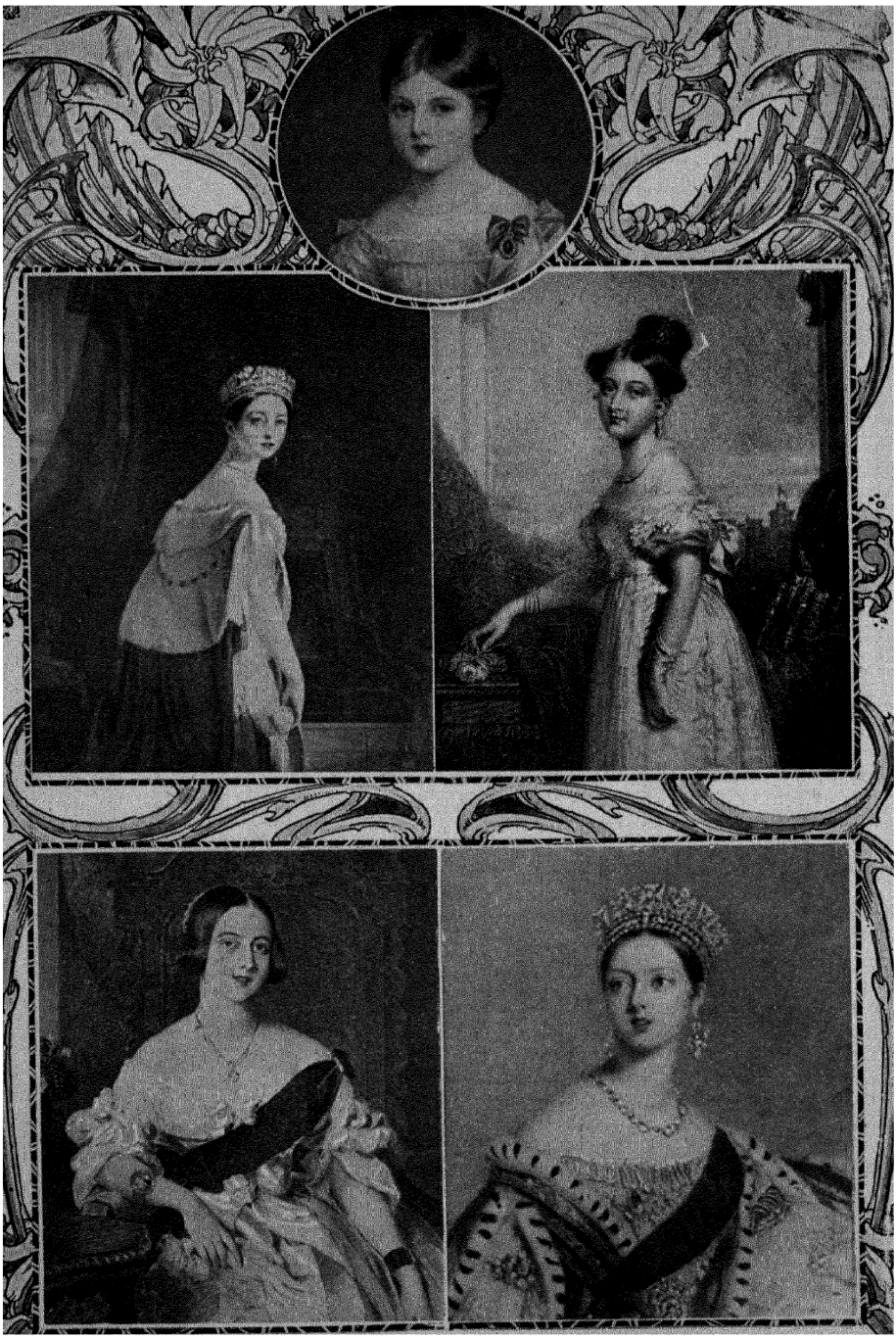
The first of these congresses met at Aix-la-Chapelle, and showed Europe that an aristocratic league of Powers stood at its head Alexander, Francis, and Frederic William appeared in person, accompanied by numerous diplomatists, among them Metternich, Gentz, Hardenberg, Humboldt, Nesselrode, Pozzo di Borgo, and Capodistrias, France was represented by Richelieu; Great Britain by Wellington, Castlereagh, and Canning The chief question to be decided by the conferences, which began on September 30th, 1818, was the evacuation of France The Duke of Richelieu obtained on October 9th an agreement according to which France should be evacuated by the allied troops before November 30th, 1818, instead of the year 1820, and the costs of the war and the indemnities still to be paid were considerably lowered On the other hand, he did not succeed in forming a quintuple alliance by securing the admission of France as a member into the quadruple alliance. It is true that France was received on November 15th into the federation of the Great Powers, and that it joined the Holy Alliance, but the reciprocal guarantee of the five Great Powers, advocated by Alexander and Ancillon, did not come to pass, the four Powers renewed in secret on November 15th the Alliance of Chaumont, and agreed upon military measures to be adopted in the event of a war with France We have already spoken of the settlement of the dispute between Bavaria and Baden, the congress occupied itself also with other European questions without achieving any successes, and increased the severity of the treatment of the exile on St Helena

France in the Holy Alliance

Alexander I of Russia, who was now making overtures to Liberalism throughout Europe and supported the constitutional principle in Poland, soon returned from that path, he grew colder in his friendship for the unsatisfied Poles, and became a loyal pupil of Metternich, led by the rough "sergeant of Gatshina," Count Araktcheieff Although art, literature, and science flourished in his reign, although the fame of Alexander Pushkin was at its zenith, the fear of revolution, assassination, and disbelief cast a lengthening shadow over the policy of Alexander, and he governed in a mystic reactionary spirit

When it became apparent that Alexander had broken with the Liberal party, Metternich and Castlereagh rubbed their hands in joy at his conversion, and the pamphlet of the prophet of disaster, Alexander Stourdza, "On the Present Condition of Germany," which was directed against the freedom of study in the universities and the freedom of the Press, when put before the tsar at Aix-la-Chapelle intensified his suspicious aversion to all that savoured of liberty The conference of ambassadors at Paris was declared closed The greatest concord seemed to reign between the five Great Powers when the congress ended on November 21st

The Tsar's Break with the Liberals



PORTRAITS OF QUEEN VICTORIA IN THE EARLIER YEARS OF HER LIFE AND REIGN

THE RE-MAKING OF EUROPE



EUROPE AFTER WATERLOO II

THE BRITISH ERA OF REFORM

THE LAST OF THE GEORGES, WILLIAM IV., AND BEGINNING OF THE VICTORIAN AGE

IN the nature of things, the British nation at all times stands to a certain extent outside the general course of Continental politics. The political organism developed far in advance of other nations; the English polity, assimilating Scotland and Ireland, had achieved long before the French Revolution a liberty elsewhere unknown. Political power had become the property not indeed of people at large, but, in effect, of the whole landowning class, a body altogether different from the rigid aristocratic castes of Europe; and absolutism or the prospect of absolutism had long vanished. In the latter half of the eighteenth century there had been indications of a democratic movement, to which the beginnings of the French Revolution gave a considerable impulse. But its later excesses gave a violent check to that impulse throughout the classes which held political power, causing a strong anti-democratic reaction; although a precisely contrary effect was produced in the classes from whom political power was withheld.

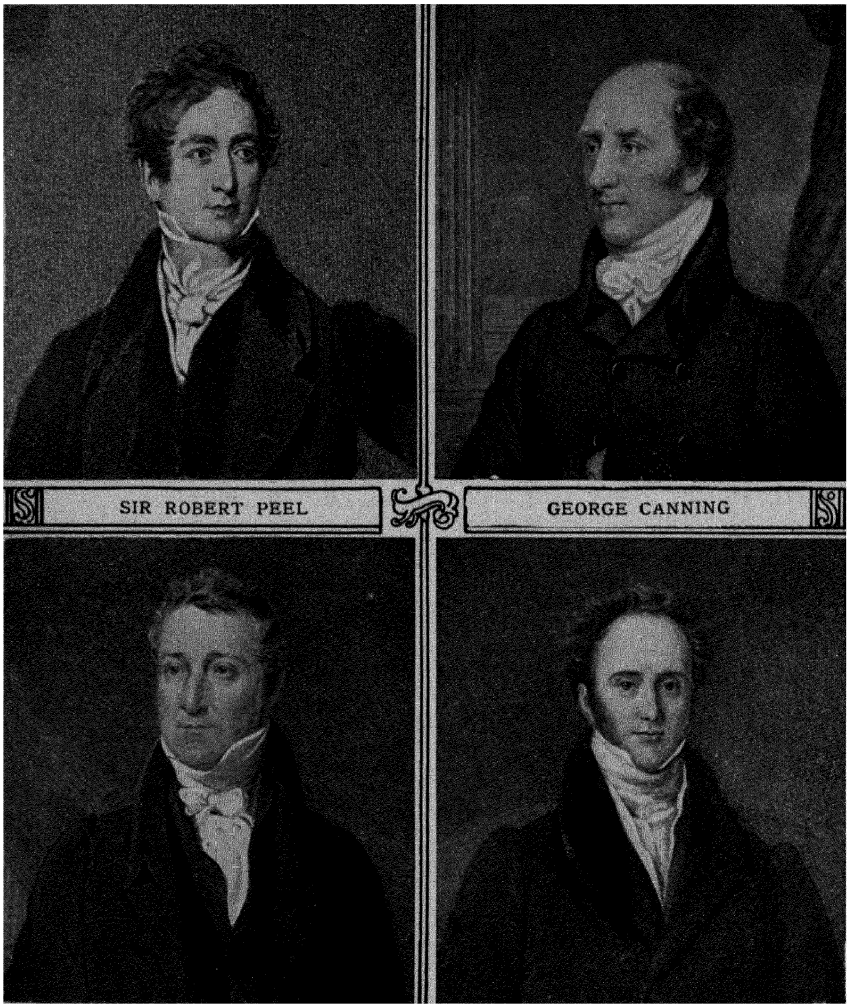
That is to say, Europe in general and the United Kingdom, like Europe, showed the common phenomenon of a proletariat roused by the French Revolution to a desire for political power, and rulers who were convinced that the granting of such power would entail anarchy and ruin; while material force was on the side of the rulers. But the distinction between the composition of the ruling class in the United Kingdom and in the Continental states remained as it was before the Revolution; though the existing Ministry in Great Britain was reactionary to an exceptional degree, the sympathies of the ruling class were with constitutionalism, not with absolutism. Moreover, Great Britain was free from any idea that she had a divine mission to impose her own political theories on her neighbours, and had a conviction, on the whole wholesome, that her intervention in foreign affairs should be restricted as far as possible to the exercise of a restraining influence in the interests of peace.

Britain's Reactionary Ministry

Thus we find Great Britain in the nineteenth century for the most part pursuing her own way; taking her own course of political development, influenced only in a very secondary degree by affairs on the Continent, on which she in turn exercises usually only a very minor influence, save as providing a pattern for reformers in other lands. Her part in world-history, as distinct from domestic history, is played outside of Europe altogether, in the development of the extra-European Empire, as already related in the histories of India, Africa, and Australasia, and to be related in the American volume. In European history, interest centres not in these islands, but in the readjustments which have issued in the reorganisation of Germany as a great and homogeneous Central European power, in the German Empire which we know to-day; in the reorganisation of France as the Republic which we know to-day; and in the liberation and unification of Italy, and of minor nationalities.

Great Britain a Pattern to Other Lands

Great Britain had played her full part—a conspicuously unselfish one—in the Congress of Vienna and the settlements of Europe after the final overthrow of Napoleon. In the period immediately ensuing she made her influence felt, not by her intervention, but by her refusal of pressing invitations to intervene, and presently by her refusals to countenance the unwarranted intervention of other Powers. Thus the British representatives declined to join the Holy Alliance of the great Powers which was formed at Vienna in 1815 for the repression of liberal principles, and the foreign policy of the Tories was marked by a strong sympathy for the



DISTINGUISHED STATESMEN OF THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY

The four statesmen whose portraits are given above—Peel, Canning, Huskisson and Palmerston—exercised a powerful influence upon the Cabinet which they joined in 1822, moderating the foreign policy of the Tories and informing it with a strong sympathy for the principles of liberty. Three of them—Peel, Palmerston, and Canning—became Prime Ministers.

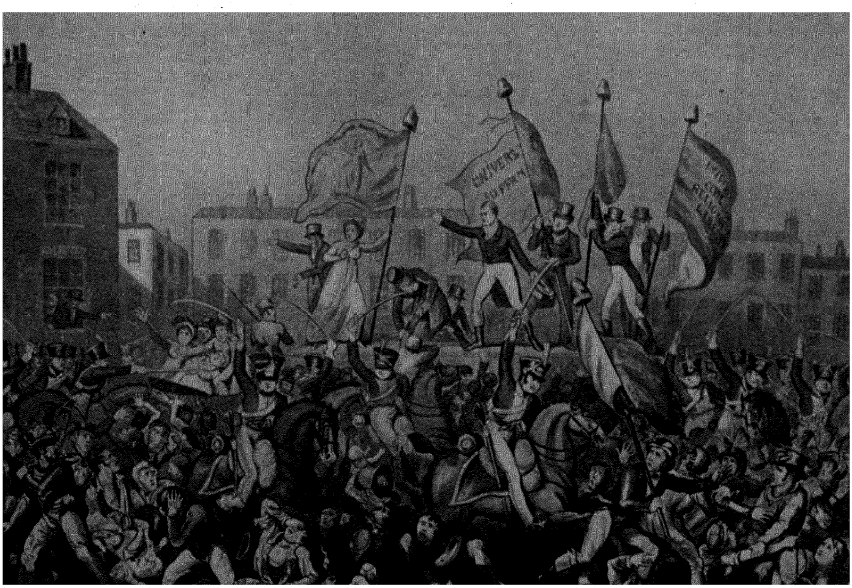
principles of liberty and nationality. But this was due to the influence of the Moderates—Peel, Canning, Huskisson, and Palmerston—who joined the Cabinet in 1822. The extreme Tories sympathised with the aims of the Holy Alliance, and had resolved under no circumstances to impede its efforts. The refusal of Great Britain to assist in bolstering up the Spanish dynasty; her consent to recognise the independence of the Spanish colonies and Brazil; her defence of Portugal against the forces of Dom Miguel, the absolutist pretender, and Ferdinand VII. of Spain; her intervention to save Greece from the Sultan and Mehemet Ali—all these generous actions were the work of Canning, and would never have been sanctioned by Castlereagh, his predecessor at the Foreign Office. In domestic policy the spirit of reaction reigned supreme. During the

years 1815 to 1822 class interests and the morbid fear of revolution were responsible for a series of repressive enactments which were so unreasonably severe that they increased the popular sympathy for the principles against which they were directed. After 1822 came the period in which the extreme Tories gave way tardily and with the worst of graces.

The peace was inaugurated with a new corn law, framed in the interests of the landowning classes, from which both Houses of Parliament were chiefly recruited. This prohibited the importation of foreign corn until the price of 80s. a quarter should be reached; that is, until the poorer classes should be reduced to a state of famine. The statutory price before this date had been merely 48s. The change was naturally followed in many places by bread riots and incendiarism. The Government replied by calling out the soldiery and framing coercive measures. In 1819 a mass meeting which had assembled in St. Peter's Field, at Manchester, was broken up with considerable bloodshed; Parliament, which had already suspended the Habeas Corpus, proceeded to pass the Six Acts giving the executive exceptional powers to break up seditious meetings and to punish the authors of seditious libels. The powers thus obtained were stretched to their utmost limits, on the pretext that such hare-brained schemes as the Cato Street Conspiracy, 1820, constituted a serious menace to public order.

Bread Riots in the Country

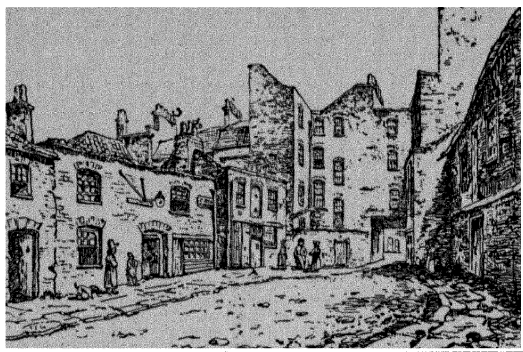
It was not until 1823 that the Cabinet consented to attack the root of social disorders by making some reductions in the tariff. It began by concessions to the mercantile classes, whose prospects were seriously affected by the heavy duties upon raw materials, and to the consumers of various manufactured commodities, such as linen, silk, and cotton stuffs, upon which prohibitive duties had been imposed in the interests of British industry. But in the all-important question of the corn laws, affecting the poor rather than the middle classes, the Tories would only concede a compromise, the sliding-scale duty of 1829. The demand of the chief commercial centres for the repeal of the Navigation Laws was met by an Act



MASS MEETING AT MANCHESTER: THE YEOMANRY CHARGING THE MOB IN 1819

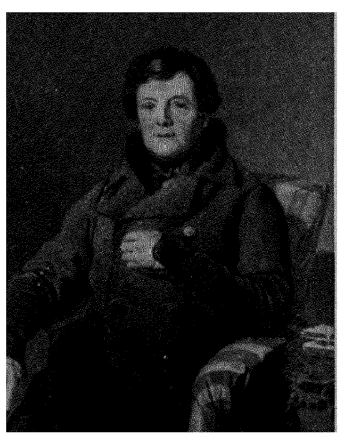
Suffering hardship in consequence of the high price of bread, the people in many places resorted to violence. The Government's reply was to call out the soldiery and frame coercive measures. A mass meeting which had assembled in St. Peter's Field, at Manchester, in 1819, was broken up, as shown in the above picture, with considerable bloodshed.

providing that the ships of any foreign Power should be allowed free access to British ports if that Power would grant a reciprocity; the Combination Acts, framed to make trades unions illegal, were repealed; considerable amendments were introduced into the criminal law. But to several reforms of paramount necessity the Ministers showed themselves obstinately averse. They would not repeal the disabling laws which still remained in force against the Catholics, although three-fourths of the Irish nation were calling for this act of justice. They would do nothing to reform the House of Commons. They would not deprive the landowning classes of the profits which the corn duties afforded.



THE SCENE OF THE CATO STREET CONSPIRACY
In Cato Street, London, shown in this picture, was conceived a plot to assassinate Castlereagh and other Ministers at a Cabinet dinner in 1820. The plot being discovered, the revolutionaries were captured, five of them being hanged and five transported for life.

It was now that the nation discovered the use which could be made of two rights which it had long possessed. Freedom of speech on political matters was guaranteed by Fox's Libel Act of 1792, which left to the jury the full power of deciding what constituted legitimate criticism of the administration. Freedom of association and public meeting existed, independently of special enactments, under the protection of the common law. These weapons were used with extraordinary skill by O'Connell, the leader of the Irish Catholics. The Catholic Association, formed in 1823, learned from him the art of intimidating without illegality by means of monster meetings. Proclaimed as an illegal body in 1825, the association contrived to continue its existence in the guise of a philanthropic society. At the Clare election in 1828 O'Connell, although a Catholic, and therefore disqualified, was returned by an overwhelming majority.



DANIEL O'CONNELL
The leader of the Irish Catholics, O'Connell was foremost in the agitation for the rights of his countrymen, and patriotically surrendered personal interests for the advancement of the national cause. He died in 1847.

Peel persuaded his colleagues that the time had come when emancipation must be granted. Bills for that purpose were accordingly passed and submitted for the royal assent. This afforded George IV., who had succeeded his father in 1820, an opportunity of asserting himself for once in a matter of national concern. A prodigal and a voluptuary, who had systematically sacrificed honour and decency to his pleasures and had broken his father's heart by his want of shame and filial piety, he now declared that nothing could induce him to accept a measure which that father had rejected. After long expostulations he broke this vow, as he had broken every other, and Catholic emancipation was finally recorded on the Statute Book.

George IV. died in 1830. He was succeeded by his brother, the Duke of Clarence, under the title of William IV., a more respectable character than "the first gentleman in Europe," but a politician of poor abilities, great tactlessness and greater obstinacy. In their resistance to the next popular agitation the Tories found him a valuable ally. The triumph of the Irish Catholics was followed by a revival, in England, of the cry for parliamentary reform, and to this purpose the tactics of O'Connell were steadily applied by the Liberals

of the great manufacturing centres. The energy with which the Whigs pushed their attack is explained by their conviction that the defects of the representative system constituted the main obstacles to social, political, and fiscal reforms of the utmost weight and urgency. The House of Commons no longer expressed the opinions of the country. The most enlightened, industrious, and prosperous portion of the community were either unrepresented or ludicrously underrepresented. Since the time of Charles II. no new constituencies had been created, and of the boroughs which had received representation under the Tudors and the Stuarts, the greater part owed their privilege to the Crown's expectation that their elections could always be controlled. Many boroughs which formerly deserved to be represented had fallen, through the decay of their fortunes or through an excessive limitation of the franchise, under the control of the great territorial families. Close boroughs were so completely an article of commerce that the younger Pitt, when he proposed a measure of parliamentary reform, felt himself bound to offer the patrons a pecuniary



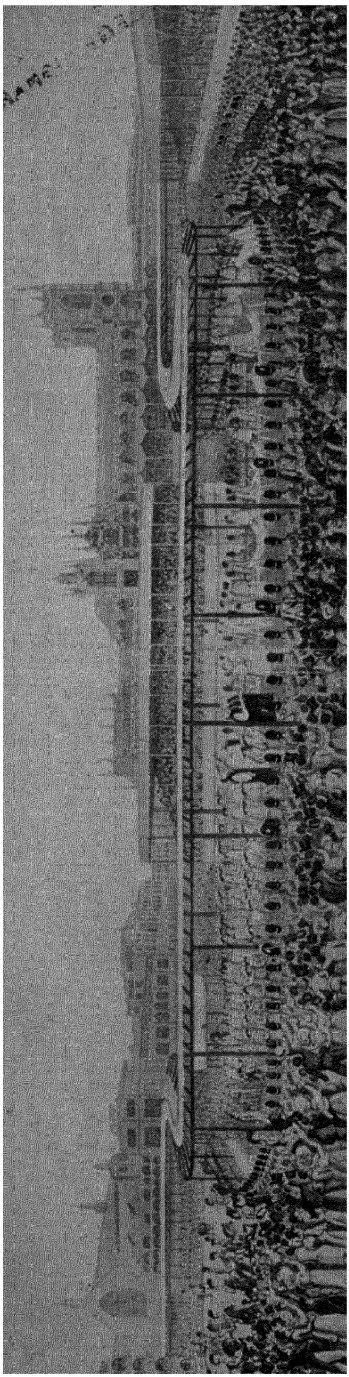
KING GEORGE IV.

He became Prince Regent in 1810 owing to the mental derangement of his father, George III., and succeeded to the throne ten years later. Without any qualities that endeared him to his people, he possessed failings and vices that were conspicuously displayed, and there were few to regret his death, which occurred in 1830.



A SITTING OF THE BRITISH HOUSE OF COMMONS IN THE YEARS 1821-23

From the engraving by J. Scott. Photo by Walker



It has been said of George IV., who loved the pomp of royalty, that he could not feel himself "every inch a king" until "his head had been surmounted by the crown." The coronation ceremony was marked by great extravagance and magnificence. The procession, as shown in the picture, passed under a covered way from Westminster Hall to the Abbey.

compensation. It was by means of "pocket" boroughs that the Whigs had held the first two Hanoverians in bondage, and that George III. had maintained his personal ascendancy for twenty years. In 1793 it was computed that 307 members of Parliament were returned by private patrons. Matters had improved in the last forty years; but still on the eve of the reform legislation 276 seats were private property. Three-fourths of these belonged to members of the Tory aristocracy. The state of the county representation was somewhat better. But the smallest shires returned as many members as the largest, with the solitary exception that Yorkshire, since 1821, returned four members in place of the usual two. The county franchise was limited, by a law of 1430, to freeholders, and the owners of large estates had established their right to plural or "faggot" votes.

The faults of this system, its logical absurdities, are glaringly manifest. With the votes of about half the House of Commons controlled by a few families, with great cities unrepresented, with small and large counties treated as of equal weight, with franchises varying in different localities, it might rather be said that there was no system at all. But it is a peculiarly British characteristic to regard anomalies as desirable in themselves, as it was characteristic of the theorists of the Revolution to discover the universal panacea in symmetrical uniformity.

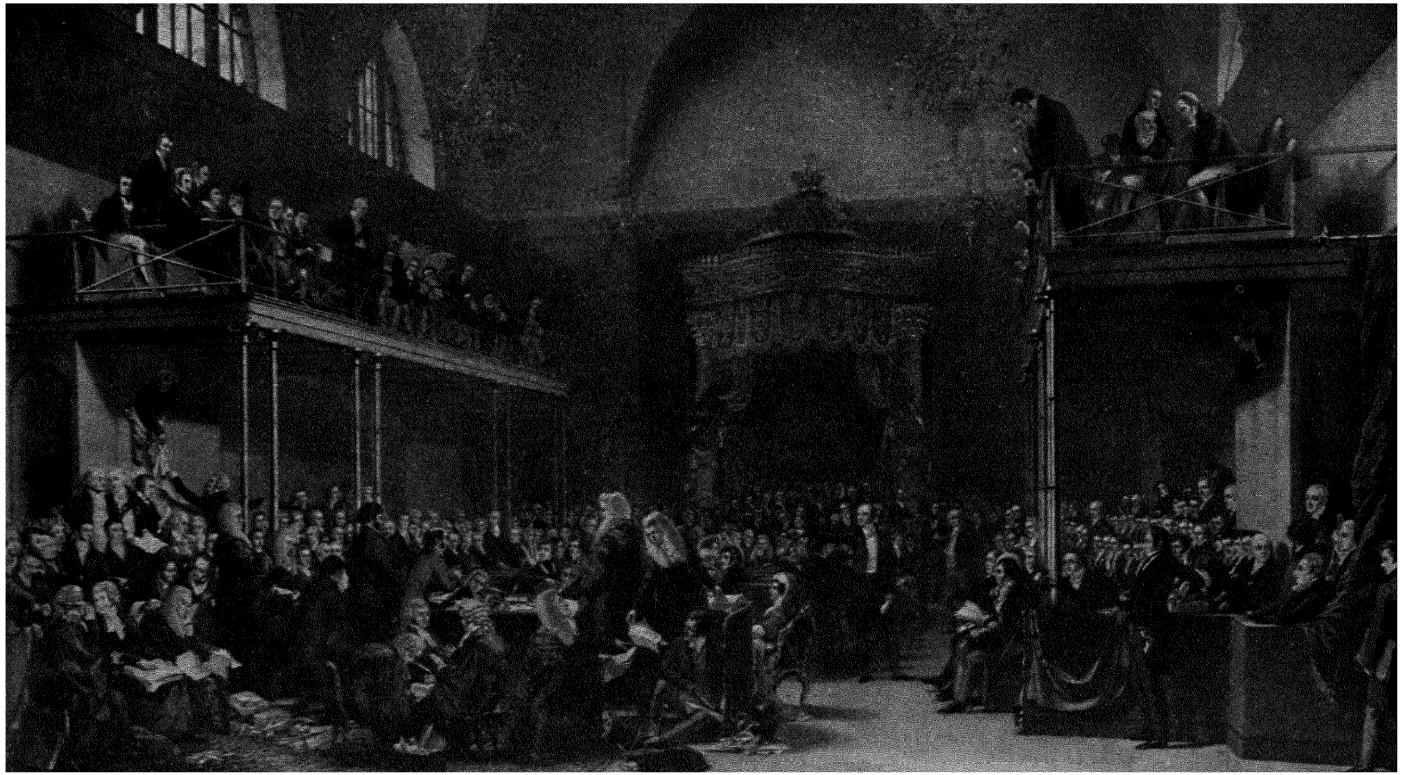
Entirely apart from personal interests, the large proportion of the ruling class had a firm conviction that the constitution was incapable of improvement, that it provided the best possible type of legislator and administrator. The unenfranchised masses saw in these Olympians a group who neither understood nor cared for anything but the interests of their own class; they acquired a rooted conviction that, when they themselves obtained political power, the millennium would arrive. But among the enfranchised, the minority, who had always refused to be terrified by the Reign of Terror, now grew into a majority who believed that political intelligence existed in other sections of the community, who might be enfranchised without danger, and that flagrant anomalies might be removed without undermining the constitution. When France once more overturned the Bourbon monarchy and established the citizen-king,



GEORGE IV., KING OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND, IN HIS ROYAL ROBES
From the painting by Sir Thomas Lawrence, P.R.A.



THE CORONATION OF GEORGE IV.: THE SCENE IN WESTMINSTER ABBEY DURING THE CEREMONY



THE UNFORTUNATE QUEEN CAROLINE: HER TRIAL IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS

When George IV. ascended the throne in 1820, an annuity of £50,000 was offered to Caroline, whom he had married in 1795, if she would renounce the title of queen and live abroad, allegations having been made against her character. She refused to accept this offer, and the Government instituted proceedings against her for divorce. Public feeling was largely on the side of the queen, and after the Divorce Bill had passed the House of Lords it was abandoned by the Ministry. Desiring to be crowned along with the king, Caroline presented herself at the entrance to Westminster Abbey on the day of her husband's coronation, but was refused admittance and cruelly turned away from the door.

From the painting by Sir George Hayter

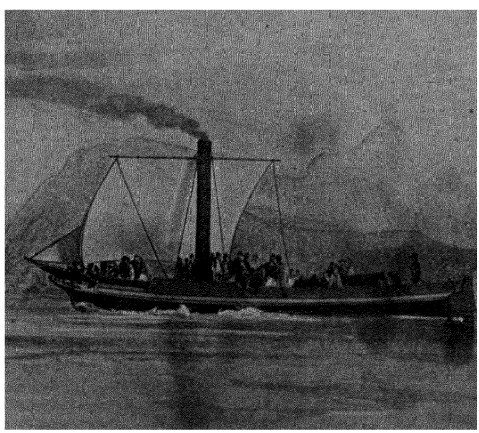
Louis Philippe, on the throne with a constitution in which the political power of the bourgeoisie was the prominent feature, effecting the change without any excesses, the phantom of the ancient Reign of Terror dwindled, and the Reform party was materially strengthened.

The king and the Duke of Wellington refused at first to believe that any change was either desirable or necessary. But they were compelled in 1830 to admit that it was necessary; and Lord Grey was permitted to construct a reform Cabinet of Whigs and moderate Tories. Their Bills passed the House of Commons without difficulty, receiving the votes of many members whose seats were known to be doomed by its provisions. The House of Lords, encouraged by the king, endeavoured to obstruct the measure which they dared not openly oppose. But a new agitation, threatening the very existence of the Upper House, at once arose. The duke, with greater wisdom than his royal master, realised that further resistance was out of the question, and induced the Lords to give way in June, 1832.

The Reform Bill of 1832 fell far short of the democratic ideal which the English admirers of the French Revolution had kept in view. Jeremy Bentham, 1748–1832, the greatest of those writers and thinkers who prepared the minds of men for practical reform, was of opinion that the doctrine of natural equality ought to be the first principle of every constitution; but the followers of Lord Grey contented themselves with giving political power to the middle classes. This work has since been supplemented by the legislation of 1867, 1884, and 1885; yet even at the present day the doctrine of manhood suffrage is unknown in English law. Still less were the first reformers inclined to map out the country in new electoral districts of equal size. They enlarged the representation of some counties. They suppressed or partially disfranchised eighty-six decayed boroughs. They gave representatives to forty-two of the new boroughs. But they kept intact the old distinction between county and borough, and sedulously avoided the subdivision or amalgamation of constituencies which possessed organic unity and historical traditions. In this and other respects the later Reform Bills have been more drastic.

Changes in the Constitution of Parliament

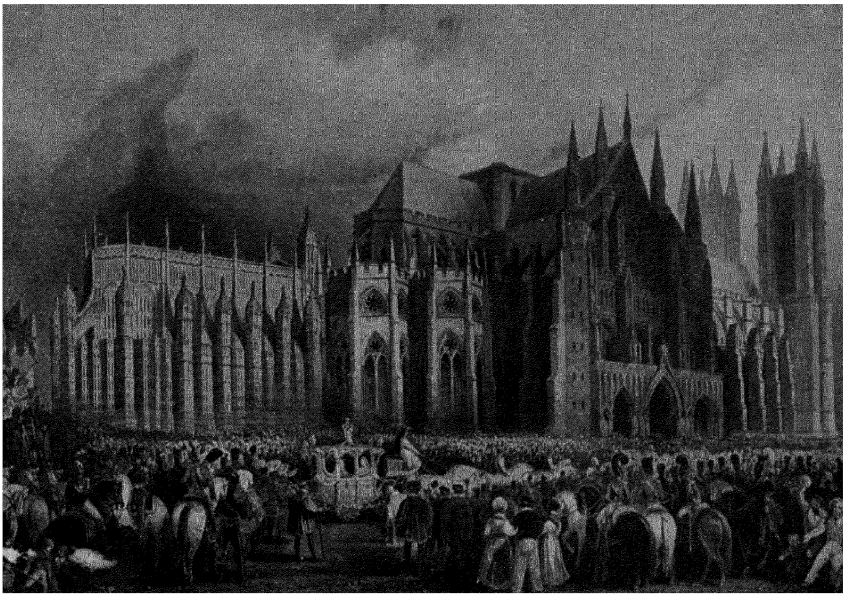
That of 1867 abandoned the principle, which had been steadily maintained in 1832, that the franchise should be limited to those who paid direct taxes in one form or another. That of 1885 endeavoured to equalise constituencies in respect of population; in order to attain this end, counties and boroughs were broken up into divisions, without respect for past traditions. Such legislation is necessarily of a temporary character, since no measure of redistribution can be expected to satisfy the principle of equality for more than a few years. And this is not the least important consequence of the legislative change which the nineteenth century effected in the constitution of Parliament. The Lower House in becoming democratic has ceased to represent a fixed number of communities with fixed interests and characteristics.



THE FIRST **STEAMBOAT ON THE CLYDE**

The early part of the nineteenth century witnessed progress along many lines, the introduction of steamboats being a noteworthy advance. The Comet, shown in the above illustration, was built by Henry Bell, and began sailing on the Clyde in the year 1812.

The reformed Parliament was not long in justifying the hopes which had been formed of it. Those, indeed, who had expected that the members returned under the new system would all be Whigs or democrats soon found reason to revise their judgment. This is not the only occasion in English history on which it has been proved that aversion to ill-considered change is a fundamental trait in the national



THE CORONATION PROCESSION OF WILLIAM IV. AND QUEEN ADELAIDE AT THE ABBEY

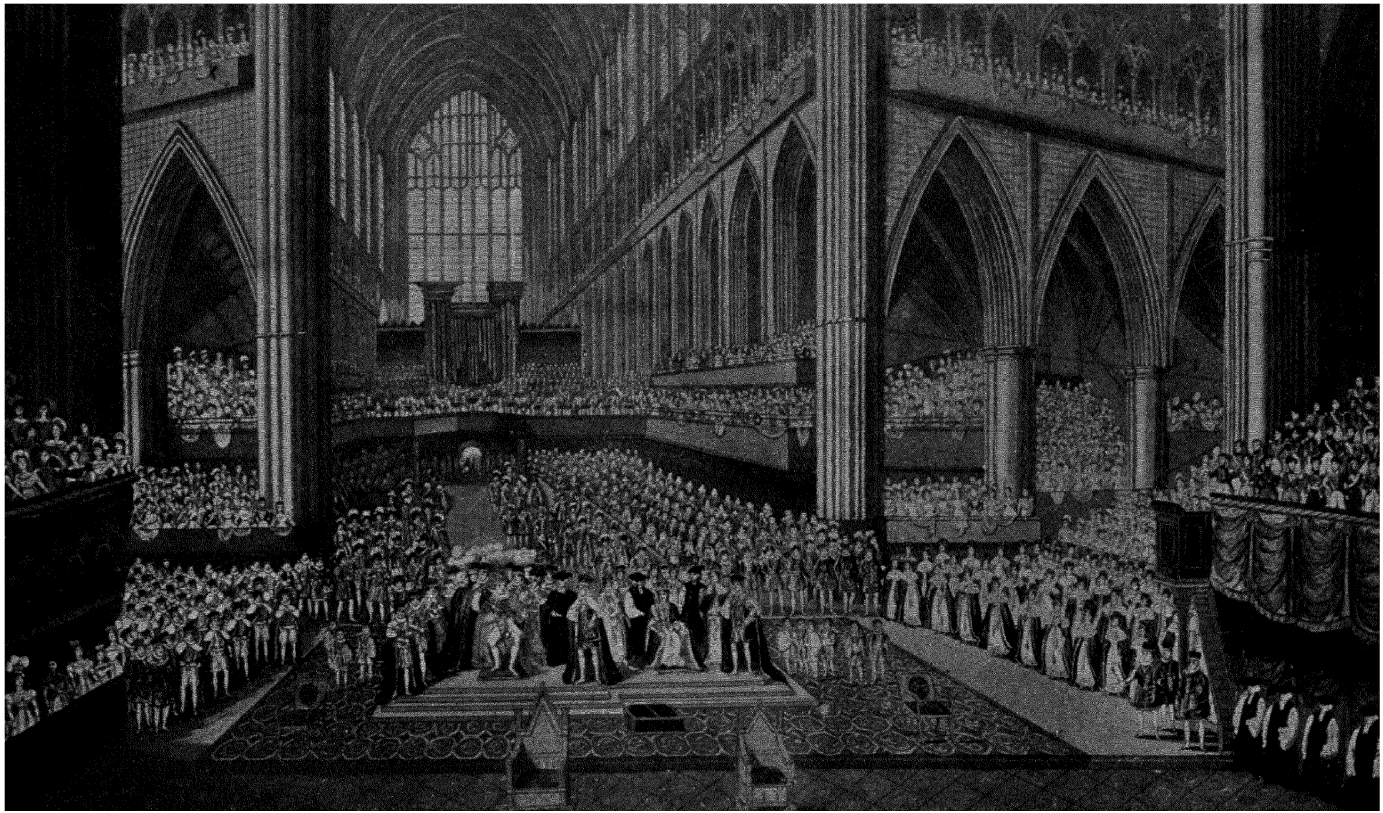
The third son of George III., William IV., the "Sailor King," succeeded to the throne of Great Britain and Ireland on the death of his eldest brother, George IV., in 1830, and along with his consort, Adelaide, the eldest daughter of the Duke of Saxe-Meiningen, whom he married in 1818, he was crowned on September 8th, 1831.

From the drawing by George Cattermole

character. The Tories, although for a moment under a cloud, soon recovered their spirits and a certain measure of influence in the country. Under the leadership of Peel, they adopted the new name of Conservatives, and shook off the instinct of dogged and unreasoning obstruction. Peel was unable to procure a majority in the House of Commons when first invited by the king to form a Ministry, and accordingly left Melbourne and the Whigs in 1835 to carry on the government. But political opinion was swinging round to his side; he obtained a majority in 1841. So far the unforeseen had happened. On the other hand, the work of remedial legislation proceeded with vigour whether the Whigs were in or out of office. In fact both parties had become possessed by the idea that their main business was to devise and carry sweeping measures. Legislation was regarded as the worthiest function of a sovereign assembly; it seemed as though there could never be too much of legislation. Experience has brought a decline of faith in the panacea. But it must be admitted that for twenty years the new Parliament had necessary work to perform in the way of legislation, and performed it with admirable skill. A few of the more important measures may be mentioned.

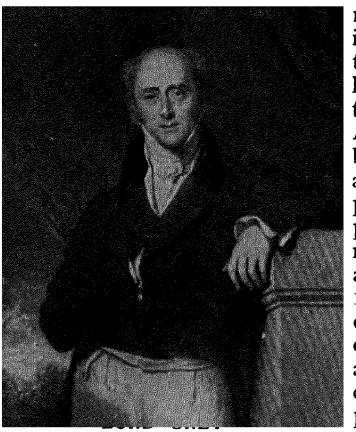
The Busy Days of Legislation

The Emancipation Act of 1833 completed a work of philanthropy which had been commenced in 1807. The Ministry of All the Talents had abolished the slave trade. The new Act emancipated all the slaves who were still to be found in British colonies, and awarded the owners the sum of twenty millions as a compensation. Costly as the measure was for the mother country, it was still more costly for the colonies. The sugar industry of the West Indies had been built up with the help of slave labour. The planters lost heavily through being compelled to emancipate the slave for a sum which was much less than his market value, and the black population showed a strong disinclination to become labourers for hire. This was particularly the case in the larger islands, where land was abundant and a squatter could obtain a sustenance with little or no labour. The prosperity of Jamaica was destroyed, and the West Indies as a whole have never been prosperous since 1834.



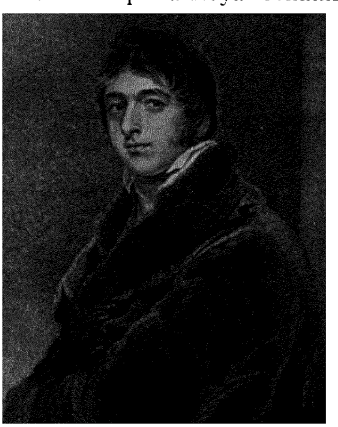
THE CORONATION OF WILLIAM IV. AND QUEEN ADELAIDE AT WESTMINSTER ABBEY ON SEPTEMBER 8TH, 1831

Free trade completed their ruin, since they had only maintained the sugar trade with the help of the preferential treatment which they received from England. The basis of their former wealth was wholly artificial, and it is unlikely that slavery and protection will ever be restored for their benefit; but it may be regretted that the necessary and salutary reforms of which they have been the victims could not have been more gradually applied in their case.



A distinguished statesman, he succeeded his father in 1807 as the second Earl Grey; in the first reformed Parliament he was at the head of a powerful party, and passed the Act abolishing slavery in the colonies. He died in 1845.

For the new Poor Law of 1834 there can be nothing but praise. It ended a system which for more than a generation had been a national curse, demoralising the labourer, encouraging improvidence and immorality, taxing all classes for the benefit of the small farmer and employer whom the misplaced philanthropy of the legislature had enabled to cut down wages below the margin of subsistence. Up to the year 1795 the English Poor Law had been, save for one serious defect, sound in principle. The defect was the Law of Settlement, first laid down by an Act of 1662, which enabled the local authorities to prevent the migration of labour from one parish to another, unless security could be given that the immigrant would not become a charge upon the poor rate.



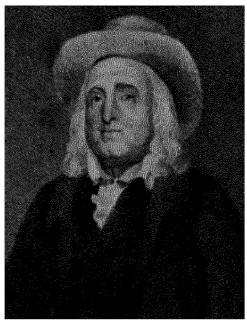
LORD MELBOURNE

Twice Premier, he was in office at the accession of Queen Victoria in 1837. He was an "indolent opportunist," and "kept his place in the early years of Queen Victoria chiefly through the favour of the young queen." He died in 1848.

The result of this law had been to stereotype local inequalities in the rate of wages and to take from the labourer the chief means of bettering his position. It was mitigated in 1795 to the extent that the labourer could be no longer sent back until he actually became a charge upon the rates. But about the same time the justices of the peace began the practice of giving poor-relief in aid of wages, and of making relief proportionate to the size of the applicant's family. This practice was confirmed by the Speenham-land Act of 1796. The legislature acted thus in part from motives of philanthropy, in part under the belief that the increase of population was in every way to be encouraged. The Act was at once followed by a drop in the rate of agricultural wages and a portentous increase of poor-rates. In 1783 poor-relief cost the country about £2,000,000: by 1817 this sum had been quadrupled. The evils of the new system were augmented by the absence of any central authority possessing power to enforce uniform principles and methods of relief. The proposal to introduce such an authority, and in other respects to revive the leading ideas of the Elizabethan Poor Law, was made by a Royal Commission after the most careful investigations. The new Poor Law, 1834, embodied the principal suggestions of the commissioners. It provided that the workhouse test should be once more rigidly applied to all able-bodied paupers; that parishes should be grouped in poor-law unions; that each parish should contribute to the expenditure of the union in proportion to the numbers of its paupers; and that a central board should be appointed to control the system. The new Poor Law is still in force, so far as its main principles of administration are concerned. But there have been changes in the constitution of the central authority, by Acts of 1847, 1871, and 1894. The Poor-law Board has been merged in the Local Government Board; and the

Boards of Guardians, which control the local distribution of relief, are now democratic bodies, whereas, under the original Act the justices of the peace held office as ex-officio members.

The Poor Law Act was followed by others for the reform of municipal government in 1835, of the Irish tithe system in 1838, and for the introduction of the penny post in 1839. The new Poor Law and the new municipal system were also applied to Ireland by special legislation. But larger questions slumbered until the formation of great political societies forced them upon the unwilling attention of Ministers and both Houses of Parliament.



JEREMY BENTHAM
A great writer and thinker, many social and political reforms which characterised the early Victorian era were suggested by him.

The period of 1840-1850 was peculiarly favourable to the democratic agitator. The Reform Whigs had maintained themselves in power till the death of William IV. But their majority was small, and their chief leader, Melbourne, an indolent opportunist. He kept his place in the early years of Queen Victoria chiefly through the favour of the young queen. The Conservatives, impatient for a return to power, were disposed to bid against the Whigs for popular favour. Neither party desired extreme reform. Lord John Russell expressed the general sentiment when he stated his conviction that the Reform Bill had been the final step in the direction of democracy. But neither party was strong enough to resist external pressure. The rise of the Chartist organisation in 1838 seemed likely, therefore, to produce sweeping changes. It was recruited from the labouring classes and animated by hostility to capital. It proposed the establishment of radical democracy as a panacea for the wrongs of workmen. The five points of the people's charter were manhood suffrage, voting by ballot, annual parliaments, payment of members, and the abolition of the property qualification for membership. These demands were supported in the House of Commons by the philosophic Radicals, among whom Grote, the historian, was



THE REFORM RIOTS AT BRISTOL IN OCTOBER, 1831
From the drawing by L. Haghe



DESTRUCTION OF THE HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT ON OCTOBER 16TH, 1834

This graphic scene depicts the destruction by fire, on October 16th, 1834, of the Houses of Parliament, the picture being made by the artist from a sketch taken by him by the light of the flames at the end of Abingdon Street.

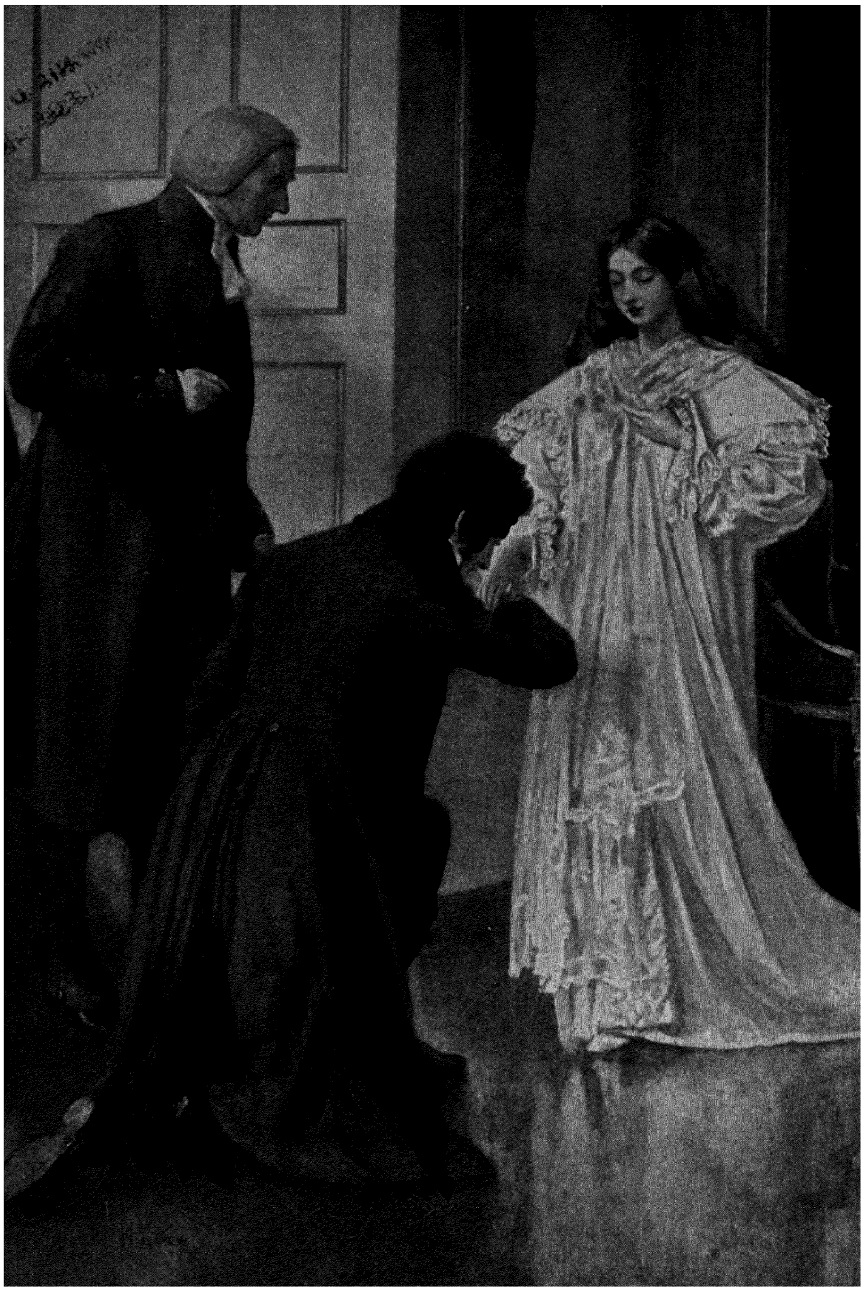
From the drawing by William Heath

the most conspicuous, while in Feargus O'Connor the Chartists possessed a popular orator of no mean order. The House of Commons refused to consider the first petition of the Chartists in 1839. The refusal was, however, followed by riots in various localities; and a second attempt was made to move Parliament in 1842, when the Conservatives, under Peel, had wrested power from the Whigs. But the new Ministers were no more pliable than the old; and a series of prosecutions against prominent Chartists forced the movement to assume a subterranean character. Its influence was felt not only in England but in Wales, where it contributed to produce the Rebecca Riots, 1843. But the next occasion on which Chartism invaded the capital was in 1848, the year of revolutions. It was announced that half a million of Chartists would assemble at a given place on April 10th, and march in procession to lay their demands before the House of Commons. The danger seemed great; extensive military preparations were made under the old Duke of Wellington, and the authorities announced on the appointed day that they would use force,



KING WILLIAM IV.

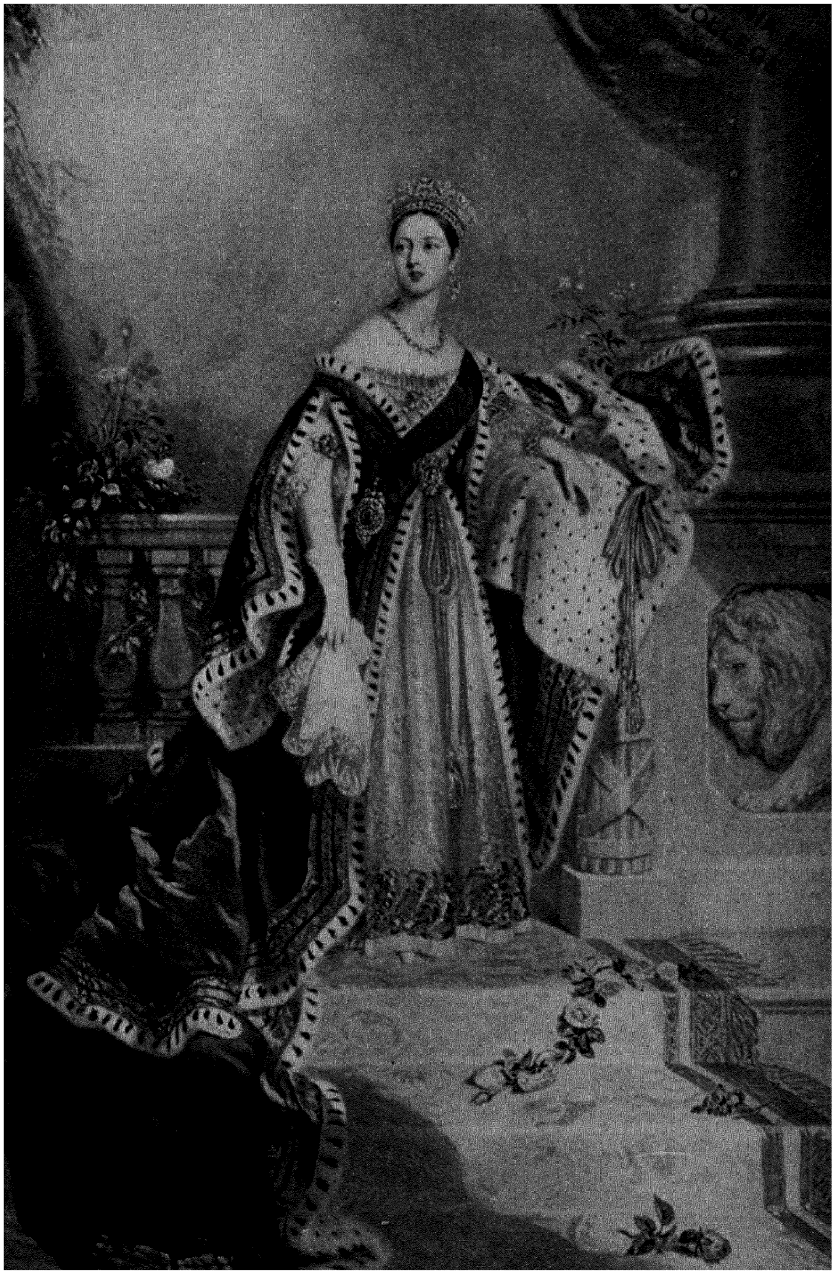
Though a Whig before his accession to the throne of Great Britain and Ireland in 1820, he became a Tory after his coronation, and used his influence to obstruct the passing of the first Reform Act in 1832. He died in 1837.



"YOUR MAJESTY!" : ANNOUNCING TO PRINCESS VICTORIA THE FACT OF HER ACCESSTON

On the death of King William IV. at Windsor Castle in 1837, his niece, Princess Victoria, succeeded to the throne. Riding through the night from Windsor to Kensington Palace, Dr. Howley, Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Marquess of Conyngham, Lord Chamberlain, awakened the young girl about five o'clock in the morning to tell her that she was Queen of Great Britain and Ireland. This dramatic incident is admirably represented in the above picture.

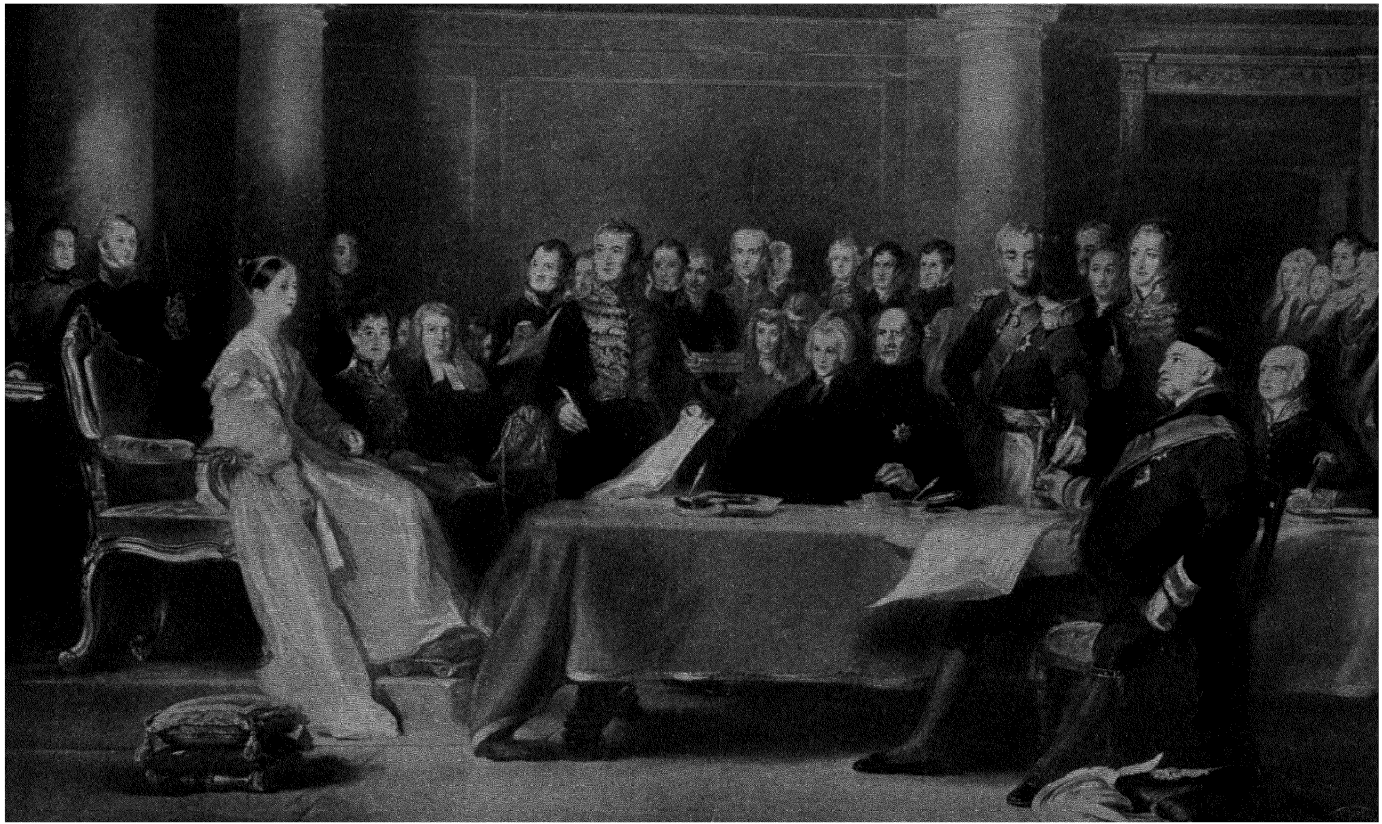
From the painting by Mary L. Gow, by permission of the Berlin Photographic Co.



QUEEN VICTORIA IN HER CORONATION ROBES

Succeeding to the throne in 1837, at the early age of eighteen years, Queen Victoria was crowned i Westminster Abbey on June 28th, 1838. The youthful queen of Great Britain and Ireland is in this pictu represented in her coronation robes, standing in the dawn of the longest and most glorious reign in the nation's histor

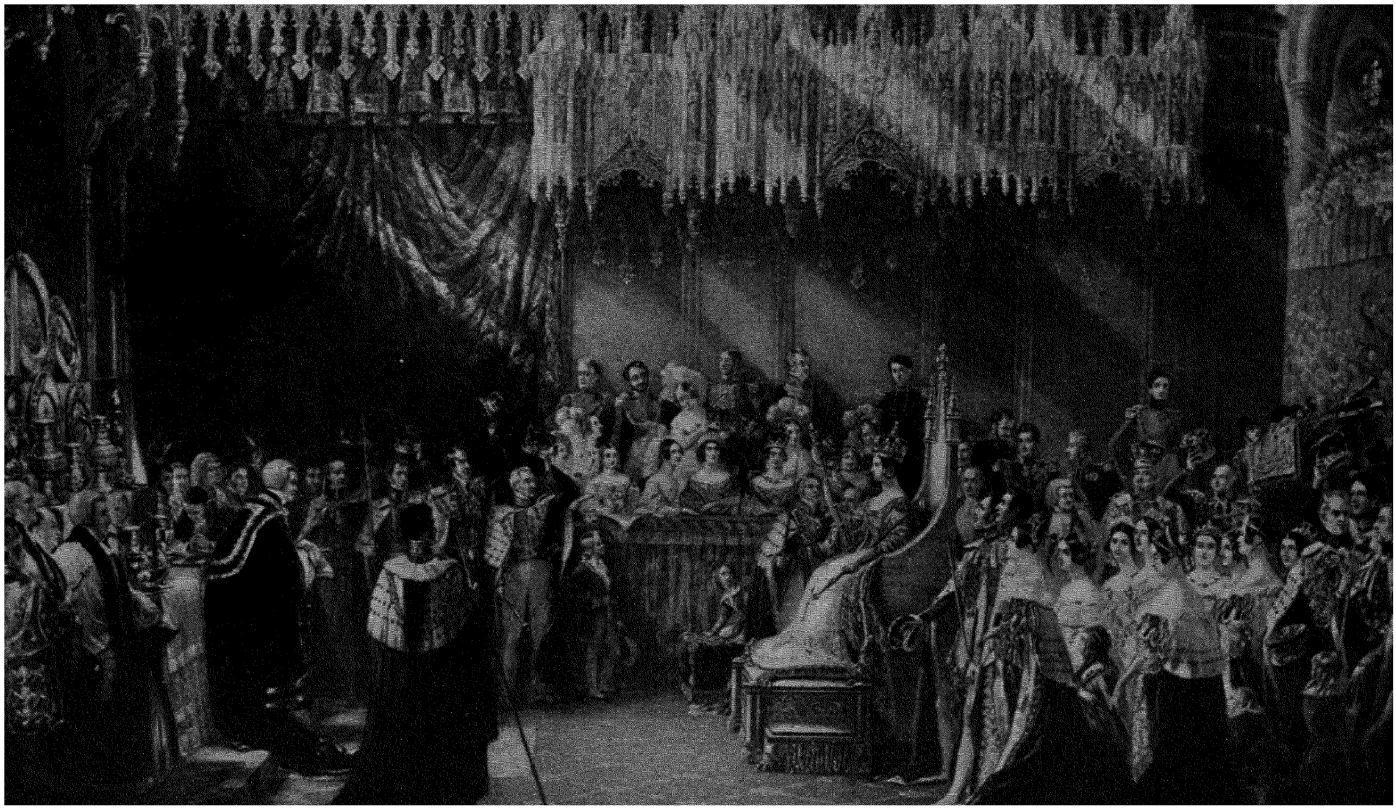
From the painting by Sir George Hayter



THE FIRST **COUNCIL** OF QUEEN VICTORIA, AT **KENSINGTON** PALACE ON JUNE 21ST, 1837

The first act of the young queen after her accession was to summon a council of her Ministers and chiefs "to receive their homage and to give her Royal assurance of maintaining the constitutions of her kingdoms." Among the illustrious personages included in the above famous picture are the Duke of Wellington, Lord John Russell, and Lord Palmerston.

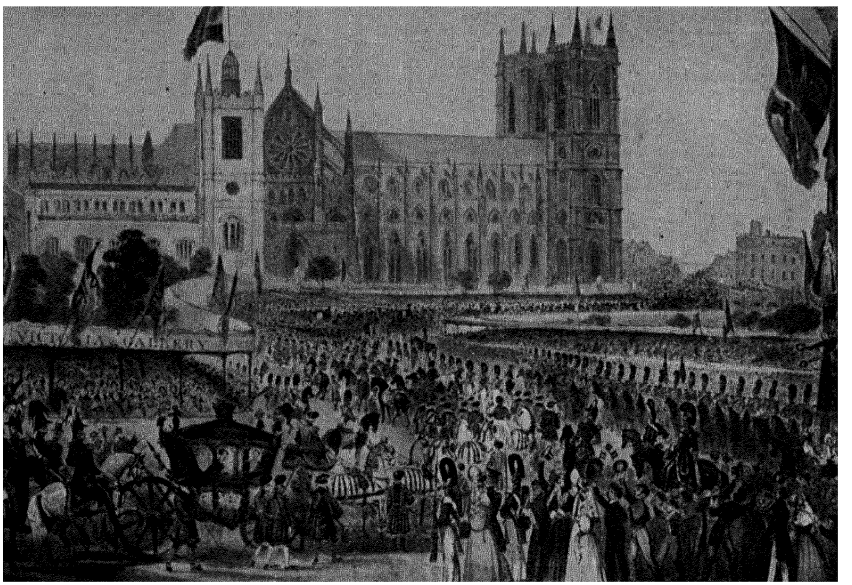
From the painting by Sir David Wilkie, R.A.



THE CORONATION OF QUEEN VICTORIA: THE HISTORIC SCENE IN WESTMINSTER ABBEY ON JUNE 28TH, 1838
From the painting by Sir George Hayter

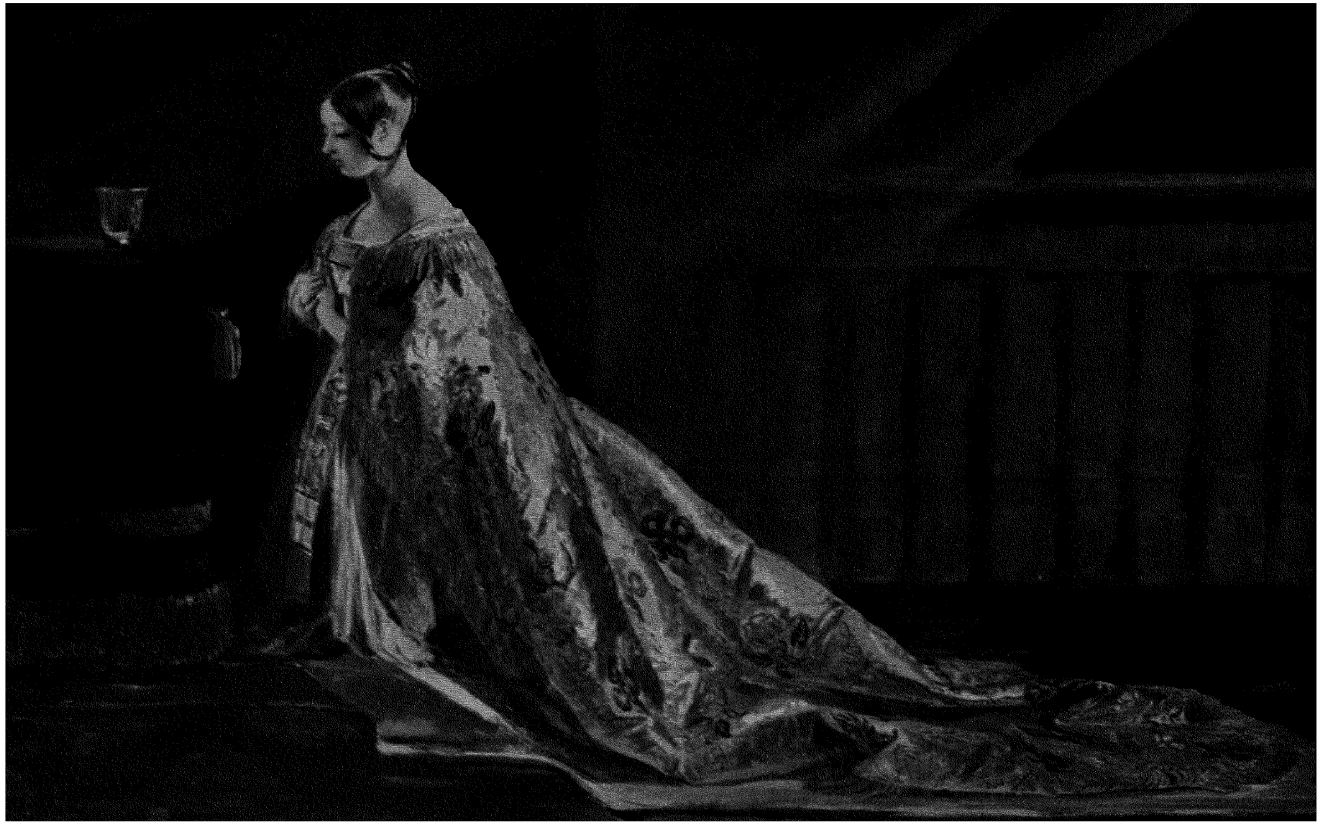
if necessary, to check the march of the procession. The Chartist leaders were cowed, and contented themselves with submitting their petition for the third time. A large number of the signatures, which had been estimated at 5,000,000, turned out to be fictitious; and amidst the ridicule excited by this discovery the Charter and Chartists slipped into oblivion.

The collapse of Chartism was significant, for the great Chartist demonstration was contemporaneous with a series of revolutionary movements on the Continent. It meant that in England the people at large declined to believe in physical force as the necessary means to attaining political reforms, preferring the methods of constitutional agitation. Chartism dissolved itself in the fiasco of 1848. But the political demands of the Chartists were adopted by constitutional reformers, and were in great part conceded during the following half century—though they have not brought the millennium. The episode emphasised the sobriety of the masses; and the result was probably in measure due to the improvement in the conditions of the industrial population owing to the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846. We have remarked that the Corn Laws were the product of the great war. They had been established for the protection of the agricultural interest, and had altogether excluded foreign corn from the English market except while the price of English corn stood above eighty shillings, so that the price of bread was maintained at a very high figure. A modification had been introduced, by which duties were imposed on foreign corn, in place of the import being prohibited, while home-grown corn stood below eighty shillings, the amount of the duty falling as the price of English corn rose, and vice versa.



THE CORONATION PROCESSION OF QUEEN VICTORIA
From the drawing by Champion

But this did not remove the obvious fact that the cost of the staple food of the working classes was kept high artificially, in order to benefit or preserve the agricultural interest. Apart from philanthropic considerations — though these carried their due weight in many quarters — the capitalist manufacturers, now the dominant power in the House of Commons, began to perceive that if the price of bread fell the operatives could live on a lower money wage, that the wages bill would be lowered, and with it the cost of production; that is to say, the middle classes saw that their own interests would be served by the abolition of the Corn Laws.

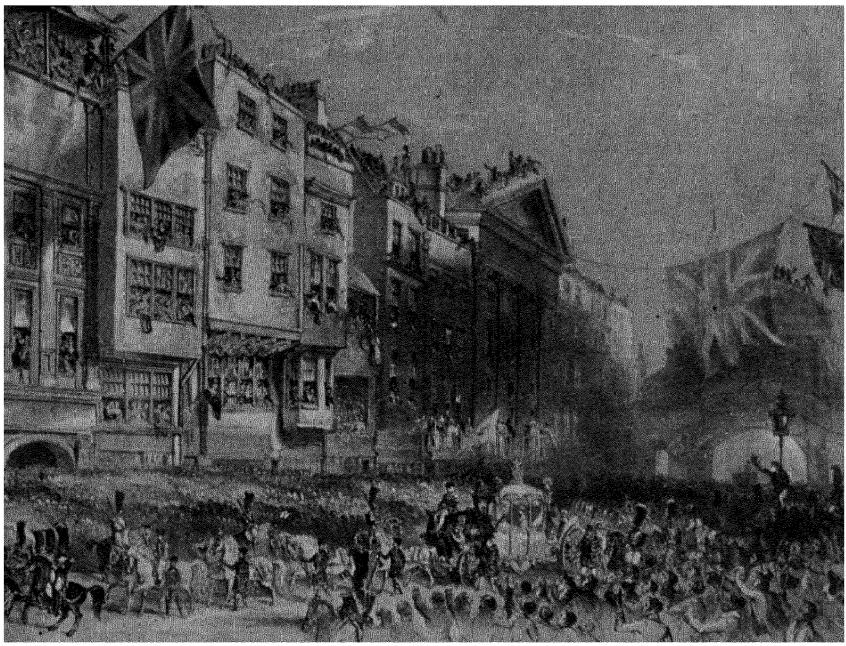


QUEEN VICTORIA IN HER CORONATION ROBES, 1838

From the painting by C. R. Leslie, R.A.

TO FACE PAGE 4817

The Anti-Corn Law League, first formed in 1838, owed its existence to a serious depression of the manufacturing industries. Cobden, Bright, and others of the leading organisers were philanthropists who saw the iniquity of artificially maintaining the price of food when wages were low and employment uncertain. They recruited their supporters to a great extent among the starving operatives of the North and Midlands. But the funds for the Free Trade campaign were largely supplied by manufacturers. There was no thought of giving to the masses the franchise as a means of self-protection. Accordingly, the extreme Chartists hated the Free Traders, and openly opposed their propaganda, on the ground that the charter would secure to the people all, and more than all, that was hoped from the repeal of the Corn Laws. The class character of the Free Trade agitation was a source of weakness, because the working-class agitators did not believe that the labouring class would benefit by it; while the landed interest saw in it their own prospective ruin. The working classes, however, were not convinced by the Chartist doctrine, and felt that if bread were cheaper life would be easier. An Irish famine completed the conversion of the Conservative leader, Sir Robert Peel, who had already been agitating his party for Free Trade measures and the removal or reduction of duties protecting British industries. He took a number of his colleagues with him, but not the party as a whole. Peelites and Whigs together carried the repeal of the Corn Laws, but had hardly done so when the Protectionists and extreme Radicals combined to defeat the Ministry, and Peel's career as Prime Minister was closed. The Whigs, supported by Peelites, assumed the government, and were presently combined in the Liberal party.

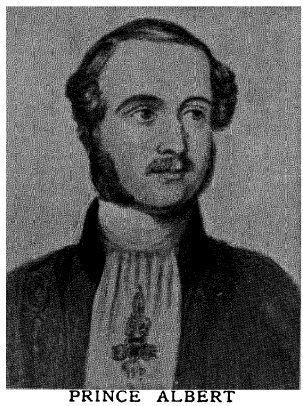


QUEEN VICTORIA'S FIRST OFFICIAL VISIT TO THE CITY OF LONDON

The first official visit of Queen Victoria to the City of London was on Lord Mayor's Day, November 9th, 1837, and in this picture her carriage is seen passing Temple Bar on the way to the Guildhall. The picture is interesting not only on account of its historic value, but also by reason of the glimpse which it gives of a part of London now entirely altered.

Colonial development has been dealt with in detail elsewhere; but certain points must here be noticed. During the period under consideration nearly the whole of the Indian peninsula passed under the British dominion as a result of the great Mahratta

war; while the first Burmese war added territories beyond the Bay of Bengal. Under Bentinck's rule, progress was made in the organisation of administration and the development of education. On the north-west, however, the aggression of Persia, more or less under the ægis of Russia, produced British intervention in the affairs of Afghanistan, with disastrous consequences, of which the evil effects were at any rate diminished by the skilful operations of Pollock and Knott. In the same decade, however, the British supremacy was challenged by the Sikh army of the Punjab. Beaten in the first struggle, the Sikhs were renewing their challenge in 1848, when Lord Dalhousie arrived in India to take up the gage of battle and extend the British dominion, in 1849, over the Land of the Five Rivers up to the mountain passes, thus completing the ring-fence of mountain and ocean girdling the British Empire in India.



PRINCE ALBERT

The younger son of the Duke of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, Prince Albert first met Queen Victoria in 1836. They fell in love, and were married in 1840, the Prince then receiving the title of Royal Highness.

In Australia the settlements, which at first had been penal in character, were assuming the form of true colonies, but were not yet emancipated. In South Africa, transferred to Great Britain as a result of the Napoleonic war, a part of the Dutch population—partly in consequence of the abolition of slavery—began during the fourth decade of the century to remove itself beyond the sphere of British interference, and to found the communities which developed into the Orange Free State and the Transvaal Republic.

The Union of British Colonies

It was, however, almost at the moment of Queen Victoria's accession that dissatisfaction with the existing system in the colonies of Upper and Lower Canada, which had been established in the time of the younger Pitt, reached an acute stage, issuing in insurrection and in the dispatch of the epoch-making commission of Lord Durham. The report of the commissioner was the starting-point virtually of a new theory of colonial relations. It led directly to the Act of Reunion of 1842, which was gradually followed by the federal union of all the British colonies in North America, with the exception of Newfoundland, as states of the Canadian Dominion. The foundation was laid for that system under which the colony was no longer to be treated as a subordinate section of the empire, but was to receive full responsible government—a government, that is, in which the Ministers are responsible to the representative assemblies as Ministers in England are responsible to Parliament; to become, in fact, *mutatis mutandis*, a counterpart of the United Kingdom, practically independent except in matters affecting war and peace. Canada, indeed, did not immediately achieve this status even after the Act of Reunion; but that Act may be regarded as initiating the change which has since been carried out in nearly all the British colonies where the white population has ceased to bear the character of a garrison. Of the religious movements in this period some account will be found in a later chapter of this section. But we have still to review here a development of English literature which has no parallel except in the Shakespearean era, for the beginnings of which we must go back to the Revolution epoch.

During three-fourths of the eighteenth century, classicalism had dominated prose and poetry alike. In place of poems, satires, epigrams, admirable essays and dissertations in verse had been produced in abundance in strict accord with rigid conventions; no scope had been granted to the lyrical utterance of passion, and spontaneity had been repressed as barbaric or at least impolite. But the spirit which was rousing itself to a stormy attack on social and political conventions was not to spare the conventions of literature. These were, indeed, set at naught by the lyrical genius of Robert Burns, whose first volume of poems appeared in 1786. Burns, however, was not a pioneer in the true sense—consciously promulgating a new theory. Essentially his work was the most splendid expression of a poetical type which had always flourished in Scotland outside the realms

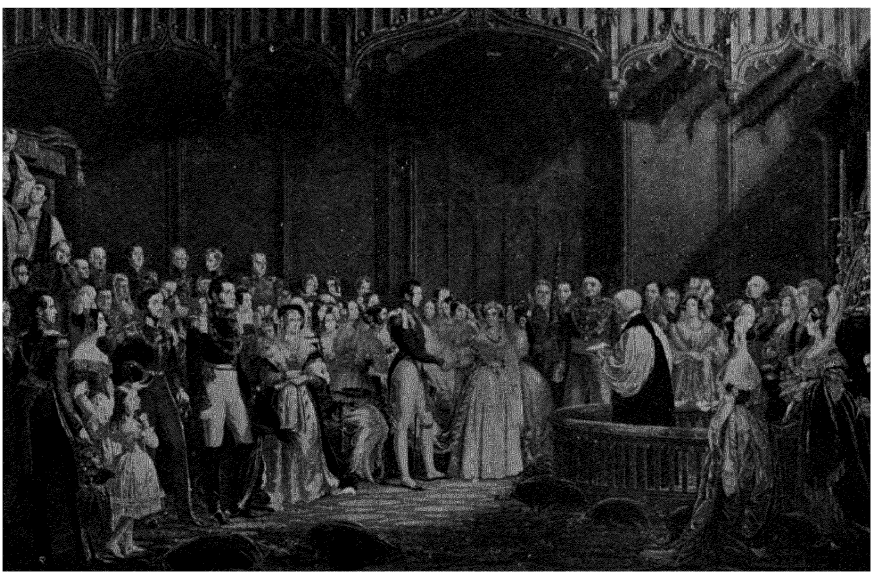
The Genius of Robert Burns

of polite literature. But its power and fascination arrested attention, and carried the conviction that subjects forbidden by the critics as vulgar were capable of treatment which was undeniably poetical. He demonstrated anew that the poet's true function is to appeal to the emotions of men, and that this may be done through the medium of language which is not at all cultured. Unlike Burns, however, the so-called "Lake School" of Wordsworth and Coleridge were conscious exponents of a theory which defied the critical dogmas of the day. But Coleridge's practice contradicted a part of his own theory, and when Wordsworth acted upon it in its entirety, he did not write poetry. Their revolt against artificial language and artificial restrictions of subject led them virtually to affirm that the best poetry may treat of commonplace matters in commonplace language.

A Group of Great Poets

The paradox becomes obvious when we perceive that Coleridge is never commonplace, and that it is precisely when he is not commonplace that Wordsworth is great, though unfortunately he never recognised that truth himself. The familiar fact must yield the unfamiliar thought; the familiar terms must combine in the unfamiliar phrases which stamp themselves upon the mind. The current criticism erred, not in condemning the commonplace, but in identifying the commonplace with the superficially familiar, and treating conventions as fundamental laws of art. That these were errors was conclusively proved by the practice rather than by the critical expositions of the Lake school. The volume of "Lyrical Ballads," which contained "Tintern Abbey" and the "Ancient Mariner," was a sufficient refutation of the orthodox doctrines.

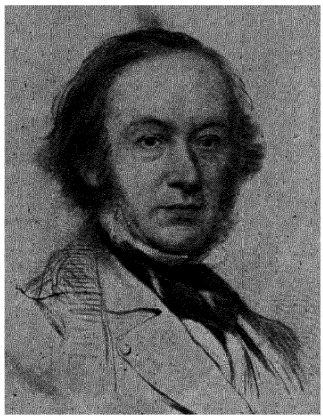
The poetical work which was produced in the twenty-six years which passed between the publication of the "Lyrical Ballads," 1798, and the death of Byron, 1824, travelled far enough from the standards of the eighteenth century. Within that period Sir Walter Scott adapted the old ballad form to metrical narrative, and turned men's minds back to revel in the gorgeous aspect of the Middle Ages, somewhat forgetful of their ugly side. Byron burst upon the public, an avowed rebel, whose tragic poses were unfortunately only too easy of imitation



A ROYAL ROMANCE: THE MARRIAGE OF QUEEN VICTORIA IN 1840

The interesting ceremony represented in the above picture took place at the Chapel Royal, St. James's, on February 10th, 1840. Queen Victoria was then in her twenty-first year, while Prince Albert was three months her junior.

by a host of self-conscious rhymesters, and gave vice a morbid picturesqueness; but redeemed himself by the genuineness of his passion for liberty, and died at Missolonghi fighting for the liberation of Greece. Shelley, a rebel of another kind, shocked the world by his Promethean defiance of an unjust God, of tyranny in every form, but was, in fact, the prophet not of atheism and materialism, but of an intensely spiritual pantheism; the most ethereal, most intangible, most exquisite among the masters of song. John Keats died when he was only five-and-twenty, but he had already lived long enough to win for himself a secure place in the elysium of "poets dead and gone." His poetry is the practical expression of his own dictum: "Beauty in truth, truth beauty; that is all ye know on earth, and all ye need to know." Among great English poets there is no other whose work is so devoid of all ethical element, none in whom the sense of pure beauty is so overmastering or its rendering more perfect.



RICHARD COBDEN

"The Apostle of Free Trade," he denounced as iniquitous artificially to maintain the price of food when wages were low and employment uncertain, and to his labours was largely due the abolition of the Corn Laws in 1846.

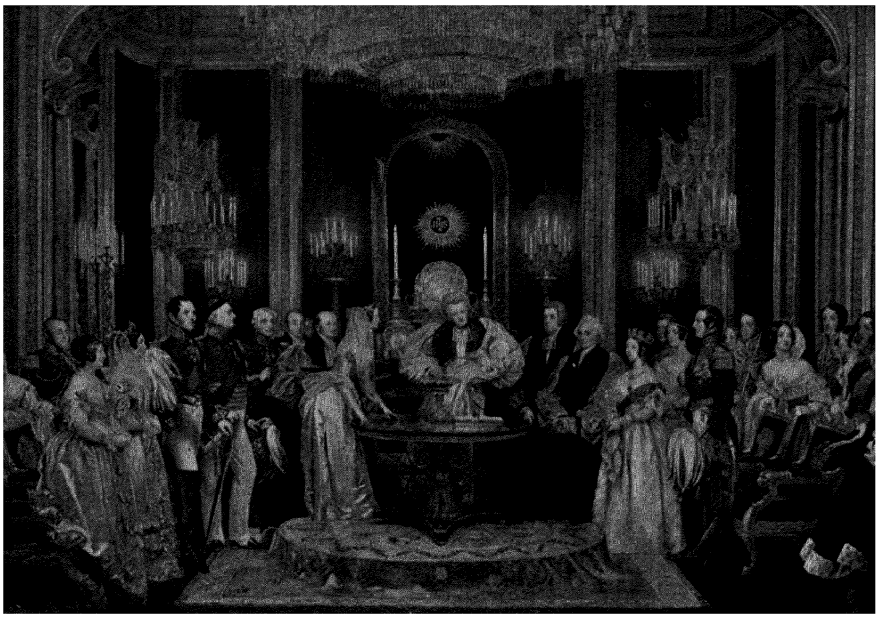
Among the poets whom we have named, Byron's influence alone was European; but that influence pales by the side of Walter Scott's in the realm of prose romance. There were novelists before Scott, but it was he who gave to the novel that literary predominance which at one time characterised the drama. Practically it was he who revealed the capacities of prose romance for the portrayal of character and of picturesque incident, through the amazing achievement of the series of "Waverley Novels," whereof the first appeared in 1814. Before the close of our period, the genius of Charles Dickens had already developed a new type of the novelist's art, in the "Pickwick Papers"; but his great contemporary and rival, William Makepeace Thackeray, had not yet achieved fame in this field. The Bronte sisters, however, with "Wuthering Heights" and "Jane Eyre," 1847, had just given convincing proof, if any were needed after Jane Austen, Scott's contemporary, that the novel is a literary instrument which woman can handle as successfully as man. By that time all the great poets of the Revolution era had passed away, save Wordsworth, who was all but an octogenarian; but the stars of Tennyson and Browning had already appeared above the horizon.

The time of ferment which produced this outburst of literary activity was also responsible for two new movements of English thought, the utilitarian and the idealist. Utilitarianism is the sceptical and inductive spirit of such eighteenth-century thinkers as David Hume, applied to the study of morals and social institutions. The movement began with the French Encyclopædists: it came to England through Jeremy Bentham, 1748–1832, than whom no man has exercised a more far-reaching influence on the thought or government of modern England. Most of the social and political reforms which characterise the early Victorian era were suggested by Bentham. His two great works, the "Fragment on Government," 1776, and the "Principles of Morals and Legislation," 1789, belong chronologically to the age of the Revolution; but it was only in later life that Bentham became a prophet among his own people. His greatest disciple was



JOHN BRIGHT

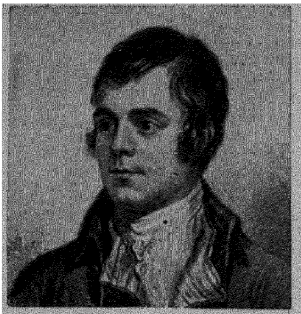
Along with Cobden and others in the agitation against the Corn Laws, John Bright used his great eloquence both in Parliament and on the public platform to further the cause of Free Trade. He held office in later Ministries.



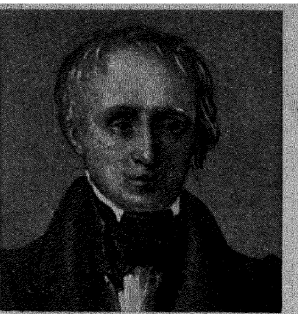
THE CHRISTENING OF THE PRINCESS ROYAL AT BUCKINGHAM PALACE IN 1840
From the paintin by C. R. Leslie



CHRISTENING THE PRINCE OF WALES, THE PRESENT KING EDWARD, IN 1841
From the painting by Sir George Hayter



Robert Burns, 1759–96



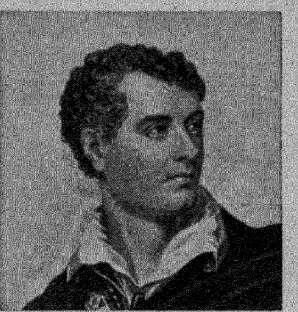
William Wordsworth, 1770–1850



S. T. Coleridge, 1772–1834



Jane Austen, 1775–1817



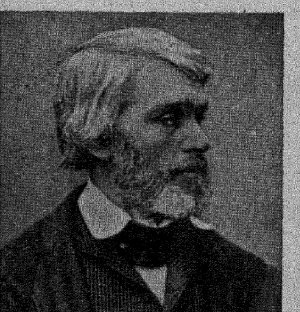
Lord Byron, 1788–1824



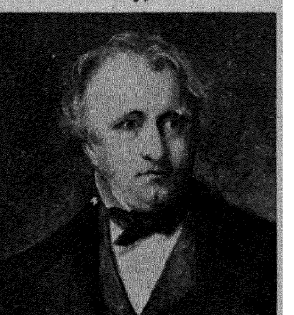
P. B. Shelley, 1792–1822



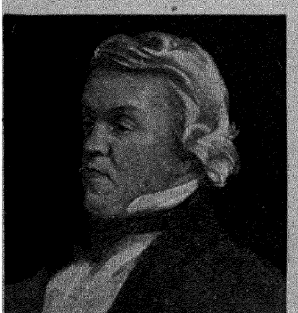
John Keats, 1795–1821



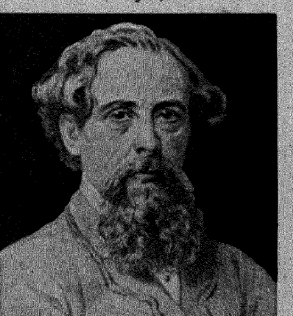
Thomas Carlyle, 1795–1881



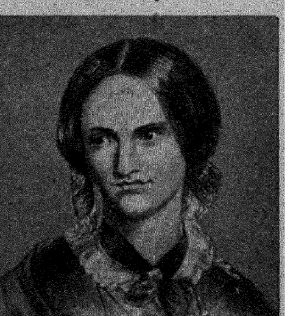
Lord Macaulay, 1800–59



W. M. Thackeray, 1811–63



Charles Dickens, 1812–70

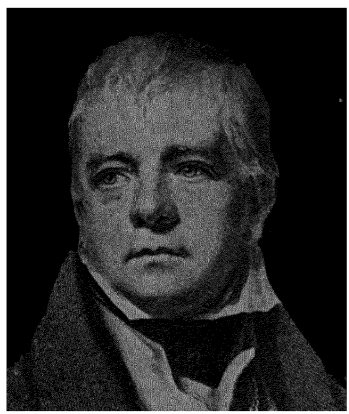


Charlotte Bronte, 1816–55

GREAT MEN AND WOMEN OF LETTERS FROM BURNS TO CHARLOTTE BRONTE

John Stuart Mill, 1806–1873, whose versatile genius never showed to more advantage than when he was handling social questions in Bentham's spirit. Mill was not so rigorous a thinker as Bentham; but the moral enthusiasm of the younger man, his power of exposition, and his susceptibility to the best ideas of his time, gave him the respectful attention of all thoughtful minds. What Bentham did for the theory of legislation, Mill did for the theory of wealth. Mill's "Political Economy," 1848, although largely based upon the investigations of Adam Smith, Ricardo, and Malthus, marks an era in the history of that science. Mill was the first to define with accuracy the proper limits of economic study. He originated a number of new theories. He diagnosed the economic evils of his time and suggested practical remedies. Above all, however, he was the first to see the parts of economic science in their true proportions and to connect them as an ordered whole. The tendency of modern thought is to belittle the deductive school of economists which Mill represents; but his claim to be regarded as the classic of that school has never been disputed. Similarly, by his later writings on "Liberty," 1859, and "Representative Government," 1860, he became the accredited exponent of English Liberalism; while his essay on "Utilitarianism," 1861, by giving a larger and less material interpretation to Bentham's formula, "the greatest happiness of the greatest number," did much to bring out the common basis of belief on which Liberals and idealists have conducted their long controversy.

The idealist movement begins with Coleridge, whose philosophic writings, notably the "Aids to Reflection," published in 1825, although fragmentary and unsystematic, are the first sign of a reaction among English metaphysicians against Hume's disintegrating criticism. In a diluted and theological form the new tenets formed the intellectual stock in trade of the Tractarians, whose attempt to imbue Anglican dogmas with a new significance and to destroy the insularity of the Established Church is the most remarkable phenomenon in the religious history of modern England. The idealists found a powerful though erratic ally in Thomas Carlyle, 1795–1881. In literature a romantic of the most lawless sort, unequalled in power of phrase, in pictorial imagination, and in dramatic humour, but totally deficient in architectonic skill, Carlyle wrote one history, "The French Revolution," 1837, and two biographies, "Cromwell," 1845, "Frederick the Great," 1858–1865, of surpassing interest. But his most characteristic utterances are to be found in "Sartor Resartus," 1833, and "Heroes and Hero-Worship," 1841, the first a biting attack upon formalism and dogma, the second a vindication of the importance of individual genius in maintaining and in reforming the social fabric. Carlyle's gospel of labour and silence, and his preference for the guidance of instinct as opposed to that of conscious reflection, have exercised a great, though indeterminate, influence upon many thinkers who are unconscious of their debt to him.



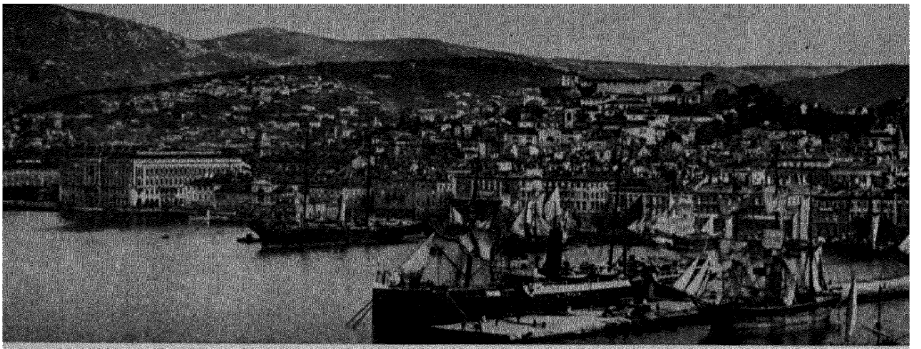
SIR WALTER SCOTT

As poet and novelist Scott occupies a unique place among the world's writers. From his fertile pen came a rich library of stirring tales all aglow with the magic of romance and revealing a creative genius unmatched since Shakespeare. Born in 1771, he died in 1832.

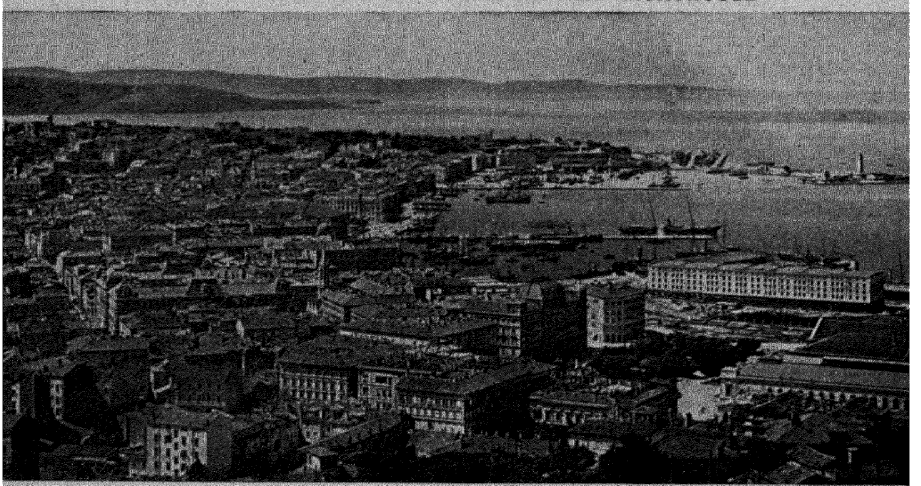
Carlyle's characteristics can hardly be brought out more vividly than by placing his work beside that of Thomas Babington Macaulay, no idealist, but a typical Whig, whose clear-cut antithetical style made him the past-master of popular exposition, and the still prevalent model for the essayist and the historian.

Finally, we note the appearance of John Ruskin, whose "Modern Painters" began to appear in 1842. Entering the literary field primarily as a critic of the arts of painting and architecture, Ruskin extended his criticism, constructive and destructive, to literature and economics, the essential characteristic of his teaching being insistence on the ethical basis of all human energies: teaching expressed with unsurpassed eloquence.

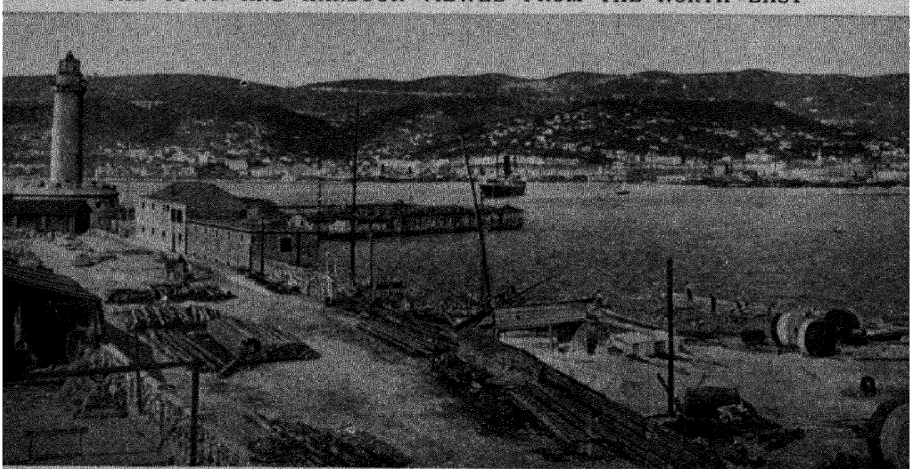
H. W. C. DAVIS; A. D. INNES



AS SEEN FROM THE FANALE MARITTIMO LIGHTHOUSE



THE TOWN AND HARBOUR VIEWED FROM THE NORTH-EAST



THE FINE ANCHORAGE, WITH THE TOWN IN THE BACKGROUND

TRIESTE, THE CHIEF SEAPORT OF AUSTRIA-HUNGARY

THE RE-MAKING OF EUROPE



EUROPE AFTER WATERLOO III

THE REACTION IN CENTRAL EUROPE AND THE ASCENDANCY OF METTERNICH

THE Austrian state, totally disorganised by the period of the French Revolution and Napoleonic wars, had nevertheless succeeded in rounding off its territories at the Congress of Vienna. In internal affairs Francis I. and Metternich tried as far as possible to preserve the old order of things; they wished for an absolute monarchy, and favoured the privileged classes. There was no more tenacious supporter of what was old, no more persistent observer of routine than the good Emperor Francis. He was an absolute ruler in the spirit of conservatism.

He saw a national danger in any movement of men's minds which deviated from the letter of his commands, hated from the first all innovations, and ruled his people from the Cabinet. He delighted to travel through his dominions, and receive the joyful greetings of his loyal subjects, since he laid the highest value on popularity; notwithstanding all his keenness of observation and his industry, he possessed no ideas of his own. Even Metternich was none too highly gifted in this respect. Francis made, at the most, only negative use of the abundance of his supreme power. Those who served him were bound to obey him blindly; but he lacked the vigour and strength of character for great and masterful actions; his thoughts and wishes were those of a permanent official. Like Frederic William III., he loathed independent characters, men of personal views, and he therefore treated his brothers Charles and John with unjustified distrust.

The Vain Emperor Francis

The only member of his family really acceptable to him was his youngest brother, the narrow-minded and characterless Lewis. On the other hand, Francis was solicitous for the spread of beneficial institutions, and for the regulation of the legal system; in 1811 he introduced the "Universal Civil Code," and in so doing completed the task begun by Maria Theresa and Joseph II. His chief defect was his love of trifling details, which deprived him of any comprehensive view of a subject; and his constant interference with the business of the Council of State prevented any systematic conduct of affairs.

Austria's High Position in Europe

Francis owed it to Metternich that Austria once more held the highest position in Europe; he was therefore glad to entrust him with the management of foreign policy while he contented himself with internal affairs. Metternich was the centre of European diplomacy; but he was only a diplomatist, no statesman like Kaunitz and Felix Schwarzenberg. He did not consolidate the new Austria for the future, but only tried to check the wheel of progress and to hold the reins with the assistance of his henchman Gentz; everything was to remain stationary.

The police zealously helped to maintain this principle of government, and prosecuted every free-thinker as suspected of democracy. Austria was in the fullest sense a country of police; it supported an army of "mouchards" and informers. The post-office officials disregarded the privacy of letters, spies watched teachers and students in the academies; even such loyal Austrians as Grillparzer and Zedlitz came into collision with the detectives. The censorship was blindly intolerant and pushed its interference to extremes. Public education, from the university down to the village school, suffered under the suspicious tutelage of the authorities; school and Church alike were unprogressive. The provincial estates, both in the newly-acquired and in the recovered Crown lands, were insignificant, leading, as a matter of fact, a shadowy existence, which reflected the depressed condition of the population. But Hungary, which, since the time when Maria Theresa was hard pressed, had insisted on its national

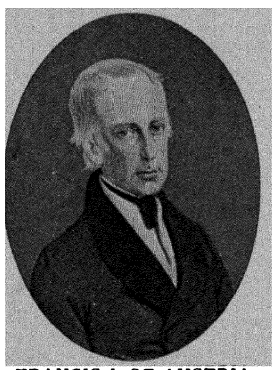
Reign of Suspicion and Espionage

independence, was not disposed to descend from its height to the general insignificance of the other Crown lands, and the Archduke Palatine, Joseph, thoroughly shared this idea. It was therefore certain that soon there would be an embittered struggle with the government at Vienna, which wished to render the constitution of Hungary as unreal as that of Carniola and Tyrol. The indignation found its expression chiefly in the assemblies of the counties, which boldly contradicted the arbitrary and stereotyped commands from Vienna, while a group of the nobility itself supported the view that the people, hitherto excluded from political life, should share in the movement. In the Reichstag of 1825 this group spoke very distinctly against the exclusive rule of the nobility. The violent onslaught of the Reichstag against the Government led, it is true, to no result; the standard-bearer of that group was Count Stephen Széchényi, whom his antagonist, Kossuth, called "the greatest of the Hungarians."

Széchényi "the Greatest of the Hungarians"

The Archduke Rainer, to whom the viceroyalty of the Italian possessions had been entrusted, was animated by the best intention of promoting the happiness of the Lombard-Venetian kingdom, and of familiarising the Italians with the Austrian rule; but he was so hampered by instructions from Vienna that he could not exercise any marked influence on the Government. The Italians would hear nothing of the advantages of the Austrian rule, opposed all "Germanisation," and prided themselves on their old nationality. Literature, the Press, and secret societies aimed at national objects and encouraged independence, while Metternich thought of an Italian confederation on the German model, and under the headship of Austria.

It was also very disastrous that the leading circles at Vienna regarded Italy as the chief support of the whole policy of the empire, and yet failed to understand the great diversity of social and political conditions in the individual states of the peninsula. Metternich, on the other hand, employed every forcible means to oppose the national wishes, which he regarded, both there and in Germany, as outcomes of the revolutionary spirit. Yet the hopes of the nations on both sides of the Alps were not being realised; the "Golden Age" had still to come.

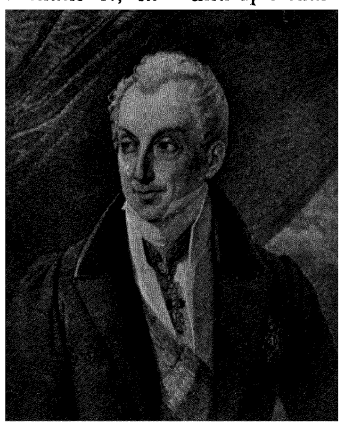


FRANCIS I. OF AUSTRIA
He succeeded his father, Leopold II., as Emperor of Germany, but in 1804 he renounced the title of German-Roman Emperor, retaining that of Emperor of Austria.

The condition of the Austrian finances was deplorable. Since the year 1811, when Count Joseph Wallis, the Finance Minister, had devised a system which reduced by one-fifth the nominal value of the paper money—which had risen to the amount of 1,060,000,000 gulden—permanent bankruptcy had prevailed. Silver disappeared from circulation, the national credit fell very low, and the revenue was considerably less than the expenditure, which was enormously increased by the long war. In the year 1814 Count Stadion, the former Minister of the Interior, undertook the thankless duties of Minister of Finance. He honestly exerted himself to improve credit, introduce a fixed monetary standard, create order on a consistent plan, and with competent colleagues to develop the economic resources of the nation. But various financial measures were necessary before the old paper money could be withdrawn en bloc, and silver once more put into circulation. New loans had to be raised, which increased the burden of interest, in the years 1816 to 1823, from 9,000,000 gulden to 24,000,000, and the annual expenditure for the national debt from 12,000,000 to 50,000,000. The National Bank, opened in 1817, afforded efficient help. If Stadion did not succeed in remodelling the system of indirect taxes, and if the reorganisation of the land-tax proceeded slowly, the attitude of Hungary greatly added to the difficulties of the position of the great Minister of reform, who died in May, 1824. The state of the Emperor Francis was naturally the Promised Land of custom-house restrictions and special tariffs; industry and trade were closely barred in. In vain did clear-headed politicians advise that all the hereditary dominions, excepting Hungary, should make one customs district; although the Government built commercial roads and canals,

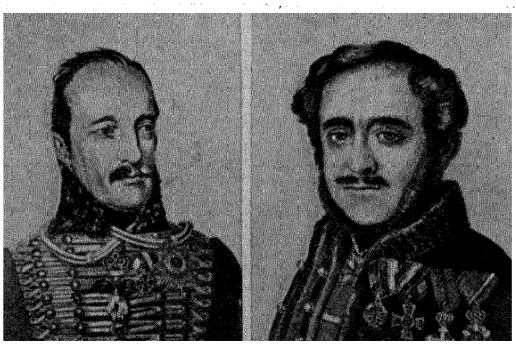
The Promised Land of Restrictions

still the trade of the empire with foreign countries was stagnant. Trieste never became for Austria that which it might have been; it was left for Karl Ludwig von Bruck of Elberfeld to make it, in 1833, a focus of the trade of the world by founding the Austrian-Lloyd Shipping Company. Red tape prevailed in the army, innovations were shunned, and the reforms of the Archduke Charles were interrupted. This was the outlook in Austria, the "Faubourg St. Germain of Europe."



METTERNICH IN LATER LIFE
Metternich's domination of European politics after the fall of Napoleon in 1815 stands out prominently in the history of the period. He was the centre of European diplomacy, but he was only a diplomatist and not a statesman.

Were things better in the rival state of Prussia? Frederic William III. was the type of a homely bourgeois, a man of sluggish intellect and of a cold scepticism, which contrasted sharply with the patriotic fire and self-devotion of his people. His main object was to secure tranquillity; the storm of the war of liberation, so foreign to his sympathies, had blown over, and he now wished to govern his kingdom in peace. Religious questions interested him more than those of politics; he was a positive Christian, and it was the wish of his heart to amalgamate the Lutheran and the Reformed Churches, an attempt to which the spirit of the age seemed very favourable. When the tercentenary of the Reformation was commemorated in the year 1817, he appealed for the union of the two confessions, and found much response. The new Liturgy of 1821, issued with his own concurrence, found great opposition, especially among the Old Lutherans; its second form, in 1829, somewhat conciliated its opponents, although the old tutelage of the Church under the supreme bishop of the country still continued to be felt, and Frederic William, both in the secular and spiritual domain, professed an absolutism which did not care to see district and provincial synods established by its side. The union, indeed, produced no peace in the Church, but became the pretext for renewed quarrels; nevertheless it was introduced into Nassau, Baden, the Bavarian Palatinate, Anhalt, and a part of Hesse in the same way as into Prussia. The king wished to give to the Catholic Church also a systematised and profitable development, and therefore entered into negotiations with the Curia, which were conducted by the ambassador Barthold G. Niebuhr, a great historian but weak diplomatist. Niebuhr and Altenstein, the Minister of Public Worship, made too many concessions to the Curia, and were not a match for Consalvi, the Cardinal Secretary of State. On July 16th, 1821, Pope Pius VII. issued the Bull, "De salute animarum," which was followed by an explanatory brief, "Quod de fidelium." The king confirmed the agreement by an order of the Cabinet; Cologne and Posen became archbishoprics, Trèves, Münster, Paderborn, Breslau, Kulm, and Ermeland bishoprics, each with a clerical seminary. The cathedral chapters were conceded the right of electing the bishop, who, however, had necessarily to be a persona grata to the king.



Joseph Széchényi
LEADERS OF HUNGARIAN INDEPENDENCE
Insisting on its national independence, Hungary was unwilling to descend to the insignificance of the other Crown lands under Austria, and both the Archduke Palatine, Joseph, and Count Stephen Széchényi assisted the movement in assemblies and elsewhere. Széchényi was described by his antagonist Kossuth as "the greatest of the Hungarians."

The truce did not, indeed, last long, the question of mixed marriages led to renewed controversy. Subsequently to 1803, the principle held good in the eastern provinces of Prussia that the children in disputed cases should follow the religion of the father, a view that conflicted with a Bull of 1741, now, after 1825, the order of 1803 was to be valid for the Rhine province, which was for the most part Catholic But the bishops of the districts appealed in 1828 to Pope Leo XII He and his successor, Pius VIII, conducted long negotiations with the Prussian ambassador, Bunsen, who, steeped in the spirit of romanticism, saw the surest protection against the revolution in a close adherence between national governments and the Curia

The Problem of Mixed Marriages

Pius VIII, an enemy of liberal movements, finally, by a brief of 1830, permitted the celebration of mixed marriages only when a promise was given that the children born from the union would be brought up in the Catholic faith, but the Prussian Government did not accept the brief, and matters soon came to a dispute between the Curia and the Archbishop of Cologne

It was excessively difficult to form the new Prussian state into a compact unity of a firm and flexible type Not merely its elongated shape, its geographical incoherency, and the position of Hanover as an excrescence on its body, but above everything its composition out of a hundred territorial fragments with the most diversified legislatures and the most rooted dislike to centralisation, the aversion of the Rhenish Catholics to be included in the state which was Protestant by history and character, and the stubbornness of the Poles in the countries on the Vistula, quite counterbalanced a growth in population, now more than doubled, which was welcome in itself By unobtrusive and successful labour the greatest efforts were made towards establishing some degree of unity The ideal of unity could not be universally realised in the legal system and the administration of justice The inhabitants, therefore, of the Rhenish districts were conceded the Code Napoleon, with juries and oral procedure, but the larger part of the monarchy was given the universal common law The narrow-minded and meddlesome system of the excise and the local variations of the land-tax system were intolerable

The New Prussian State

The root idea of the universal duty of bearing arms, that pillar of the monarchy, was opposed on many sides This institution, which struck deeply into family life, met with especial opposition and discontent in the newly acquired provinces In large circles there prevailed the wish that there should no longer be a standing army

But finally the constitution of the army was adhered to, it cemented together the different elements of the country The ultimate form was that of three years' active service, two years' service in the reserve, and two periods of service in the militia, each of seven years The fact that the universal duties of bearing arms and defending the country were to be permanent institutions made Frederic William suspicious His narrow-minded but influential brother-in-law, Duke Charles of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, the sworn opponent of the reform legislation of Stein, Hardenberg, and Scharnhorst, induced him to believe that a revolutionary party, whose movements were obscure, wanted to employ the militia against the throne, and advised, as a counter precaution, that the militia and troops of the line should be amalgamated But the originator of the law of defence, the Minister of War, Hermann von Boyen, resolutely opposed this blissful necessity An ordinance of April 30th, 1815, divided Prussia into ten provinces, but since East and West Prussia, Lower Rhine and Cleves-Berg were soon united, the number was ultimately fixed at eight, which were subdivided into administrative districts

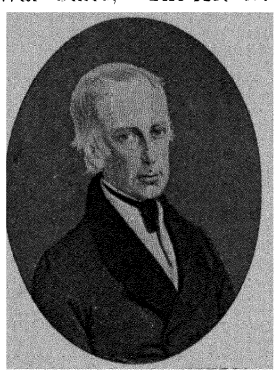
Prussia Divided into Provinces

Lords-lieutenant were placed at the head of the provinces instead of the former provincial Ministries Their administrative sphere was accurately defined by a Cabinet order of November 3rd, 1817, they represented the entire Government, and fortunately these responsible posts were held by competent and occasionally prominent men The amalgamation of the new territories with Old Prussia was complete, both externally and internally, however difficult the task may have been at first in the province of Saxony and many other parts, and however much consistency and resolution may have been wanting at headquarters, in the immediate vicinity of Frederic William But the struggle with the forces of local particularism was long and obstinate. The great period of Prince Hardenberg.

Chancellor of State, was over. He could no longer master the infinity of work which rested upon him, got entangled in intrigues and escapades, associated with despicable companions, and immediately lost influence with the king, himself the soul of honour; his share in the reorganisation of Prussia after the wars of liberation was too small. On the other hand, he guarded against Roman encroachment, and assiduously worked at the question of the constitution. His zeal to realise his intentions there too frequently left the field open to the reactionaries in another sphere. Most of the higher civil servants admired the official liberalism of the chancellor, and therefore, like Hardenberg and Stein, appeared to the reactionaries as patrons of the extravagant enthusiasm and "Teutonising" agitation of the youth—as secret democrats, in short. Boyen was the closest supporter of Hardenberg; the Finance Minister, Count Bülow, formerly the distinguished Finance Minister of the kingdom of Westphalia, usually supported him, while the chief of the War Office, Witzleben, the inseparable counsellor of the king, who even ventured to work counter to the Duke of Mecklenburg, was one of the warmest advocates of the reform of Stein and Hardenberg. The reactionaries, under Marwitz and other opponents of the great age of progress relied on the Ministers of the Interior and of the Police, the overcautious Schuckmann and Prince William of Wittgenstein. The latter was a bitter enemy of German patriotism and the constitution, and the best of the tools of Metternich at the court of Berlin.



FREDERIC WILLIAM III.
He ascended the throne of Prussia in 1797, and being deeply interested in religious questions, he did much to further the union of the Lutheran and Reformed Churches.



NIEBUHR THE HISTORIAN
Distinguished as a historian, Barthold Niebuhr in 1823 took up his residence at Bonn, and gave a great impetus to historical learning by his lectures in that city.

The reaction which naturally followed the exuberant love of freedom shown in the wars of liberation was peculiarly felt in Prussia. Janke, Schmalz, the brother-in-law of Scharnhorst, and other place-hunters clumsily attacked in pamphlets the "seducers of the people" and the "demagogues," in order to recommend themselves to the Governments as saviours of the threatened society. The indignation at their falsehoods was general; there appeared numerous refutations, the most striking of which proceeded from the pen of Schleiermacher and Niebuhr. The Prussian and Würtemberg Governments, however, stood on the side of Schmalz and his companions, and rewarded his falsehood with a decoration and acknowledgment. Frederic William III., indeed, strictly forbade, in January, 1816, any further literary controversy about secret combinations, but at the same time renewed the prohibition on such societies, at which great rejoicings broke out in Vienna. He also forbade the further appearance of the "Rhenish Mercury," which demanded a constitution and liberty of the Press. Gneisenau was removed from the general command in Coblenz. Wittgenstein's spies were continually active. The emancipation of the Jews, in contradiction to the royal edict of 1812, lost ground. The Act for the regulation of landed property proclaimed in September, 1811, was "explained" in 1816, in a fashion which favoured so greatly the property of the nobles at the cost of the property of the peasants that it virtually repealed the Regulation Act.

In the course of the last decade there had been frequent talk of a General Council. Stein's programme of 1808 proposed that the Council of State should be the highest ratifying authority for acts of legislation. Hardenberg, on the other hand, fearing for his own supremacy, had contemplated in 1810 giving the council a far more modest rôle. But neither scheme received a trial; and in many quarters a Council of State was only thought of with apprehension. When, then, finally the ordinance of March 20th, 1817, established the Council of State, it was merely the highest advisory authority,

the foremost counsellor of the Crown, and Stein's name was missing from the list of those summoned by the king

The first labours of the Council of State were directed to the reform of the taxation, which Count Bulow, the Finance Minister, wished to carry out in the spirit of modified Free Trade His schemes were very aggressive, and aimed at freedom of inland commerce, but showed that, considering the financial distress of the moment, the state of the national debt, which in 1818 amounted to 217,000,000 thalers, £33,000,000, the want of credit, and the deficit, no idea of any remission of taxation could be entertained In fact, Bulow demanded an increase of the indirect taxes, a proposal which naturally hit the lower classes very hard Humboldt headed the opponents of Bulow, and a bitter struggle broke out The notables convened in the provinces to express their views rejected Bulow's taxes on meal and meat but pronounced in favour of the direct personal taxation, graduated according to classes

The Aggressive Schemes of Count Bulow

Bulow was replaced as Finance Minister at the end of 1817 by Klewitz—the extent of whose office was, however, much diminished by all sorts of limitations—and received the newly created post of Minister of Trade and Commerce. In Altenstein, who between 1808 and 1810 had failed to distinguish himself as Finance Minister, Prussia found a born Minister of Public Worship and Education

In spite of many unfavourable conditions he put the educational system on a sound footing, he introduced in 1817 the provincial bodies of teachers, advocated universal compulsory attendance at school, encouraged the national schools, and was instrumental in uniting the University of Wittenberg with that of Halle, and in founding the University of Bonn in 1818. Bulow, a pioneer in his own domain, not inferior to Altenstein in the field of Church and school, administered the customs department, supported by the shrewd Maassen The first preparatory steps were taken in 1816, especially in June, by the abolition of the waterway tolls and the inland and provincial duties A Cabinet Order of August 1st, 1817, sanctioned for all time the principle of free importation and Maassen drew up the Customs Act, which became law on May 26th. 1818, and came into force at the beginning of 1819, according to Treitschke "the most liberal and matured politico-economic law of those days", it was simplified in 1821 to suit the spirit of Free Trade, and the tolls were still more lowered An order of February 8th, 1819, exempted from taxation out of the list of inland products only wine, beer, brandy, and leaf tobacco, on May 30th, 1820, a graduated personal tax and corn duties were introduced

Bulow's Hand on the Customs

Thus a well-organised system of taxation was founded, which satisfied the national economy for some time All social forces were left with free power of movement and scope for expansion It mattered little if manufacturers complained, so long as the national prosperity, which was quite shattered, revived Prussia gradually found the way to the German Customs Union No one, it is true, could yet predict that change, but, as if with a presentiment, complaints of the selfishness and obstinacy of the tariff loan were heard beyond the Prussian frontiers What progress had been made with the constitution granting provincial estates and popular representation, promised by the king by the edict of May 22nd, 1815? The commission promised for this purpose was not summoned until March 30th, 1817 Hardenberg directed the proceedings since it had assembled on July 7th in Berlin, sent Altenstein, Beyme, and Klewitz to visit the provinces in order to collect thorough evidence of the existing conditions, and received reports, which essentially contradicted each other

Retrogression of Frederic William

It appeared most advisable that the Ministers should content themselves with establishing provincial estates, and should leave a constitution out of the question Hardenberg honestly tried to make progress in the question of the constitution and to release the royal word which had been pledged, Frederic William, on the contrary, regretted having given it, and gladly complied with the retrogressive tendencies of the courtiers and supporters of the old regime He saw with concern the contests in the South German chambers and the excitement among the youth of Germany, he pictured to himself the horrors of a revolution, and Hardenberg could not carry his point

The Federal Diet, the union of the princes of Germany, owed its existence to the Act of Federation of June 8th, 1815, which

could not possibly satisfy the hopes of a nation which had conquered a Napoleon Where did the heroes of the wars of liberation find any guarantee for their claims? Of what did the national rights consist, and what protection did the whole Federation offer against foreign countries?

Even the deposed and mediatised princes of the old empire were deceived in their last hopes, they had once more dreamed of a revival of their independence But they were answered with cold contempt that the new political organisation of Germany demanded that the princes and counts, who had been found already mediatised, should remain incorporated into other political bodies or be incorporated afresh, that the Act of Federation involved the implicit recognition of this necessity The Act of Federation pleased hardly anyone, not even its own designers

The opening of the Federal Diet, convened for September 1st, 1815, was again postponed, since negotiations were taking place in Paris, and there were various territorial disputes between the several federal states to be decided

Disputes of Federal States

Austria was scheming for Salzburg and the Breisgau, Bavaria for the Baden Palatinate, the two had come to a mutual agreement at the cost of the House of Baden, whose elder line was dying out, and Baden was confronted with the danger of dismemberment The two chief powers disputed about Mainz until the town fell to Hesse-Darmstadt, but the right of garrisoning the important federal fortress fell to them both Baden only joined the Federation on July 26th, 1815, Wurtemberg on September 1st Notwithstanding the opposition of Austria and Prussia permission was given to Russia, Great Britain, and France to have ambassadors at Frankfort, while the Federation had no permanent representatives at the foreign capitals Many of the South German courts regarded the foreign ambassadors as a support against the leading German powers, the secondary and petty states were most afraid of Prussia

Finally, on November 5th, 1816, the Austrian ambassador opened the meeting of the Federation in Frankfort with a speech transmitted by Metternich On all sides members were eager to move resolutions, and Metternich warned them against precipitation, the very last fault, as it turned out, of which the Federal Diet was likely to be guilty On the question of the domains of Electoral Hesse, with regard to which many private persons took the part of the elector, the Federation sustained a complete defeat at his hands The question of the military organisation of the Federation was very inadequately solved When the Barbary States in 1817

The Idea of a German Fleet Abandoned

extended their raids in search of slaves and booty as far as the North Sea, and attacked merchantmen, the Hanseatic towns lodged complaints before the Federal Diet, but the matter ended in words The ambassador of Baden, recalling the glorious past history of the Hansa, in vain counselled the federal states to build their own ships The Federation remained dependent on the favour of foreign maritime Powers, the question of a German fleet was dropped Nor was more done for trade and commerce, the mutual exchange of food-stuffs was still fettered by a hundred restrictions

How did the matter stand with the performance of the article of the Act of Federation, which promised diets to all the federal states?

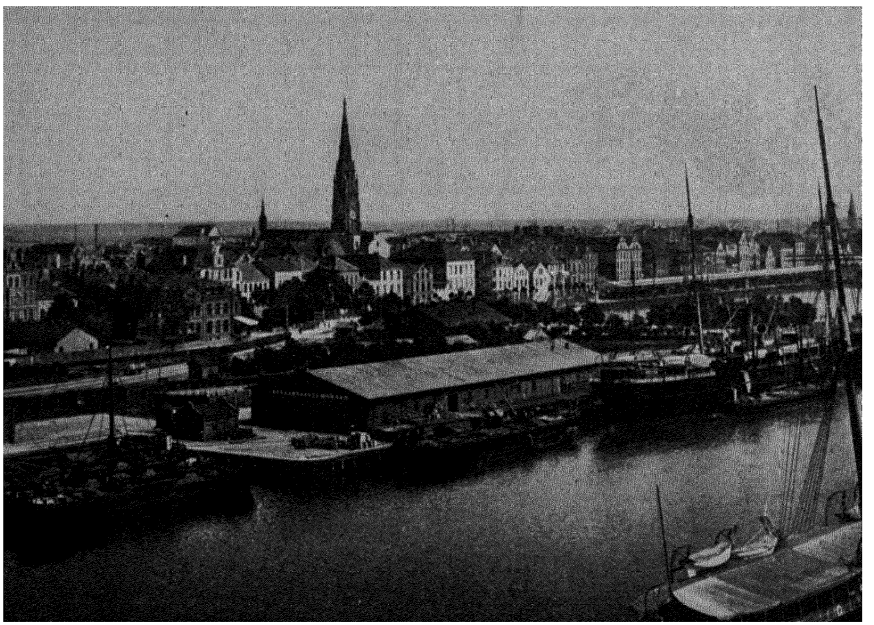
Charles Augustus of Saxe-Weimar had granted a constitution on May 5th, 1816, and placed it under the guarantee of the Federation, which also guaranteed the Mecklenburg constitution of 1817 The Federation generally refrained from independent action, and omitted to put into practice the inconvenient article empowering them to sit in judgment on "the wisdom of each federal government" Austria and Prussia, like most of the federal governments, rejoiced at this evasion, it mattered nothing to them that the peoples were deceived and discontented

The same evasion was adopted in the case of Article XVIII, on the liberty of the Press The north of Germany, which had hitherto lived apparently undisturbed, and the south, which was

The Feudal System in Hanover

seething with the new constitutional ideas, were somewhat abruptly divided on this point In Hanover the feudal system, which had been very roughly handled by Westphalian and French rulers, returned cautiously and without undue haste out of its lurking-place after the restoration of the House of Guelph In the General Landtag the landed interest was enormously in the preponderance Count Munster-Ledenburg, who governed the new kingdom

from London, sided with the nobility; the constitution imposed in 1814 rested on the old feudal principles. The estates solemnly announced on January 17th, 1815, the union of the old and new territories into one whole, and on December 7th, 1819, Hanover received a new constitution on the dual-chamber system, and with complete equality of rights for the two chambers. The nobility and the official class were predominant. There was no trace of an organic development of the commonwealth; the nobility conceded no reforms, and the people took little interest in the proceedings of the chambers.



GENERAL VIEW OF THE TOWN OF BREMERHAVEN, FOUNDED IN 1827 Photochrome

The preponderance of the nobility was less oppressive in Brunswick. George IV. acted as guardian of the young duke, Charles II., and Count Münster in London conducted the affairs of state, with the assistance of the Privy Council of Brunswick, and promoted the material interests of the state, and the country received on April 25th in the "renewed system of states" a suitable constitution. Everything went on as was wished until Charles, in October, 1823, himself assumed the government and declared war on the constitution. A regime of the most despicable caprice and licence now began; Charles insulted King George IV., and challenged Münster to a duel. Finally, the Federal Diet intervened to end the mismanagement, and everything grew ripe for the revolution of 1830.

In the kingdom of Saxony, so reduced in territory and population, matters returned to the old footing. Frederic Augustus I. the Just maintained order in the peculiar sense in which he understood the word. Only quite untenable conditions were reformed, otherwise the king and the Minister, Count Einsiedel, considered that the highest political wisdom was to persevere in the old order of things. Industries and trade were fettered, and there was a total absence of activity. The officials were as narrow as the statesmen. In the Federation Saxony always sided with Austria, being full of hatred of Prussia; Saxony was only important in the development of art. Even under King Anthony, after May, 1827, everything remained in the old position. Einsiedel's statesmanship was as powerful as before, and the discontent among the people grew.

The two Mecklenburgs remained feudal states, in which the middle class and the peasants were of no account. Even the organic constitution of 1817 for Schwerin



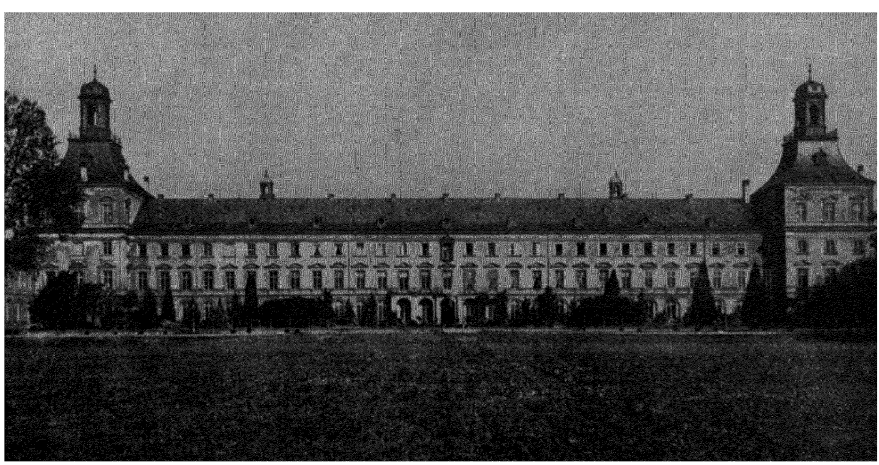
Charles II. Frederic Augustus William I.

REACTIONARY RULERS OF EUROPEAN STATES

Assuming the government of Brunswick in 1823, Charles II. declared war on the constitution, and a regime of the most despicable caprice and licence went on until the Federal Diet intervened to end the mismanagement. Known as the Just, Frederic Augustus I. of Saxony followed in the old order of things, and thus the country was stunted in its industries. King of Würtemberg, William I. promised a liberal representative constitution, but did not fulfil his pledges ; he died in 1821.

made no alteration in the feudal power prevailing since 1755 ; the knights were still, as ever, supreme in the country. The Sternberg Diet of 1819 led certainly to the abolition of serfdom, but the position of the peasants was not improved by this measure. Emigration became more common ; trades and industries were stagnant. Even Oldenburg was content with "political hibernation." Frankfort-on-Main received a constitution on October 18th, 1816, and many obsolete customs were abolished. In the Hansa towns, on the contrary, the old patriarchal conditions were again in full force ; the council ruled absolutely. Trade and commerce made great advances, especially in Hamburg and Bremen. The founding of Bremerhaven by the burgomaster Johann Smidt, a clever politician, opened fresh paths of world commerce to Bremen.

The Elector William I., who had returned to Hesse-Cassel, wished to bring everything back to the footing of 1806, when he left his country ; he declared the ordinances of "his administrator Jérôme" not to be binding on him, recognised the sale of domains as little as the advancement of Hessian officers, but wished to make the fullest use of that part of the Westphalian ordinances which brought him personal advantage. He promised, indeed, a liberal



THE FAMOUS UNIVERSITY OF BONN, FOUNDED IN THE YEAR 1818 Photochrome

representative constitution, but trifled with the Landtag, and contented himself with the promulgation of the unmeaning family and national law of March 4th, 1817. When he died, unlamented, in 1821, the still more capricious and worthless regime of William II began, which was marked by debauchery, family quarrels, and public discontent

Reforms of the Grand Duke Lewis

Far more edifying was the state of things in Hesse-Darmstadt, where the Grand Duke, Lewis I, although by inclination attached to the old regime, worked his best for reform, and did not allow himself to be driven to reaction after the conference at Carlsbad He gave Hesse on December 17th (March 18th), 1820, a representative constitution and was an enlightened ruler, as is shown, among other instances, by his acquiescence in the efforts of Prussia toward a customs union

The most unscrupulous among the princes of the Rhenish Confederation, Frederic of Wurtemberg, readily noticed the increasing discontent of his subjects, and wished to meet it by the proclamation of January 11th, 1815, that ever since 1806 he had wished to give his country a constitution and representation by estates, but when he read out his constitution to the estates on May 15th, these promptly rejected it The excitement in the country increased amid constant appeals to the "old and just right" Frederic died in the middle of a dispute on October 30th, 1816 Under his son, William I, who was both chivalrous and ambitious, a better time dawned for Wurtemberg But the estates offered such opposition to him that the constitution was not formed until September 25th 1819, but the first diet of 1820–1821 was extremely amenable to the government William was very popular, although his rule showed little liberalism

Bavaria, after the dethronement of its second creator, Napoleon, had recovered the territory on the left bank of the Rhine,

Bavaria's Recovered Territory

and formed out of it the Rhenish Palatinate whose population remained for a long time as friendly to France as Bavaria itself was hostile "Father Max" certainly did his best to amalgamate the inhabitants of the Palatinate and Bavaria, and his premier, Count Montgelas, effected so many profitable and wise changes for this kingdom, which had increased to more than thirteen hundred square German miles, with four million souls, that much of the blame attached to this policy might seem to be unjustified His most dangerous opponents were the Crown Prince Lewis, with his leaning towards romanticism and his "Teutonic" sympathies and hatred of France, and Field-Marshal Count Wrede While Montgelas wished not to hear a syllable about a new constitution, the crown prince deliberately adopted a constitutional policy, in order to prepare the downfall of the hated Frenchman

Montgelas' constitution of May 1st, 1808, had never properly seen the light He intended national representation to be nothing but a sham The crown prince wished, in opposition to the Minister, that Bavaria should be a constitutional state, a model to the whole of Germany Montgelas was able to put a stop to the intended creation of a constitution in 1814–1815, while his scheme of an agreement with the Curia was hindered by an increase in the claims of the latter He fell on February 2nd, 1817 a result to which the court at Vienna contributed, and Bavaria spoke only of his defects, without being in a position to replace Montgelas' system by another The Concordat of

The New Constitution of Bavaria

June 5th, 1817 signified a complete victory of the Curia, and was intolerable in the new state of Bavarian public opinion, the "kingdom of darkness" stood beside the door The Crown met the general discontent by admitting into the constitution some provisions guaranteeing the rights of Protestants, and thus naturally furnished materials for further negotiations with the Curia On May 26th, 1818, Bavaria finally received its constitution, in spite of deficiencies and gaps it was full of vitality, and is still in force, although in the interval it has required to be altered in many points

Bavaria thus by the award of a liberal constitution had anticipated Baden, which was forced to grant a similar one in order to influence public opinion in its favour Prospects of the Baden Rhenish-Palatinate were opened up to Bavaria by arrangements with Austria The ruling House of Zahringen, except for an illegitimate line, was on the verge of extinction, and the Grand Duke Charles could never make up his mind to declare the counts of Hochberg legitimate At the urgent request of Stein and the Tsar Alexander, his brother-in-law, Charles, had already announced to Metternich and

Hardenberg in Vienna on December 1st, 1814, that he wished to introduce a representative constitution in his dominions, and so anticipated the Act of Federation Stein once more implored the distrustful man, "whose indolence was boundless," to carry out his intention, but every appeal rebounded from him, and he once again postponed the constitutional question

The Bavarian craving for Baden territory became more and more threatening A more vigorous spirit was felt in the Baden Ministry after its reorganisation At last, on October 4th, Charles, by a family law, proclaimed the indivisibility of the whole state and the rights of the Hochberg line to the succession It was foreseen that Bavaria would not submit tamely to this German public opinion, and even Russian influence were brought to bear in favour of a constitution Baden was forced to try to anticipate Bavaria in making this concession Even the Emperor Alexander opened the first diet of his kingdom of Poland on the basis of the constitution of 1815, and took the occasion to praise the blessing of liberal institutions Then Bavaria got the start of Baden Tettenborn and Reitzenstein represented to Charles that Baden must make haste and create a still more liberal constitution, which was finally signed by Charles on August 22nd, 1818

Rejoicings in Liberal Germany

It was, according to Barnhagen, "the most liberal of all German constitutions, the richest in germs of life, the strongest in energy" It entirely corresponded to the charter of Louis XVIII The ordinances of October 4th 1817 were also contained in it and ratified afresh The rejoicings in Baden and liberal Germany at large were unanimous In Munich there was intense bitterness The Crown Prince Lewis in particular did not desist from trying to win the Baden Palatinate, and we know now that even Lewis II in the year 1870 urged Bismarck to obtain it for Bavaria Baden ceded to Bavaria in 1819 a portion of the district of Wertheim, and received from Austria Hohengeroldseck The congress at Aix-la-Chapelle had also pronounced in favour of Baden in 1818

Nassau, before the rest of Germany, had received, on September 2nd, 1814, a constitution, for which Stein was partly responsible But the estates were not summoned until the work of reorganising the duchy was completed Duke William opened the assembly at last on March 3rd, 1818, and a tedious dispute soon broke out about the Crown lands and state property The Minister of State, Bieberstein, a particularist and reactionary of the purest water, adopted Metternich's views In popular opinion the credit of the first step was not given to Nassau, because it delayed so long to take the second If Metternich looked towards Prussia, he saw the king in his element, and Hardenberg in continual strife with Humboldt, if he turned his eyes to South Germany, he beheld a motley scene, which also gave him a hard problem to solve In Bavaria the first diet led to such unpleasant scenes that the king contemplated the repeal of the constitution In Baden, where Rotteck and Baron Liebenstein were the leaders, a flood of proposals was poured out against the rule of the new Grand Duke, Lewis I; the dispute became so bitter that Lewis, on July 28th, 1819 prorogued the chambers In Nassau and in Hesse-Darmstadt there was also much disorder in the diets.

Unruly Scenes in the Diets

The reaction saw all this with great pleasure It experienced a regular triumph on March 23rd, 1819, through the bloody deed of a student, Karl Ludwig Sand It had become a rooted idea in the limited brain of this fanatic that the dramatist and Russian privy councillor, August von Kotzebue, was a Russian spy the most dangerous enemy of German freedom and German academic life, he therefore stabbed him in Mannheim While great and general sympathy was extended to Sand, the governments feared a conspiracy of the student associations where Sand had studied

Charles Augustus saw that men looked askance at him and his steps for the preservation of academic liberty were unavailing Metternich possessed the power, and made full use of it, being sure of the assent of the majority of German governments, of Russia, and of Great Britain, even from France approval was showered upon him. Frederic William III, being completely ruled by Prince Wittgenstein and Kaunitz was more and more overwhelmed with fear of revolution, and wished to abolish everything which seemed open to suspicion.

Universities the Hotbeds of Intrigues

The universities, the fairest ornaments of Germany, were regarded by the rulers as hotbeds of revolutionary intrigues;

they required to be freed from the danger The authorities of Austria and Prussia thought this to be imperatively necessary, and during the season for the waters at Carlsbad they wished to agree upon the measures Haste was urgent, as it seemed, for on July 1st, 1819, Sand had already found an imitator Karl Loning, an apothecary's apprentice, attempted to assassinate at Schwalbach Karl von Ibell, the president of the Nassau Government, whom, in spite of his liberal and excellent administration, the crackbrained Radicals loudly proclaimed to be a reactionary The would-be assassin committed suicide after his attempt had failed In Prussia steps were now taken to pay domiciliary visits, confiscate papers, and make arrests Jahn was sent to a fortress, the papers of the bookseller Reimer were put under seal, Schleiermacher's sermons were subject to police surveillance, the houses of Welcker and Arndt in Bonn were carefully searched and all writings carried off which the bailiffs chose to take Protests were futile Personal freedom had no longer any protection against the tyranny of the police The privacy of letters was constantly infringed, and the Government issued falsified accounts of an intended revolution

The Iron Hand in Prussia

On July 29th Frederic William and Metternich met at Toplitz Metternich strengthened the king's aversion to grant a general constitution, and agitated against Hardenberg's projected constitution On August 1st the Contract of Toplitz was agreed upon, which, though intended to be kept secret, was to form the basis of the Carlsbad conferences, a censorship was to be exercised over the Press and the universities, and Article 13 of the Act of Federation was to be explained in a corresponding sense Metternich triumphed, for even Hardenberg seemed to submit to him Metternich returned with justifiable self-complacency to Carlsbad, where he found his selected body of diplomatists, and over the heads of the Federal Diet he discussed with the representatives of a quarter of the governments, from August 6th to 31st, reactionary measures of the most sweeping character Gentz, the secretary of the congress, drew up the minutes on which the resolutions of Carlsbad were mainly based Metternich wished to grant to the Federal Diet a stronger influence on the legislation of the several states, and through it indirectly to guide the governments, unnoticed by the public The interpretation of Article 13 of the Act of Federation was deferred to ensuing conferences at Vienna, and an agreement was made first of all on four main points A very stringent press law for five years was to be enforced in the case of all papers appearing daily or in numbers, and of pamphlets containing less than twenty pages of printed matter, and every federal state should be allowed to increase the stringency of the law at its own discretion

Metternich's Reactionary Measures

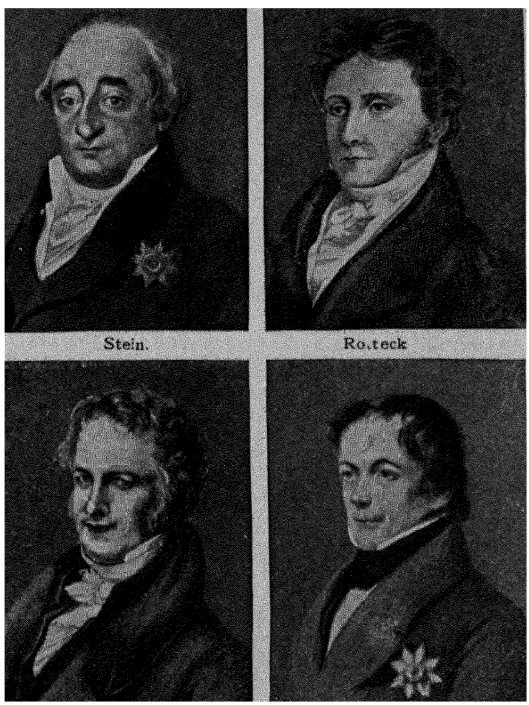
The universities were placed under the strict supervision of commissioners appointed by the sovereigns, dangerous professors were to be deprived of their office, all secret societies and the universal student associations were to be prohibited, and no member of them should hold a public post It was enacted that a central commission, to which members were sent by Austria, Prussia, Bavaria, Hanover, Baden, Hesse-Darmstadt, and Nassau, should assemble at Mainz to investigate the treasonable revolutionary societies which had been discovered, but, by the distinct declaration of Austria, such commission should have no judicial power A preliminary executive order, to terminate after August, 1820, was intended to secure the carrying out of the resolutions of the Federation for the maintenance of internal tranquillity, and in given cases military force might be employed to effect it

The Te Deum of the Reactionaries

On September 1st the Carlsbad conferences ended, and the party of reaction sang their Te Deum Austria appeared to be the all-powerful ruler of Germany "A new era is dawning," Metternich wrote to London The Federal Diet accepted the Carlsbad resolutions with unusual haste on September 20th, and they were proclaimed in all the federal states Austria had stolen a march over the others, and the Federal Council expressed its most humble thanks to Francis therefor All free-thinkers saw in the Carlsbad resolutions not merely a check on all freedom and independence, but also a disgrace, nevertheless, the governments, in spite of the indignation of men like Stein, Rotteck, Niebuhr, Dahlmann, Ludwig Borne, and others, carried them out in all their harshness The central commission of inquiry hunted through the Federation in search of conspiracies, and, as its own reports acknowledge, found nothing of importance,

but unscrupulously interfered with the life of the nation and the individual. Foreign countries did not check this policy, although many statesmen, Capodistrias at their head, disapproved of the reaction. The Students' Association was officially dissolved on November 26th, 1819, but was immediately reconstituted in secret.

There was no demagogism in Austria; Prussia was satisfied to comply with the wishes of the court of Vienna, and even Hardenberg was prepared for any step which Metternich prescribed. Every suspected person was regarded in Berlin as an imported conspirator. The edict of censorship of 1819, dating from the day of liberation, October 18th, breathed the unholy spirit of Wöllner; foreign journals were strictly supervised. The reaction was nowhere more irreconcilable than in Prussia, where nothing recalled the saying of Frederic the Great, that every man might be happy after his own fashion. The gymnasia were as relentlessly persecuted as the intellectual exercises of university training; nothing could be more detestable than the way in which men like Arndt, Gneisenau, and Jahn were made to run the gauntlet, or a patriot like Justus Gruner was ill-treated on his very deathbed, or the residence of Görres in Germany rendered intolerable. This tendency obviously crippled the fulfilment of the royal promise of a constitution—a promise in which Frederic William had never been serious. Hardenberg and Humboldt were perpetually quarrelling; Humboldt attacked the exaggerated power of the chancellor, who was not competent for his post; Hardenberg laid a new plan of a constitution before the king on August 11th, 1819. The king, in this dispute, took the side of Hardenberg, and the dismissal of Boyen and Grolman was followed, on December 31st, 1819, by that of Humboldt and Count Beyme. Metternich rejoiced; Humboldt, the "thoroughly bad man," was put on one side and thenceforth lived for science.



A GROUP OF DISTINGUISHED GERMANS

Entering the service of Prussia in 1780, Baron von Stein worked for progress and laid the foundations of Prussia's subsequent greatness. Rotteck, a professor at Freiburg, was eminent as a historian and publicist; famous as a naturalist and traveller, Humboldt explored unknown lands, while Eichhorn was a prominent Prussian statesman and jurist.

Hardenberg's position was once more strengthened; his chief object was to carry the revenue and finance laws. On January 17th, 1820, the ordinance as to the condition of the national debt was issued, from which the Liberals received the comforting assurance that the Crown would not be able to raise new loans except under the joint guarantee of the proposed assembly of the estates, and that the trustees of the debt would furnish the assembly with an annual statement of accounts. Shipping companies and banks were remodelled; the capital account was to be published every three years. Hardenberg then brought his revenue laws to the front, and in spite of many difficulties these laws, which, though admittedly imperfect, still demanded attention, were passed on May 20th, 1820.

In accordance with the agreement made in Carlsbad, the representatives of the inner federal assembly met in Vienna, and deliberated from November 25th, 1819, to May 24th, 1820, over the head of the Federal Diet, the result, the final act of Vienna of May 15th, 1820, obtained the same validity as the Federal Act of 1815

Eichhorn's Ideal of Union

In the plenary assembly of June 8th, 1820, the Federal Diet promoted it to be a fundamental law of the Federation Particularism and reaction had scored a success, and the efficiency of the Federal Diet was once more crippled The nation was universally disappointed by the new fundamental law, which realised not one of its expectations, but Metternich basked in the rays of success.

The question of free intercourse between the federal states had also been discussed in Vienna, and turned men's looks to Prussia's efforts towards a customs union The Customs Act of May 26th, 1818, was unmercifully attacked, it was threatened with repeal at the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle, but weathered the storm, and found protection from Johann Friedrich Eichhorn In the field of material interests Eichhorn had a free hand, he was a hero of unobtrusive work, who with indefatigable patience went towards his goal—the union of the German states to Prussia by the bond of their own interests In 1819 he invited the Thuringian states which formed enclaves in Prussia, to a tariff union, and on October 25th in that year the first treaty for accession to the tariff union was signed with Schwarzburg-Sondershausen, since this was extremely advantageous to the petty state, it served as a model to all further treaties with Prussian enclaves

The General Commercial Association

The German Commercial and Industrial Association of the traders of Central and Southern Germany was founded in Frankfort during the April Fair of 1819, under the presidency of Professor Friedrich List of Tubingen The memorial of the association, drawn up by List and presented to the diet, pictured as its ultimate aim the universal freedom of commercial intercourse between every nation, it called for the abolition of the inland tolls and existing federal tolls on foreign trade, but was rejected List now attacked the several governments, scourged in his journal the faults of German commercial policy, was an opponent of the Prussian Customs Act, and always recurred to federal tolls Far clearer were the economic views of the Baden statesman Karl Friedrich Nebenius, whose pamphlet was laid before the Vienna conferences He too attacked the Prussian Customs Act, but his pamphlet, in spite of all its merits, had no influence on the development of the tariff union Johann Friedrich Benzenberg alone of the well-known journalists of the day spoke for Prussia Indeed, the hostility to Prussia gave rise to the abortive separate federation of Southern and Central Germany, formed at Darmstadt in 1820 Such plans were foredoomed to failure All rival tariff unions failed in the same way

Hardenberg's influence over Frederic William III had been extinguished by Metternich, and the Chancellor of State was politically dead, even before he closed his eyes, on November 26th, 1822 A new constitution commission under the presidency of the Crown Prince Frederic William (IV), who was steeped in romanticism, consisted entirely of Hardenberg's

Reaction Again Triumphant

opponents, and would only be content with charters for the several provinces The king consented to them After Hardenberg's death the king could not consent to summon Wilhelm von Humboldt, but abolished the presidency in the Cabinet The king contented himself with the law of June 5th, 1823, as to the regulation of provincial estates

Bureaucracy and feudalism celebrated a joint victory in this respect Austria could be contented with Prussia's aversion to constitutional forms, and, supported by it, guided the Federal Diet, in which Wurtemberg, owing to the frankness and independence of its representative, Wangenheim now and again broke from the trodden path. Wangenheim suggested the plan of confronting the great German powers with a league "of pure and constitutional Germany," under the leadership of Bavaria and Wurtemberg, proposing to create a triple alliance But the Vienna conferences of January, 1823, arranged by Metternich, soon led to Wurtemberg's compliance Wangenheim fell in July The Carlsbad resolutions were renewed in August, 1824, and the Federal Diet did not agitate again, after it had quietly divided the unhappy Central Enquiry Commission at Mainz in 1828.



THE RESTORED FRENCH MONARCHY

REACTION TRIUMPHANT IN THE LATIN STATES

THE restored Bourbon monarch of France found himself in an exceedingly difficult position At his first restoration in 1814, he had been disposed to maintain the attitude of absolutism, and had consented to grant a constitution in the form of a concession bestowed by the benevolence of the Crown This "Charta" had established two Chambers one of peers, nominated by the Crown, the other of representatives elected under a high franchise But the Royalists even then had shown a zeal which Louis had not restrained for the recovery of old rights and of the old supremacy The masses of the people had thereby been alienated

Louis recognised his error, and was now determined to abide by his constitution, but the Royalists saw only that their side was uppermost Like the English Cavaliers when Charles II came back to "enjoy his own again," they hoped to get back all that they had lost with interest

Aims of the French Royalists

But the English Cavaliers had learnt very promptly to recognise that the old order had gone never to return, the French Royalists were not equally capable of reconciling themselves to that doctrine More royalist than the king, they made haste to seek to impose their views upon him Socially, the democratising of France had not been swept away under the Empire, though it had been so politically The political centralisation of the Empire was only modified by the Charta, but the Royalists aimed at reversing the social democratisation as well Their headquarters were naturally established in the entourage of Artois, the king's brother, and the circle became known from his residence as the Pavillon Marsan

Louis, both from calculation and from grasp of the situation, held fast to his constitution, and was involved in continued conflict with his brother and the Royalists "quand même," the party of no compromise. He had promised an amnesty, but he did not succeed in checking the "White Terror," the outbreak of royalist violence in Southern France In Marseilles, Avignon, Nismes, Toulouse, and other places disorders broke out, in which religious fanaticism also played its part Bonapartists and Protestants were murdered wholesale, among them Marshal Brune, Generals Lagarde and Ramel, courts and local authorities were powerless to check the outrages Fouché drew up the proscription-lists against those who were privy, or suspected of being privy, to the Hundred Days, but prudently forgot to put himself at the head of the list, and while the executions of General La Bédoyère and Marshal Ney, accompanied by the horrors in Lyons and Grenoble, were bound to make the position of the king impossible, and while the foremost men of France were driven out of the country, he was conspiring with the Duke of Orleans, being also anxious to overthrow Talleyrand

The "White Terror" in France

Fouché was attacked, nevertheless, on all sides, was compelled to resign the Ministry of Police in September, 1815, and was expelled, in 1816, as a relapsed regicide His dismissal was followed closely by that of his rival, Talleyrand, who was appointed High Chamberlain, and replaced, to the satisfaction, and indeed at the wish, of Russia, by the former governor-general in Odessa, the Duke of Richelieu, an emigré quite unacquainted with French affairs Louis, who could not exist without favourites, had given his heart to the former secretary of Madame Mère, Décazes As Fouché's successor, he sided with the Pavillon Marsan, passed sundry capricious and arbitrary measures to maintain order, but was still far too mild for the ultra-Royalists, who exercised a sort of secondary government, and procured Talleyrand's help against him.

Favourites of the French King

The violence of this extreme section had found its warrant in the first election to the Chamber of Deputies in which it had effected an electioneering victory But when the Pavillon Marsan and the deputies wished to cap the repressive measures of Décazes by making a farce of the very necessary amnesty for their political opponents,

The King Dissolves the Chambers

Louis found it necessary to dissolve the Chambers, and the Royalist successes were not repeated at the new election The majority were supporters of the moderate Richelieu, while Décazes was, comparatively speaking, a progressive

The new Chambers passed the Electoral Law of 1817, which secured power to the middle-class, in whom the ultra-Royalists saw their strongest opponents, and the principle adopted, that one-fifth of the deputies should retire annually, in fact assured an annual increase in what may be called the existing Liberal majority The Royalists then turned their efforts to procuring a very much lower franchise, in the belief that the peasantry would be much more amenable to the influence of clericals and landowners than the now dominant classes

Richelieu soon found himself alarmed by what appeared to be the revival of the revolutionary spirit, emphasised at the elections of 1818 by the appearance among the new deputies of Lafayette and Benjamin Constant His position seemed strengthened by the success of France at the Conference of Aix-la-Chapelle, where he represented her in person and procured the immediate withdrawal of the allied garrisons Nevertheless, his representations that the electoral law must be modified to check the democratic movement failed to convince the king, and Richelieu retired in December, 1818

The Ministry of Dessoles, which now took the lead, was dominated by Richelieu's rival, Décazes, who became Minister of the Interior An arrangement was

Extended Liberties in France

effected with the Curia on August 23rd, 1819. Freedom of the Press was encouraged, and the extraordinary laws against the liberty of the subject were repealed The Ministry, however, at one time inclined to the Constitutionalists, at another to the ultra-Royalists, and thus forfeited the confidence of all, and depended on the personal and vacillating policy of the king, while the intensity of party feeling was increased Even a great batch of new peers in March, 1819, did not give the Crown the hoped-for parliamentary support An alteration of the electoral law seemed imperative, it was essential to show fight against the Left

On November 20th 1819, the country learnt that Dessoles was dismissed and Décazes had become first Minister The vacillating policy of Décazes quickly estranged all parties, and they only waited for an opportunity to get rid of him On February 13th, 1820, the king's nephew, Charles Ferdinand, Duke of Berry, the only direct descendant of Louis XV from whom children could be expected, was stabbed at the opera, and the ultras dared to utter the lie that Décazes was the accomplice of Louvel the murderer The royal family implored the king to dismiss his favourite, and Louis dismissed Décazes on February 21st, 1820

Richelieu became first Minister once more Décazes went to London as ambassador, and received the title of duke This compulsory change of ministers seemed to the king like his own abdication Exceptional legislation against personal freedom was indeed

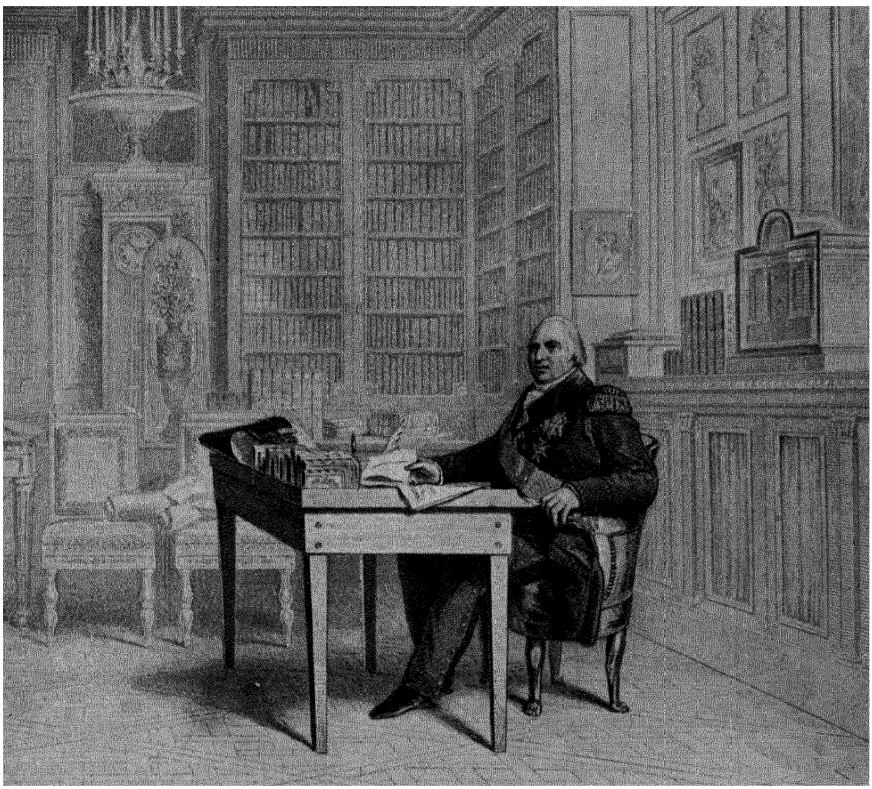
Renewed Bloodshed in Paris

necessary, but it increased the bitterness of the Radicals, who were already furious at the menace of the Electoral Law of 1817 Matters came to bloodshed in Paris in June, 1820, the Right, however, carried the introduction of a new electoral law The abandonment of France to the noisy emancipationists standing on the extreme Left was happily diverted Richelieu administered the country in a strictly monarchical spirit, but never became the man of the ultra-Royalists of the Pavillon Marsan

The disturbed condition of the Iberian Peninsula gave the leaders of the reaction a new justification for their policy and a new opportunity of applying it Ferdinand VII, the king so intensely desired by the Spaniards, had soon shown himself a mean despot, whose whole government was marked by depravity and faithlessness, by falsehood and distrust He abolished in May, 1814, the constitution of 1812, which was steeped in the spirit of the French Constituent Assembly, dismissed the Cortes, and with a despicable party or camarilla of favourites and courtiers persecuted all liberals and all adherents of Joseph Bonaparte He restored all the monasteries, brought back the Inquisition and the Jesuits, and scared Spain once

more into the deep darkness of the Middle Ages ; he destroyed all benefits of government and the administration of justice, filled the prisons with innocent men, and revelled with guilty associates. Trade and commerce were at a standstill, and in spite of all the pressure of taxation the treasury remained empty. The Ministries and high officials continually changed according to the caprice of the sovereign, and there was no pretence at pursuing a systematic policy. Such evils led to the rebellions of discontented and ambitious generals, such as Xaverio Mina, who paid the penalty of failure on the scaffold or at the gallows. Even the loyalty of the South American colonies wavered ; they were evidently contemplating defection from the mother country, in spite of all counter measures ; and the rising world power of the United States of North America was greatly strengthened. By the influence of the Powers, particularly of Russia, Ferdinand was rudely awakened from the indolence into which he had fallen. Better days seemed to be dawning for Spain ; but the reforming mood soon passed away.

Regiments intended to be employed against the rising in South America had been assembled at Cadiz, but at this centre a conspiracy against the Government in Madrid broke out. On New Year's Day, 1820, the colonel of the regiment of Asturia, Riego, proclaimed in Las Cabezas de San Juan on the Isla de Leon the constitution of 1812, arrested at Arcos the commander-in-chief of the expeditionary force together with his staff, drove out the magistrates, and joined Colonel Antonio Quiroga, who now was at the head of the undertaking. The attempt to capture Cadiz failed ; Riego's march through Andalusia turned out disastrously, and he was forced on March



LOUIS XVIII. OF FRANCE DRAWING UP THE "CHARTA" AT ST. OUEN IN 1814

11th to disband his followers at Bienvenida. Quiroga also achieved nothing. But the cry for the constitution of 1812 found a responsive echo in Madrid Galicia, Asturia, Cantabria, and Aragon revolted The royal government completely lost heart, since it had too evil a conscience The king, always a coward,

Reaction Triumphant in Spain

capitulated with undignified alacrity, declared himself ready to gratify "the universal wish of the people," and on March 9th took a provisional oath of adherence to the constitution of 1812

The whole kingdom was at the mercy of the unruly and triumphant Left It was headed by Quiroga and Riego, and the Government was obliged to confer upon both these mutineers the rank of field-marshal. Quiroga was the more moderate of the two, and as Vice-president of the Cortes, which met on July 9th, endeavoured to organise a middle party Riego preferred the favour of the mob, at Madrid he received a wild ovation, August 30th to September 6th, and a hymn composed in his honour and called by his name was in everybody's mouth Although his arrogance produced a temporary reaction, the party which he led was in the end triumphant As captain-general of Galicia and Aragon, Riego became master of the situation, and the Court was exposed to fresh humiliations

The spirit of discontent had also seized Portugal, where the reorganiser of the army, Field-Marshal Lord Beresford, conducted the government for King John VI., who was absent in Brazil A national conspiracy against the British was quickly suppressed in 1817, but the feeling of indignation smouldered, and when Beresford himself went to Rio Janeiro for commands, secret societies employed his absence to stir up fresh sedition The rebellion broke out on August 24th, 1820, under Colonel Sepulveda and Count

Portugal's Spirit of Discontent

Silveira in Oporto, and Lisbon followed suit on September 15th. The juntas instituted in both places amalgamated into one provisional government on October 1st, and when Beresford returned on October 10th, he was not allowed to land The Cortes of 1821 drew up, on March 9th, the preliminary sketch of a constitution which limited the power of the Crown, as it had already been limited in Spain All the authorities swore to it; Count Pedro Palmella, the foremost statesman of the kingdom, advised John VI. to do the same John appeared in Lisbon, left his eldest son Dom Pedro behind as regent in Brazil, and swore to the principles of the constitution on July 3rd, 1821

In Italy, meanwhile, there was a strong movement on foot in favour of republicanism and union But few placed their hopes on Piedmont itself, for King Victor Emmanuel I was a bigoted, narrow-minded ruler, who sanctioned the most foolish retrogressive policy, and, like William I at Cassel, declared everything that had occurred since 1789 to be simply null and void There was no prospect of freedom and a constitution while he continued to reign His prospective successor, Charles Felix, was as little of a Liberal as himself The nobility and the clergy alone felt themselves happy The hopes of better days could only be associated with the head of the indirect line of Carignan, Charles Albert, who in Piedmont and Sardinia played the rôle of the Duke of Orleans in France, and represented the future of Italy for many patriots even beyond the frontiers of Piedmont In

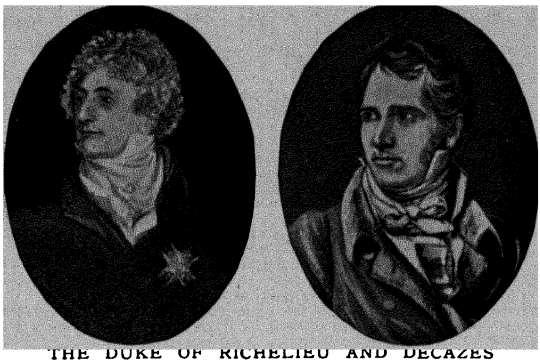
Peaceful Rule of Duke Ferdinand

Modena, Duke Francis IV of the Austrian house did away with the institutions of the revolutionary period and brought back the old regime The Society of Jesus stood at the helm Modena, on account of the universal discontent, became a hotbed of secret societies

In the papal states the position was the same as in Modena, it was hardly better in Lucca, or in Parma, where Napoleon's wife, the Empress Marie Louise, held sway In Tuscany, the Grand Duke Ferdinand III reigned without any spirit of revenge, he was an enemy of the reaction, although often disadvantageously influenced from Vienna The peace and security which his rule assured to Tuscany promoted the growth of intellectual and material culture His was the best administered state in the whole of Italy, and when he died, in 1824, his place was taken by his son Leopold II, who continued to govern on the same lines and with the same happy results

Pius VII and his great Secretary of State, Cardinal Consalvi, had indeed the best intentions when the States of the Church were revived, but the upas-tree of bureaucracy blighted all prosperity Not a vestige remained of the modern civilised lay state, especially after Consalvi was

removed and Leo XII., 1823-1829, assumed the reins of government. Secret societies and conspiracies budded, and brigandage took a fresh lease of life. The secret society of the Carbonari, having become too large for Neapolitan soil—1808—maintained relations with the Freemasons, who had influence in the Italian disputes, and with Queen Mary Caroline of Naples. Later, the Government vainly tried to suppress the Carbonari, who, though degraded by the admission of the most notorious criminals had gained a hold on every stratum of society.

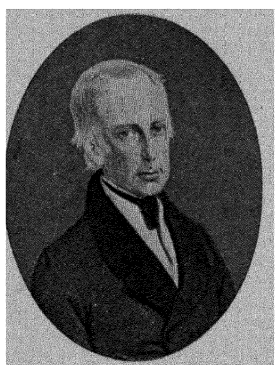


THE DUKE OF RICHELIEU AND DECAZES

The Duke of Richelieu, an emigré and formerly governor-general at Odessa, was appointed to succeed Talleyrand as High Chamberlain though he was quite unacquainted with French affairs, while Décazes, who supported the Bourbon restoration, became a great favourite of the king. He was dismissed in 1820, and went to London as ambassador.

The misgovernment of Naples and Sicily gave a plausible excuse for revolutionary agitation. King Ferdinand IV., a phlegmatic old man, full of cunning and treachery, licentiousness and cruelty, had not fulfilled one of the promises which he had given on his return to the throne, but had, on the contrary, secretly promised the Court of Vienna that he would not grant his country a constitution until Austria set him the example. On December 11th, 1816, he united his states into the "Kingdom of the Two Sicilies," and assumed the title of Ferdinand I.; and, although he left in existence many useful reforms which had been introduced during the French period, he bitterly disappointed his Sicilian subjects by abolishing the constitution which Lord Bentinck had given them in 1812. The police and the judicial system were deplorably bad; the Minister of Police was the worst robber of all, and the head of the Calderari, a rival reactionary society. The army was neglected. Secret societies and bands of robbers vied with each other in harassing the country, and the Government was powerless against them. The newly revived citizen militia was immediately infected by the Carbonari, which tempted it with the charm of a "constitution."

Guglielmo Pepe, an ambitious general, but fickle character, became the soul of the Carbonari in the Sicilian army, and gave them a considerable degree of military efficiency. He contemplated in 1819 the arrest of the king, the Emperor and Empress of Austria, and Metternich, at a review. The plan was not executed, but the spell of the Spanish insurrection and the new constitution ensnared him and his partisans. On July 2nd, 1820, two sub-lieutenants raised the standard of revolt at Nola, and talked foolishly about the Spanish constitution, which was totally unknown to them. On the 3rd this was proclaimed in Avellino. Pepe assumed the lead of the movement, which spread far and wide, and marched upon Naples. The Ministry changed. Ferdinand placed the government temporarily in the hands of his son Francis, who was detested as the head of the Calderari, and the latter accepted the Spanish constitution on July 7th, a policy which Ferdinand confirmed. On the 9th, Pepe entered Naples in triumph, with soldiers and militia; and Ferdinand, with tears in his eyes, took the oath to the constitution on the 13th, in the palace chapel. The Bourbons began to wear the colours of the Carbonari. Pepe, as commander-in-chief and captain-general of the kingdom, was now supreme; but Ferdinand hastened to assure the indignant Metternich that all his oaths and promises had been taken under compulsion and were not seriously meant.



A LEADER OF REVOLT

Riego was at the head of the Madrid rising of 1820; his march through Andalusia turned out disastrously, and he disbanded his followers. He was hanged at Madrid in 1823.

Sicily no longer wished to be treated as a dependency of Naples, and claimed to receive back the constitution of 1812. Messina revolted, and Palermo followed the example on July 14th; on the 18th there was fighting in the streets of Palermo. The governor, Naselli, fled, and the mob ruled; immediately afterwards a provisional government was installed. The independent action of Sicily aroused great discontent in Naples. General Florestan Pepe was despatched to Sicily with an army, and he soon made himself master of the island. But the Crown repudiated the treaty concluded by him with the rebels on October 5th, and sacrificed Pepe to the clamour of the Neapolitan Parliament; the gulf between the two parts of the kingdom became wider. Metternich had been unmoved by the tidings of the Spanish agitation, but he was only the more enraged when he heard what had occurred in the Two Sicilies. He put all blame on the secret societies, and praised the good intentions of Ferdinand's "paternal" government.

Flight of the Governor Naselli



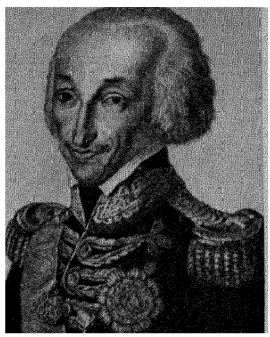
JOHN VI. OF PORTUGAL
After acting as regent for his mother, he succeeded to the throne; a rebellion broke out in 1820, and the king agreed to a constitution limiting the power of the Crown.

The insurrection in Spain had made such an impression on Alexander that in a circular of May 2nd, 1820, he invoked the spirit of the Holy Alliance, and emphasised the danger of illegal constitutions. Metternich strengthened the Austrian forces in Upper Italy, and stated, in a circular to the Italian courts, that Austria, by the treaties of 1815, was the appointed guardian of the peace of Italy, and wished for an immediate armed interference in the affairs of Naples; but he encountered strong opposition in Paris and in St. Petersburg. Alexander, whom Metternich actually suspected of Carbonarism, advised a conference of sovereigns and Ministers; the conference met on October 20th, 1820, at Troppau. Alexander brought with him Capodistrias, an enemy of Metternich; Francis I. brought Metternich and Gentz; Frederic William III. was accompanied by Hardenberg and Count Günther von Bernstorff; the Count de la Ferronays appeared on behalf of Louis XVIII.; and Lord Stewart represented the faint-hearted policy of his brother Castlereagh, which was condemned by the British nation. It was Metternich's primary object that the congress should approve the march of an Austrian army into Naples, and he induced the congress to invite Ferdinand to Troppau. Alexander always clung closer to the wisdom of Metternich, and the latter skilfully used the report of a mutiny among the Semenoff guards as an argument to overcome the Liberalism of the tsar. Alexander saw before his own eyes how the Spanish and Italian military revolts excited imitation in the Russian army. Frederic William was equally conciliatory to Metternich, and was more averse than ever to granting a constitution on the model of Hardenberg's schemes. In the protocol of November 19th, Austria, Prussia, and Russia came to an agreement, behind the back of the two Western Powers, as to the position which they would adopt towards revolutions, and as to the maintenance of social order; but France and Great Britain rejected the idea of changing the principles of international law. Ferdinand took fresh oaths to his people and set out for Troppau. After Christmas the congress closed at Troppau, but was continued in January, 1821, at Laibach. Most of the Italian governments were represented. Metternich again took over the presidency. Ferdinand was at once ready to break his word, and declared that his concessions were extorted from him. The King of France at first hesitated. A miracle seemed to have been performed on behalf of the French Bourbons: the widow of Berry gave birth, on September 29th, 1820, to a son, the Duke Henry of Bordeaux, who usually appeared later under the name of Count of Chambord. The legitimists shouted for joy, talked of the miraculous child who would console his mother for the death of Hector, "the stem of Jesse when nearly withered had put forth a fresh branch." The child was baptised with water which Chateaubriand had drawn from the Jordan. The Spanish Bourbons looked askance at the birth; they were already speculating on the future succession to the throne, and the Duke of Orleans secretly suggested in the English

The "Miracle" of the French Bourbons

Press suspicions of the legitimacy of the child. Louis successively repressed several military revolts, but had constantly to struggle with the claims of the ultras, who embittered his reign. Although in his heart opposed to it, he nevertheless assented at Laibach to the programme of the Eastern Powers.

Austria sent an army under Frimont over the Po, and upheld the fundamental idea of a constitution for the Two Sicilies. Ferdinand agreed to everything which Metternich arranged. France did not, indeed, at first consent to that armed interference with Spain which Alexander and Metternich required. On February 26th, 1821, the deliberations of the congress terminated. The Neapolitan Parliament, it is true, defied the threats of the Eastern Powers, and declared that Ferdinand was their prisoner, and that therefore his resolutions were not voluntary. But their preparations for resistance were so defective that the Austrians had an easy task. The Neapolitan army broke up after the defeat of Guglielmo Pepe at Rieti on March 7th, 1821, and on March 24th Frimont's army marched into Naples with sprigs of olive in their helmets. Pepe fled to Spain. In Naples the reaction perpetrated such excesses that the Powers intervened; the victims were countless, while the Austrians maintained order.



VICTOR EMMANUEL I
King of Sardinia from 1814, he was a bigoted, narrow-minded ruler. His retrogressive policy led to a rising in 1821, and he abdicated in favour of his brother Charles Felix.

In Piedmont the revolution broke out on March 10th, 1821; Charles Albert of Carignan did not keep aloof from it. The tricolour flag, red, white, and green, of the Kingdom of Italy was hoisted in Alessandria, and a provisional junta on the Spanish model was assembled. Turin proclaimed the parliamentary constitution on March 11th, and the Carbonari seized the power. Victor Emmanuel I. abdicated on March 13th in favour of his brother Charles Felix. Charles Albert, a vacillating and untrustworthy ruler, who was regent until the latter's arrival, accepted, contrary to his inward conviction, the new constitution, and swore to it on March 15th. Charles Felix, however, considered every administrative measure null and void which had not emanated from himself. Charles Albert was panic-stricken, resigned the regency, and left the country. Alexander and Metternich agreed that there was need of armed intervention in Piedmont. Austria feared also the corruption of her Italian provinces, and kept a careful watch upon those friends of freedom who had not yet been arrested.



GUGLIELMO PEPE
An ambitious general, but fickle character, he became the soul of the Carbonari in the Sicilian army, and in 1820 he assumed supreme power as commander-in-chief.

At Novara, on April 8th, the Imperialists under Marshal Bubna, won a victory over the Piedmontese insurgents, which was no less decisive than that of Rieti had been in Naples. Piedmont was occupied by the imperial army; the junta resigned, and Victor Emmanuel renewed his abdication on April 19th, at Nice. Charles Felix then first assumed the royal title and decreed a criminal inquiry. On October 18th he made his entry into Turin amid the mad rejoicings of the infatuated mob, suppressed every sort of political party, and ruled in death-like quiet, being supported by the bayonets of Austria and by the dominion of the Jesuits in Church, school, and State. The Austrians did not leave his country until 1823. On May 12th, 1821, a proclamation issued from Laibach by the Eastern Powers announced to the world that they had rescued Europe from the intended general revolution, and that their weapons alone served to uphold the cause of right and justice.

Metternich, promoted by the emperor to the office of Chancellor of State, stood at the zenith of his success when, on May 5th, 1821, Napoleon I., the man who had contested his importance and had ruled the world far more than Metternich, died at St. Helena. The black and yellow flag waved from Milan to Palermo; princes and peoples bowed before it. Legitimacy had curbed the revolutionary

craving, and Italy was further from unification than ever The apostles of freedom and unity, men like Silvio Pellico, disappeared in the dungeons of the Spielberg and other fortresses in Austria Russia was now on the most friendly terms with Austria The result was soon seen when the monarchs and Ministers, still at Laibach, received tidings of disorders in the Danubian principalities and in Greece, and the tsar, under Metternich's influence, repudiated the Greek leader, Ypsilanti, who had built on the theory that he could reckon on the warm support of Russia

An Era of Conspiracy and Anarchy

In Spain the Liberals made shameless misuse of their victory, and limited the power of the king to such a degree that he naturally tried to effect a change His past was a guarantee that Ferdinand VII would not be at a loss for the means to his end He courted the intervention of the Continent, but Louis XVIII and Richelieu preferred neutrality The ultra-Royalists, however, became more and more arrogant in France The Pavillon Marsan expelled Richelieu in December, 1821, and brought in the Ministry of Villèle, the reaction felt itself fully victorious, and the clergy raised their demands The Carbonari was introduced from Italy, and secret societies were formed New conspiracies of republican or Napoleonic tendency followed, and led to executions

The power of the ultras became gradually stronger in the struggle, party feeling increased, and even Count Villèle was not royalist enough for the ultras Ferdinand VII, on the contrary, favoured the Radicals, in order to employ them against the Liberals Riego became President of the Cortes of 1822 A coup de main of the Guards to recover for Ferdinand the absolute power failed in July, 1822, and Ferdinand surrendered those who had sacrificed themselves for him In the north guerrilla bands spread in every direction on his behalf, in Seo de Urgel a regency for him was established on August 15th, and an alliance entered into with France. At the preliminary deliberations for the congress intended to be held at Verona, Metternich reckoned upon his "second self," Castlereagh, now the Marquess of Londonderry, but the latter died by his own hand on August 12th, 1822 His successor in the Foreign Office, George Canning, a "Tory from inward conviction, a modern statesman from national necessity," broke with the absolutist-reactionary principles of the Holy Alliance, and entered the path of a national independent policy, thus dealing a heavy blow at Metternich and Austria Metternich and Alexander stood the more closely side by side

The Tragic End of Castlereagh

The congress of sovereigns and Ministers at Verona was certainly the most brilliant since that of Vienna In October, 1822, came Alexander, Francis, and Frederic William, most of the Italian rulers, Metternich, Nesselrode, Pozzo di Borgo, Bernstorff, and Hardenberg, France was represented by Chateaubriand, the Duke of Laval-Montmorency, Count La Ferronays, and the Marquis of Caraman, Great Britain by Wellington and Viscount Strangford Entertainments were on as magnificent a scale as at Vienna Metternich wished to annul the Spanish and Portuguese revolution, and with it the extorted constitution, the Eastern Powers and France united for the eventuality of further hostile or revolutionary steps being taken by Spain, Great Britain excluded itself from their agreements, while Chateaubriand's romanticism intoxicated the tsar When the Greeks at the congress sought help against the Turks, they were coldly refused On the other hand, an understanding was arrived at about the gradual evacuation of Piedmont by the Austrians, the army of occupation in the Two Sicilies was reduced, and good advice of every sort was given to the Italian princes The Eastern Powers and France saw with indignation that Great Britain intended to recognise the separation of the South American colonies from Spain, and their independence, according to the example given by the United States of North America, in March, 1822 The Congress of Verona ended toward the middle of December

Congress of the Powers at Verona

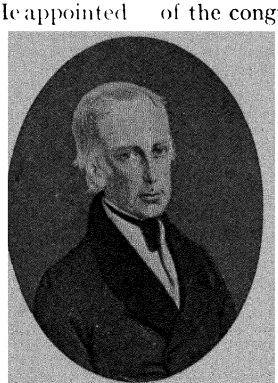
Chateaubriand, now French Minister of Foreign Affairs, urged a rupture with Spain, at which Louis and Villèle still hesitated The threatening notes of the Powers at the Verona congress roused a storm of passion in Madrid, while the diplomatists in Verona had set themselves the question whether nations might put kings on their trial, as Dante does in his Divine Comedy, and whether the tragedy of Louis XVI should be repeated with another background in the case of Ferdinand VII The Spanish nation revolted

against the arrogance of foreign interference. The rupture was made; the ambassadors of Russia, Austria, Prussia, and France left Spain in January, 1823. The adventurous George Bessières ventured on an expedition to Madrid; but the Spanish hope of British help against France, which was intended to carry out the armed interference, was not fulfilled.



CHATEAUBRIAND
This eminent French writer and politician supported the Restoration monarchy from 1814 till 1824. He was created a vicomte, and for two years represented France at the British Court.

Louis XVIII. placed his nephew, Duke Louis of Angoulême, at the head of an army of 100,000 men, which was to free Ferdinand from the power of the Liberals and put him once again in possession of despotic power. In the Chamber at Paris the Liberals, indeed, loudly decried the war, and trembled at the suppression of the Spanish revolution, although Canning openly desired the victory of the Spanish people. Ferdinand and the Cortes went to Seville. Angoulême crossed the frontier stream, the Bidassoa, on April 7th, and found no traces of a popular rising; nevertheless, he advanced, without any opposition, was hailed as a saviour, and entered Madrid on May 24th. He appointed a temporary regency, and in order not to hurt the national pride, avoided any interference in internal affairs, although the reactionary zeal of the regency caused him much uneasiness, and only retained the supreme military command. But the Cortes in Seville relieved the king of the conduct of affairs and carried him off to Cadiz. Victory followed the French flag. The Spaniards lost heart, and were defeated or capitulated. Angoulême made forced marches to Cadiz, and on the night of August 31st stormed Fort Trocadero, which was considered impregnable. An expedition of Riego to the Isla de Leon ended in his arrest, and on September 28th the Cortes, in consequence of the bombardment of Cadiz, abandoned their resistance. Ferdinand VII. voluntarily promised a complete amnesty and made extensive professions. He was accorded a state reception by Angoulême on October 1st, and was proclaimed as absolute monarch by a large party among the Spaniards. But hardly was he free before the perjurer began the wildest reaction. Many members of the Cortes and the regency fled to England to escape the gallows, and Ferdinand exclaimed: "The wretches do well to fly from their fate!" The Powers of Europe viewed his action with horror. Angoulême, whose warnings had been scattered to the winds, left Madrid in disgust on November 4th. Riego was hanged at Madrid on November 7th, 1823; on the 13th Ferdinand returned triumphant, only to reign as detestably as before. Talleyrand called the war of intervention the beginning of the end; the result of it was that Spain floundered further into the mire. The ultras tormented the country and Ferdinand himself to such a degree that he began to weary of them. The colonies in South America were irretrievably lost; all the subtleties of the congress at Verona and of Chateaubriand could not change that fact. At Canning's proposal the British Government, on January 1st, 1825, recognised the independence of the new republics of Buenos Ayres, Colombia, and Mexico. This was a fresh victory over the principle of legitimacy, which had been always emphasised by Austria, Spain, and France, as well as by Russia and Prussia. The Spanish insurrection naturally affected the neighbouring country of Portugal. The September Constitution of 1820, far from improving matters there, had actually introduced new difficulties. Constitutionalists and absolutists were quarrelling violently with each other. Dom Pedro, son of John VI., who had been appointed regent in Brazil, saw himself compelled by a national party, which wished to make Brazil an independent empire, to send away the Portuguese



DONA MARIA II. DA GLORIA
The crown of Portugal was renounced by Pedro IV., of Brazil, in favour of his daughter, but when Dom Miguel proclaimed himself king in 1828 she returned to her father, and was restored in 1834.

troops. He assumed in May, 1822, the title of permanent protector of Brazil, and convened a national assembly at Rio de Janeiro, which on August 1st and on September 7th announced the independence of Brazil, and proclaimed him, on October 12th, 1822, Emperor of Brazil, under the title of Dom Pedro I. The Portuguese were furious, but were never able to reconquer Brazil.

Queen Charlotte, wife of John and sister of Ferdinand VII., a proud and artful woman, refused to take the oath to the Portuguese constitution, to which John swore, and, being banished, conspired with her younger son, Dom Miguel, the clergy, and many nobles, to restore the absolute monarchy. A counter revolution in February, 1823, failed, it is true, but Dom Miguel put himself at its head, and Lisbon joined his cause. The weak John sanctioned this, and cursed the constitution; the Cortes were dissolved. John promised a new constitution, and triumphantly entered Lisbon with his son on June 5th. Portugal was brought back to absolutism. John was a mere cipher; but Miguel and Charlotte ruled, and did not shrink even from the murder of opponents. Miguel headed a new revolt against his father on April 30th, 1824, in order to depose him. But John made his escape on May 9th to a British man-of-war. The diplomatic body took his side, and at the same time the pressure brought to bear by the British Government compelled Miguel to throw himself at his father's feet and to leave Portugal on May 13th. An amnesty was proclaimed. The return of the old Cortes which had sat before 1822 was promised, and by British mediation the Treaty of Rio was signed on August 29th, 1825, in which the independence and self-government of Brazil were recognised. On April 26th, 1826, Portugal received a Liberal Constitution by the instrumentality of Dom Pedro I. of Brazil, who after his father's death, on March 10th, 1826, reigned for a short period over his native country as Pedro IV. Then, on May 2nd, Pedro renounced the crown of Portugal in favour of his daughter, Dona Maria II. da Gloria. On June 25th, 1828, Dom Miguel proclaimed himself king, favoured by the British Tory Cabinet of Wellington. His niece, Maria da Gloria, was forced to return to her father in Brazil.



DOM MIGUEL
He became regent of Portugal on behalf of his niece Maria, and being ambitious, proclaimed himself king. When Maria recovered the crown, Miguel withdrew to Italy.

The victory of Trocadero, which was audaciously compared by the French ultras to Marengo and Austerlitz, was of extraordinary advantage to the Government of Louis XVIII. "It was not merely under Napoleon that victories were won; the restored Bourbons knew this secret"; and the "hero of Trocadero" was hailed as their "champion" by the king on December 2nd, 1823. The elections to the Chambers of 1824 were favourable to them; and a law in June of the same year prolonged the existence of the Second Chamber to seven years, which might seem some check on change and innovation. Villèle stood firm at the helm, overthrew Chateaubriand, and guided Baron Damas, his successor at the Foreign Office. But Chateaubriand revenged himself by the most bitter attacks in the Press. Louis thereupon, at the advice of Villèle, revived the censorship on political journals and newspapers, August 16th, 1824. The much-tried man was nearing his end. He warned his brother to uphold the Charta loyally, the best inheritance which he bequeathed; if he did so, he too would die in the palace of his ancestors.

Louis XVIII. died on September 16th, 1824. France hailed Monsieur as Charles X., with the old cry, "Le roi est mort, vive le roi." But Talleyrand had forebodings that the kingdom of Charles would soon decay; and, with his usual coarseness of sentiment, he said over the corpse of Louis: "I smell corruption here!"

ARTHUR KLEINSCHMIDT



THE CROSS AND THE CRESCENT

REVOLT AND OPPRESSION IN RUSSIA AND THE LIBERATION OF GREECE

WE have seen that the Tsar Alexander I., when he ascended the throne of Russia, was full of liberal ideas. If he wavered between antagonism to Napoleon and alliance with him, it was, in part at least, because Napoleon's own career bore a double aspect; if he was an aggressive conqueror who sought to impose his own will on Europe regardless of international law, he was also the incarnation of anti-feudalism. It was not until after the Congress of Vienna and the Peace of Paris that the change came over the tsar which made him a force in Europe hardly less reactionary than Metternich himself.

But it is with his domestic policy, his policy within the borders of his own empire, that we are here concerned; his foreign policy has already appropriated a conspicuous share of earlier chapters.

The Tsar's Desire for Reforms

On his accession, then, he reigned in a liberal spirit, and surrounded himself with men of the same views; among them his Secretary of State, Michael Speranskij, was conspicuous. Magnanimous plans were proposed, and the emperor himself spoke of the burden of an absolute monarchy. There was a wish to introduce reforms on the English model, or, as Speranskij suggested, an imitation of the French Constitution. People talked, as Catharine had once done, of "the rights of the subjects, and the duty of the Government," and of the abolition of serfdom; and a sum of a million roubles yearly was laid aside in order to buy estates with serfs for the Crown.

The German nobility of Esthonia, Courland, and Livonia took the first step by the emancipation of the Lettic and Esthonian serfs. The coercive measures were repealed, the frontier opened, the "Secret Chancery" as well as corporal punishment for nobles, citizens, priests, and church officials abolished. Schools and universities were founded, and the empire was divided into six educational districts. In place of the old boards dating from the days of Peter, real Ministries and a Council of State were created for the first time. Alexander thus reigned "according to the principles and after the heart of Catharine" until 1812, when he suddenly changed his views. The enemies of freedom, the Church once more at their head,

Attempt to Restore the Old Order

strained every nerve to overthrow Speranskij, and restore the old order of things. Even the great historian, Nikolaj Karamsin, recommended serfdom and autocracy in his memoir on "Ancient and Modern Russia." Others also recommended the same policy. Speranskij was overthrown from a "wounded feeling of disappointed inclination"; Count Alexej Araktshejev, an apostle of slavery, as an all-powerful favourite, guided the affairs of government.

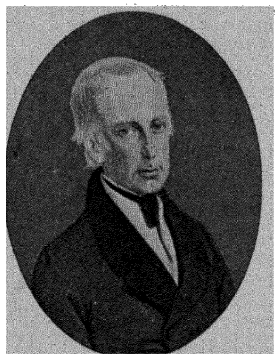
Alexander did, indeed, make the attempt, to which he had always been attracted, of giving his reconstructed Poland a constitution; but Poland was incapable of working a constitution. Another of his experiments was that of establishing military colonies all over the empire. The theory was that the soldiery, planted on the soil, would maintain themselves by agriculture, and would at the same time provide centres for recruiting and for military training. The practical effect,

New Form Of Russian Oppression

however, was merely the application of a new form of oppression to the already sufficiently oppressed peasantry. The latter years of Alexander's life were embittered by a sense of the ingratitude of mankind. Conscious of his own high purposes, he found his own people, instead of recognising their nobility, still murmuring and discontented, infected even by the mutinous spirit of the Latin

peoples. He expressed repeatedly a desire to abdicate, and when he died at Taganrog in December, 1825, it was with no reluctance that he escaped from the cares of sovereignty.

He left no children. Constantine, as the elder of his brothers, would have had the next claim to the throne had he not formally renounced it in 1820 and 1822, in order to be able to marry a Polish countess, Johanna Grudzinska. The idea that his brother Nicholas had learnt nothing of this before the memorable December days of the year 1825 is no longer tenable. The homage paid by the younger brother to Constantine, who was staying in Warsaw, was a rash act chiefly due to Count Miloradovitch, the military Governor-General of St. Petersburg at that time, and it cost trouble enough to cancel it in the days between December 9th and 24th, 1825. There is accordingly no need to suppose a noble contest of magnanimity between the two brothers. But the idea of freedom had already struck root so deeply under Alexander I. that the supporters of a constitution, who had been secretly organised since 1816, especially in the corps of officers, wished to use the opportunity of placing the liberal-minded Constantine on the throne. The rumour was spread that Constantine's renunciation was only fictitious; that he was being kept a prisoner at Warsaw. The troops shouted: "Long live Constantine!" and when the cry "Long live the Constitution!" mingled with it, the troops thought that it was the name of the wife of Constantine.



The son of Paul I., he succeeded to the throne in 1825, on the death of his brother, Alexander I. He aimed at absolute despotism but won the affection of his subjects.

Rebellion Crushed by Nicholas I.

Nicholas I. crushed the rebellion on December 26th, 1825, with great firmness. Several "Decabrists" were executed and many exiled. Possibly that was one of the reasons why Nicholas was throughout his whole reign a sworn enemy of popular liberty. A man of iron strength of character and energy, he was, with his immense stature and commanding presence, the personification of absolutism. But he was fully alive to the duties and responsibilities which his great position threw upon him, and he devoted all his powers to the affairs of the country. His first attention was given to the publication of the legal code. His government aimed at "stopping the rotation of the earth," as Lamartine aptly puts it. He recognised no peoples or nations, only cabinets and states. The Press was therefore once more gagged, printing-offices were watched and schools were placed under strict supervision. The Government's mistrust of education was so great that all lecture courses on philosophy were entrusted to the clergy. Even the Church was watched, and the emperor's adjutant, Protassov, a general of hussars, was attached to the Holy Synod as Procurator-General, and for twenty years conducted the business of the Church on a military system. But the movement towards civilisation and liberty did not fail to have some influence even on this iron despot, for he advocated throughout his whole life the abolition of serfdom, and allowed even the peasants to acquire property. Such was the autocrat whose iron hand was to rule Russia for thirty years after his accession.

In taking up the thread of the history of the Ottoman Empire, we must note certain events in the Napoleonic period which have hitherto passed unrecorded, as standing outside the general course of our account of Europe. The movement, which has by degrees turned one after another of the provinces into practically if not completely independent states, was initiated in 1804 by a Servian revolt, caused by the violent methods of the Turkish Janissaries, and headed by George Petrovitch, otherwise known as Czerney, or Karageorge. The insurrection broke out locally at Sibnitza, Deligrad, Stalatz, and Nish. Before long, Russian influence brought to its support the Greek Hospodars, or provincial administrators of Moldavia and Wallachia, Constantine Murusiv and Constantine Ypsilanti. The flame spread, and in 1806 and 1807 the Serbs inflicted defeats on the Turks at Shabatz and Ushitze, under the command of Milos Obrenovitch, captured Belgrade, and established the popular assembly, or Skuptskina. Shortly before this, however, the Sultan Selim had set himself to overthrow the

The Turks Defeated by the Serbs

dangerous power of the Janissaries by means of a reorganisation of the army, "Nisan Jedid." A further movement in the same direction in 1807 brought disaster. The Janissaries rose; Selim was deposed and murdered. The outcome of a brief and bloody period of struggle was that the one surviving prince of the royal family, Mahmud, found himself placed on the throne, and, to all intents and purposes, in the hands of the Janissaries, who had proved themselves to be the masters of the situation. Hence the first act of Mahmud was to recognise these prætorians in a solemn Hatti-sherif, issued on November 18th, as the firmest support of the throne. The army and the population greeted the one surviving descendant of the Ottoman house with enthusiasm, and the "Chok yasha Sultan Mahmud!" resounded from thousands of throats in the mosques and on the public squares. The Ottoman dynasty had been saved as by a miracle. The sultan, who was then twenty-three years of age, was confronted by two dangerous opponents, the Serbs and Russians. The latter were supporting the Serbs and also the Montenegrins against the Turks and the French in Dalmatia. However, the war upon the Danube was continued with no great vigour. It was not until the Peace of Frederikshamn, of September 17th, 1809, when Russia acquired Finland from Sweden and secured a guarantee from Napoleon that the Polish kingdom should not be restored, that the Turkish War again took a prominent place in Russian policy. In 1810 Prince Bagration was replaced by Count Kamenskii as supreme commander over 80,000 men. He immediately crossed the Danube, and on June 3rd captured Bazarjik, which was followed by the conquest of Silistria, Sistova, Rustchuk, Giurgevo, and Nicopolis. The fear of Napoleon and of a Polish rising prevented further enterprise. After the death of Kamenskii, Kutusoff, who was sixty-five years of age, utterly defeated the Turks on October 12th, 1811, at Slobodse and Rustchuk. This victory decided the war. The British fleet made a demonstration before the Dardanelles to prevent the sultan agreeing to the Continental embargo of Napoleon.

Opponents of the New Sultan

The Peace of Bucharest, May 12th, 1812, reconfirmed the conventions of Kütchuk-Kainarje and Jassy, ceded Bessarabia to Russia, and gave the Serbs an amnesty, greater independence, and an extension of territory. The brothers Murusi, the sultan's Phanariot negotiators, were executed upon their return home on account of the extravagance of the concessions made by them to the tsar.

The Russians had secured an influence in Servia, which Austria had obstinately disdained. When, however, in May, 1813, the Russians appeared on the Oder and Elbe the Turkish army again advanced into Servia; George Petrovitch fled to Russia by way of Austria. The Ottomans exacted a bitter vengeance upon the country, but on Palm Sunday, April 11th, 1815, Milos Obrenovitch appeared with the ancient banner of the voivodes. The people as a whole flocked to the standard, and the Turks were left in possession only of their fortresses. On November 6th, 1817, Milos was recognised by the bishop, the Kneses and people as voivode; while Karageorge, who had returned to the country to ally himself with the Greek Hetæria, was murdered. Almost contemporary with the Society of the Philomusoi, which was founded in Athens in 1812, arose in Greece the secret confraternity of the "philiki," whose energies after some years brought about the open struggle for freedom. Three young Greeks—Skuphas of Arta, Tzakaloph of Janina, and Anagnostopulos of Andritzena—founded the new Hetæria at



THE SULTANS SELIM III. AND MAHMUD II.
Sultan of Turkey, Selim III. made an effort to overthrow the dangerous power of the Janissaries, but the attempt ended in disaster, Selim being deposed and assassinated in 1808. He was succeeded on the throne by Mahmud II., during whose reign Greece established its independence. Mahmud suppressed the Janissary troops.

Odessa in 1814, and swore "to arrive at a decision between themselves and the enemies of their country only by means of fire and sword" Oaths of appalling solemnity united this growing band of comrades. It aimed at complete separation from Turkey, and the revival of the old Byzantine Empire This yearning for liberation proceeded from and was sustained by an intellectual renascence of the nation From the time of the conquest of Byzantium by the Turks the Greeks had been deprived of all political freedom But under the ecclesiastical protection of their patriarch in Phanar and in monasteries, at Athos and Janina in Epirus, and in the theological school of the Peloponnese at Dimitzana, the spark of culture and freedom had glowed amongst the ashes, and was kept alive in the language of the Church and the Gospel

The Lost Freedom of The Greeks

As was the case with the Armenians and the Jews, superior intelligence and dexterity secured the highest positions for the Greeks in the immediate proximity of the Padishah After the position of first interpreter of the Porte had fallen into their hands, at the end of the seventeenth century, all negotiations concerning foreign policy were carried on through them, they were preferred for ambassadorial posts in foreign courts, and from the eighteenth century the Porte made a practice of choosing from their numbers the hospodars of Moldavia and Wallachia

The opinion of an English diplomatist upon these "Phanariots," shortly before the outbreak of the Greek Revolution, is well known "Under the oppression exercised by Turkish despotism with a daily increasing force, the Greek character acquired a readiness for subterfuge and a perversity of judgment on questions of morality, which a continuance of servitude gradually developed to an habitual double dealing and treachery, which strikes the foreigner from the first moment" However, the Greeks looked anxiously to Russian champions and liberators, notwithstanding all the apparent privileges received from the Porte, from the time of the Peace of Posharevatz, when the whole of Morea fell into the possession of the Turks In the devastation which Russia's attempt to liberate the Morea had brought down upon Greece in 1770, when Hellas and Peloponnese suffered inhuman devastation from the Albanians whom the Turks called in, Athens and the islands had been spared, in 1779 the Turks found themselves obliged to send Hasan Pasha to destroy the unbridled Albanians at Tripolitsa In the Peace of Kutchuk-Kainarje in 1774, Russia had again been obliged to abandon the Greeks to the Ottomans, though the Turkish yoke became lighter as the power of the Porte grew feebler.

Greece Devastated By Enemies

The Hellenes enriched themselves by means of commerce, the sails of the merchantmen sent out by the islands covered the Mediterranean During the French Revolution almost the entire Levant trade of the Venetians and the French fell into their hands The number of Greek sailors was estimated at ten thousand In their struggles with the pirates their ships had always sailed prepared for war, and they had produced a race of warriors stout-hearted and capable, like the Armatoles, who served in the armies of Europe In the mountain ranges of Mania, of Albania, and Thessaly still survived the independent spirit of the wandering shepherds, or "klephts," who had never bowed to the Ottoman sword The children of the rich merchants who traded with the coasts of Europe studied in Western schools, and readily absorbed the free ideals of the American Union and the French Revolution In the year 1796, Constantine Rhigas of Pheræ sketched in Vienna a plan for the rising of his nation, and secured an enthusiastic support for his aims, which he sang in fiery ballads

The Fate Of a Greek Patriot

When he was planning to enter into relations with Bonaparte, whom he regarded as the hero of freedom, he was arrested in Trieste in 1798, and handed over by the Austrian police, with five of his companions, to the Pasha of Belgrade, who executed him He died the death of a hero, with the words "I have sown the seed, and my nation will reap the sweet fruit" Adamantios Korais, 1748–1833, of Smyrna was working in Paris, together with his associates, before the fall of Napoleon, to bring about the intellectual renascence of the Greeks, the 'Palingenesia" The only thing wanting to these associations was a leader, as was also the case with the Serbs

This leader was eventually provided by Russia Alexander Ypsilanti, born of a noble Phanariot family, was a grandson of the hospodar of Wallachia of the same

name who had been murdered by the Turks in 1805 at the age of eighty, he was a son of that Constantine Ypsilanti who, having supported the Servian insurrection, had been deposed from the post of hospodar of Wallachia, and had fled into exile As the tsar's adjutant during the Vienna Congress, he had inspired that monarch with enthusiasm for the Hetæria

Relying upon the silent consent of his master, he went to Kishineff, in Bessarabia, in September, 1820, with the object of communicating with the leaders of the federation in the Danubian principalities, in Constantinople, and upon the mainland Availing himself of the difficulties caused to the Porte by the revolt of Ali Pasha of Janina, Alexander Ypsilanti, accompanied by his brother Constantine and Prince Cantakuzenos, crossed the Pruth on March 6th, 1821, entered Jassy, sent a report on the same night to the tsar, who was awaiting the result of the congress at Laibach, and forthwith issued an appeal to the Greek nation On March 12th he started for Wallachia, not until April 9th did he reach Bucharest with 5,000 men But from that moment the movement proved unfortunate The tsar, whose hands were tied by the Holy Alliance and the influence of legitimist theories, declared the Greeks to be rebels, and the Russian consul in Jassy openly disapproved of the Phanariot enterprise It now became manifest how feeble was the popularity of these leaders on the Danube They were opposed by the Boyars, the peasants fell away from them, the Serbs held back, and treachery reigned in their own camp To no purpose did the "Sacred Band" display its heroism at Dragashani, in Little Wallachia, on June 19th, 1821, against the superior forces of the Pasha of Silistria and Braila

How the Tsar Regarded The Greeks

On June 26th, Ypsilanti escaped to Austrian territory, where he spent the best years of his life at Munkacs and Theresienstadt in sorrowful imprisonment, his health broke down, and he died shortly after his liberation on January 31st, 1828 The last of the ill-fated band of heroes, Georgakis, the son of Nikolaos, blew himself up on September 20th, in the monastery of Sekko, Moldavia The fantastic ideal of a greater Greece, embracing not only the classic Hellas, but also the Danube states of Byzantine Greece, thus disappeared for ever The Morea was already in full revolt against the Turks On April 4th, 1821, the insurgents took Kalamate, the capital of Messenia, and Patras raised the flag of the Cross The fire of revolt spread on every side, and destruction raged among the Moslems The insurrection was led by the national hero, Theodore Kolokotroni, a bold adventurer and able general, though his followers often did not obey their head, and the fleet of the islands did excellent service The successes of the Greeks aroused boundless fury in Constantinople Intense religious hatred was kindled in the Divan, and at the feast of Easter, April 22nd, the Patriarch Gregory of Constantinople and three metropolitans were hanged to the doors of their churches In Constantinople and Asia Minor, in the Morea, and on the islands, Islam wreaked its fury on the Christians

Islam's Fury Against the Christians

Enthusiasm for the Greek cause spread throughout the whole of Europe The noblest minds championed the cause of the warriors, who were inspired by their noble past with the pride of an indestructible nationality, and were defending the Cross against the Crescent Since the occupation of Athens by the Venetians in 1688, the eyes of educated Europe had turned to the city of Athene The Venetian engineers, Vermada and Felice, had then drawn up an accurate plan of the Acropolis and of the town, which was published by Francesco Fanelli in his "Atene Attica," 1707

Du Cange wrote his "History of the Empire of Constantinople under the Frankish Emperors" in 1657, and in 1680 his "Historia Byzantina" Since the days of George, Duke of Buckingham, 1592-1628, and Thomas, Earl of Arundel, 1586 1646, a taste for the collection of examples of Greek art had been increasing in England Wealthy peers sent their agents to Greece and the East, or journeyed thither themselves, as did Lord Claremont, who commissioned Richard Dalton to make sketches of the Greek monuments and works of art in 1749 James Stewart and Nicholas Revett published sketches of "The Antiquities of Athens" in 1751 In 1776 appeared Richard Chandler's "Travels in Greece" In 1734 the Society of Dilettanti had been founded in London with avowedly Philhellenic objects In 1764 appeared Winckelmann's "History of Ancient Art," and

Greek Art In Fashion

in 1787 Edward Gibbon completed his "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire" From 1812 onwards Beethoven's opera, "The Ruins of Athens," had aroused tears and sympathy in every feeling heart Numberless memories and recollections now carried away the sympathies of Europe, which had only just shaken off the yoke of the Corsican conqueror In 1821 Philhellenic unions were formed upon all sides to support the "heroes of Marathon and Salamis" with money and arms The banker, Eynard of Geneva, the Wurtemberg General Norman, the Frenchman Comte Harcourt, the United States, England King Lewis I of Bavaria, an artistic enthusiast, and the painter Heidegger sent money, arms, and ships, or volunteer bands The populations of Europe were inspired by the Greek songs of Wilhelm Müller and the verses of Lord Byron "The mountains look on Marathon, and Marathon looks on the sea," and later by his heroic death, April 19th, 1824, at Missolonghi Even Goethe, the prince of poets, with all his indifference to politics, was fascinated by the fervour of the Greek and Servian popular songs, and cast his mighty word into the scale of humanity

Europe Inspired by Greek Songs

The Russian people had felt ever since the beginning of the Hellenic war of independence the warmest sympathy for their oppressed brethren, and after the horrors of April 22nd the Government could no longer resist the exasperation felt against the Turks, a storm of indignation swept through the civilised world

The Russian ambassador, Baron Stroganoff, a Philhellene, spoke vigorously for the Christians, and suspended relations with the Porte in June, and Capodistrias announced to the world, in his Note of June 28th, an ultimatum to Turkey that the Turks were no longer entitled to remain in Europe A mood very unpleasing to Metternich had come over the fickle tsar, the Cabinets of Vienna and St James saw with astonishment that Stroganoff left Constantinople in August Metternich once more laid stress on the fact that the triumph of the Greek revolution was a defeat of the Crown, while Capodistrias was for the support of the Greeks and for war against Turkey The Porte, well aware of the discord of the European Cabinets, showed little willingness to give way and agree to their demands

Metternich And the Fickle Tsar

Kolokotroni had invested the Arcadian fortress of Tripolitza since the end of April, 1821 All Turkish attempts to relieve the garrison proved futile, while the militia had been drilled into efficient soldiers, and on October 5th, 1821, Tripolitza fell The Greeks perpetrated gross barbarities Demetrius Ypsilanti, Alexander's brother, who also had hitherto served in Russia, had been "Archistrategos" since June of that year, but he possessed little reputation and could not prevent outrages The continued quarrels and jealousy between the leaders of the soldiers and of the civilians crippled the power of the insurgents Alexander Mavrogordato, a man of far-reaching imagination, undertook, together with Theodore Negri, the task of giving Hellas a fixed political system In November, 1821, Western and Eastern Hellas, and in December the Morea, received constitutions

The National Assembly summoned by Demetrius Ypsilanti to Argos was transferred to Piadha, near the old Epidauros, and proclaimed on January 13th, 1822, the independence of the Hellenic nation and a provisional constitution, which prepared the ground for a monarchy While it broke with the Hetæria, it appointed Mavrogordato as Proedros (president) of the executive council to be at the head of affairs, and in an edict of January 27th it justified the Greek insurrection in the eyes of Europe. Corinth became the seat of government But the old discord, selfishness, and pride of the several leaders precluded any prospect of a favourable issue to the insurrection Kurshid Pasha, after the fall of Ali Pasha of Janina, which freed the Turkish army of occupation in Albania, subjugated the Suliotes

Corinth the Seat of Government

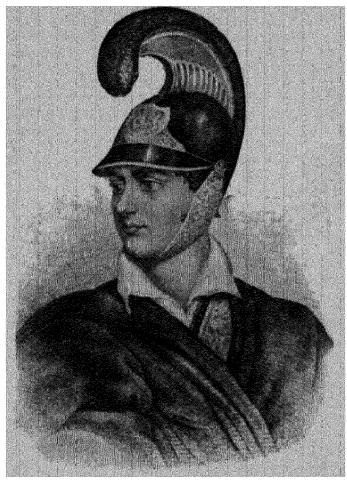
As a result of the objectless instigation of Chios to revolt, a fleet landed in April under Kara Ali, and the island was barbarously chastised Indignation at the Turkish misrule once more filled the European nations, and they hailed with joy the annihilation of Kara Ali's fleet by Andreas Miaouli and Constantine Kanari on June 19th In July a large Turkish army under Mahmud Dramali overran Greece from Phocis to Attica and Argos. The Greek Government fled from Corinth. In spite of all the courage of Mavrogordato and General Count Normann-Ehrenfels, famous for the attack on Kitzen, Suli was lost, owing to the

defeat at Peta on July 16–17, and Western Hellas was again threatened. The bold Markos Botzaris fell on August 21st, 1823, with his Suliotes, in the course of a sortie against the besiegers of Missolonghi.

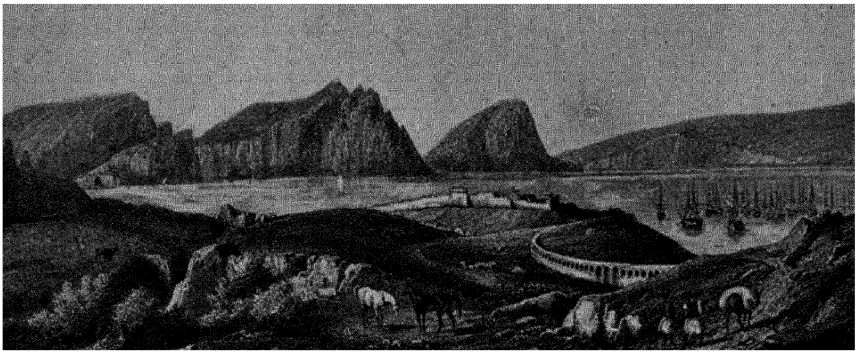
In his necessity the sultan now summoned to his aid his most formidable vassal, Mehemet Ali of Egypt. He first sent his son Ibrahim to Candia for the suppression of the revolt, in command of his troops, who had been trained by French officers. This leader then appeared in the Morea, February 22nd, 1825, where the bayonet and his cavalry gave him a great superiority over the Greeks, who, though brave, were badly disciplined and armed. None the less the Greeks vigorously protested against the protocol of peace, which was issued by the Powers, of August 24th, 1824, recommending them to submit to the Porte and promising the sultan's pardon, after almost the whole population of the Island of Psara had been slaughtered on July 4th. Three parties were formed amongst the Greeks themselves, one under Mavrogordato leaning upon England, that of Capodistrias leaning upon Russia, and that of Kolettis leaning upon France. British influence prevailed. On December 21st, 1825, the Tsar Alexander died at Taganrog, and the youthful Nicholas I. ascended the throne. He quickly suppressed a military revolution in St. Petersburg, and showed his determination to break down the influence of Metternich. Canning, whose whole sympathies were with the Greeks, now sent the Duke of Wellington to St. Petersburg, and on April 4th, 1826, Great Britain and Russia signed a protocol, constituting Greece, like Servia, a tributary vassal state of the Porte, with a certain measure of independence. Charles X. of France agreed to these proposals, as his admiration had been aroused by the heroic defence of Missolonghi, where Byron had fallen. Austria alone secretly instigated the sultan to suppress the Greek revolt. Even the help given to the Greeks at that time by Lord Cochrane and General Church, by Colonels Fabvier, Vautier, and Heydeck, did not stop the Turkish advance. On June 5th, 1827, the Acropolis again capitulated, and with it the whole of Greece was once again lost to the Hellenes. However, a bold attack delivered at a most unexpected point shook the throne of the sultan. On May 28th, 1826, Mahmud II. issued a Hatti-sherif concerning the reform of the Janissaries. Upon the resistance of these latter they were met on the Etmeidan by the well-equipped imperial army, supported on this occasion by the Ulemas and the people, and were mown down with grape-shot. The sultan forthwith began the formation of a new corps upon European models. It was an event of the most far-reaching importance for the empire when Mahmud first appeared at the head of the faithful in an overcoat, European trousers, boots, and a red fez instead of a turban. His triumph, however, was premature, his army was momentarily weakened, and the reforms were not carried out. The invader was already knocking once again at the door of the empire. On October 6th, 1826, his plenipotentiaries signed an agreement at Akkerman, agreeing on all points to the Russian demands for Servia and the Danubian principalities, but refusing that for Greek freedom. In vain did the sultan send an ultimatum to the Powers on June 10th, 1827, representing that the right of settling the Greek problem was his alone. On April 11th, 1827, Capodistrias became President of the free state of Corfu, under Russian influence, and Russia, Britain, and France determined to concentrate their fleets in Greek waters on July 6th, a month before the death of Canning, which filled Greece with lamentation. The result of the movements was the battle of Navarino, October 20th, one of the most murderous naval actions in the whole of history; in

The Heroic Death of Lord Byron

The Sultan in a New Guise

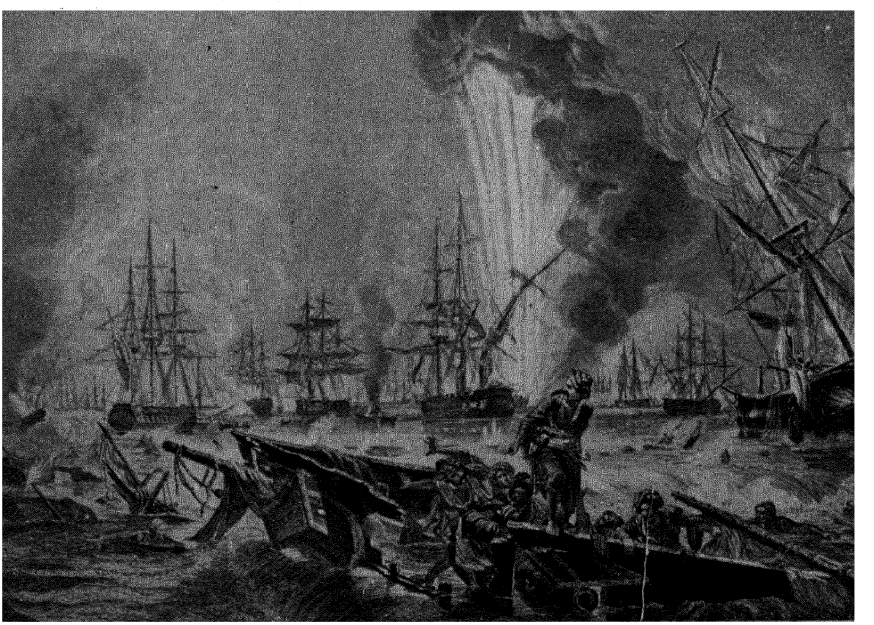


BYRON AS A GREEK SOLDIER
The brave fight for independence made by Greece against the Turks stirred the enthusiasm of Europe. That he might assist the Greeks, the poet Byron arrived at Missolonghi on January 4th, 1824, and died on April 19th.



THE BAY OF NAVARINO AT THE TIME OF THE GREEK FIGHT FOR FREEDOM

four hours nearly 120 Turkish warships and transports were destroyed. This "untoward event," as Wellington called it—to the wrath of all Canningites—implied a further triumph for Russian policy, which had already acquired Grusia, Imeretia—Colchis, 1811, and Gulistan, 1813, in Asia, and had secured its rear in Upper Armenia by the acquisition of Etchmiadzin, the centre of the Armenian Church, in the Peace of Turkmanchai, 1828. Capodistrias, elected to the presidency of Greece, entered on that office in January. However, the sultan proved more obstinate than ever. In a solemn Hatti-sherif he proclaimed in all the mosques his firm intention to secure his independence by war with Russia, "which for the last fifty or sixty years had been the chief enemy of the Porte." He was without competent officers, and his chief need was an army, which he had intended to create had he been granted time. Thus the main power of the Porte, as at the present day, consisted in the unruly hordes of Asia, whose natural impetuosity could not replace the lack of European discipline and tactical skill. "Pluck up all your courage," Mahmud then wrote to his Grand Vizir at the



THE "MURDEROUS" NAVAL BATTLE OF NAVARINO ON OCTOBER 20TH, 1827



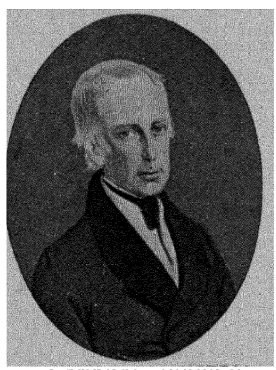
'HE CAPITULATION OF THE TURKISH STRONGHOLD VARNA ON OCTOBER 10TH, 1828
From the drawing by Zweigle

military headquarters, "for the danger is great." On May 7th the Russians crossed the Pruth in Europe, and on June 4th, the Arpatchai in Asia. Ivan Paskevitch conquered the district of Kars and Achalzich, between the Upper Kur and Araxes, and secured a firm base of operations against Erzeroum. The Russians on the Danube advanced more slowly.

The Grand Vizir's Army in Flight

It was not until the fall of Braila, on June 17th, and of Varna, on October 11th, 1828, that they ventured to attack the natural fortress of the Balkans. But the approach of winter suspended the indecisive struggle.

A second campaign was therefore necessary to secure a decision. In Eastern Roumelia the Russians seized the harbour of Sizebolu, February 15th, 1829, in order to provision their army. On February 24th, Diebich took over the supreme command, crossed the Danube in May, and on June 11th defeated and put to flight, by means of his superior artillery, the army of the Grand Vizir Reshid Mehemed, at Kulevcha. Silistria then surrendered, June 26th, and in thirteen days, July 14th–26th, Diebich crossed the Balkans with two army corps; while on July 7th Paskevitch had occupied Erzeroum in Asia. The passage of this mountain barrier, which was regarded as impregnable, produced an overwhelming impression upon the Turks, many of whom regarded the Russian success as a deserved punishment for the sultan's reforms. Diebich "Sabalkanski" advanced to Adrianople. However, Mustafa, Pasha of Bosnia, was already advancing. Fearful diseases devastated the Russian army, which was reduced to 20,000 men. None the less Diebich joined hands with Sizebolu on the Black Sea, and with Enos on the Ægean Sea, although the British fleet appeared in the Dardanelles to protect the capital, from which the Russians were scarce thirty miles distant.



GENERAL DIEBICH

A Russian field marshal, he fought in many campaigns, and in the Turkish war of 1829 was given the surname of "Sabalkanski," which signifies "Crosser of the Balkans."

Both sides were sincerely anxious for peace. However, the sultan's courage was naturally shaken by the discovery of an extensive conspiracy among the old orthodox party. The Peace of Adrianople, secured by the mediation of the Prussian general, on September 14th, offered conditions sufficiently severe. Before the war the tsar had issued a manifesto promising to make no conquests. Now, in August, 1828, he demanded possession of the Danube islands, of the Asiatic coast from Kuban to Nikolaja, the fortresses and districts of Atzshur, Achalzich, and Achalkalaki, with new privileges and frontiers for Moldavia, Wallachia, and Servia. The sultan, under pressure of necessity, confirmed the London Convention of July 6th, 1821, in the tenth article of the peace. The president, Capodistrias, received new subsidies, and loans from the Powers; moreover, on July 19th, 1828, the Powers in London determined upon an expedition to the Morea, the conduct of which was entrusted to France. Ibrahim retired, while General Maison occupied the Peninsula, September 7th The Greek army, composed of Palikars, troops of the line, and Philhellenes, was now armed with European weapons; it won a series of victories at the close of 1828 at Steveniko, Martini, Salona, Lutraki, and Vonizza, and by May, 1829, captured Lepanto, Missolonghi, and Anatoliko. In 1828 the Cretan revolt again broke out, with successful results. On July 23rd, 1829, the National Assembly, tired of internal dissensions, which had repeatedly resulted in civil war, conferred dictatorial powers upon the president. The Peace of Adrianople was concluded on September 14th, 1829; this extended Russia's territory in Asia, opened the Black Sea to Russian trade, and obtained for Greece a recognition of its independence from the Porte. The Western Powers did not at all wish it to become a sovereign Power under Russian influence, and it was finally agreed, on February 3rd, 1830, that the independent state should be confined to as narrow limits as possible, from the mouth of the Aspropotamos to the mouth of the Spercheias, the Porte assenting on April 24th.

Independence of Greece Established

VLADIMIR MILKOWICZ
HEINRICH ZIMMERER



FALL OF THE BOURBON MONARCHY

LOUIS PHILIPPE "KING OF THE FRENCH"

THE French were the first nation to put an end to the weak policy of the Restorations. Their privileged position as the "pioneers of civilisation" they used with that light-hearted energy and vigour by which their national character is peculiarly distinguished, while maintaining the dexterity and the distinction which has invariably marked their public action. The cup of the Bourbons was full to overflowing. It was not that their powers of administration were in any material degree inferior to those of other contemporary royal houses; such a view of the situation would be entirely mistaken.

They were, however, in no direct connection with their people, and were unable to enter into relations with the ruling society of Paris. The restored emigrés, the descendants of the noble families of the period of Louis XV. and XVI., whose members had lost their lives under the knife of the guillotine, were unable to appreciate the spirit which animated the France of Napoleon Bonaparte. This spirit, however, had availed itself of the interim which had been granted definitely to establish its position, and had become a social power which could no longer be set aside. Family connections in a large number of cases, and the ties of social intercourse, ever influential in France, had brought the Bonapartists into direct relations with the army, and with the generals and officers of the emperor who had been retired on scanty pensions.

The Legacy Of the Revolution

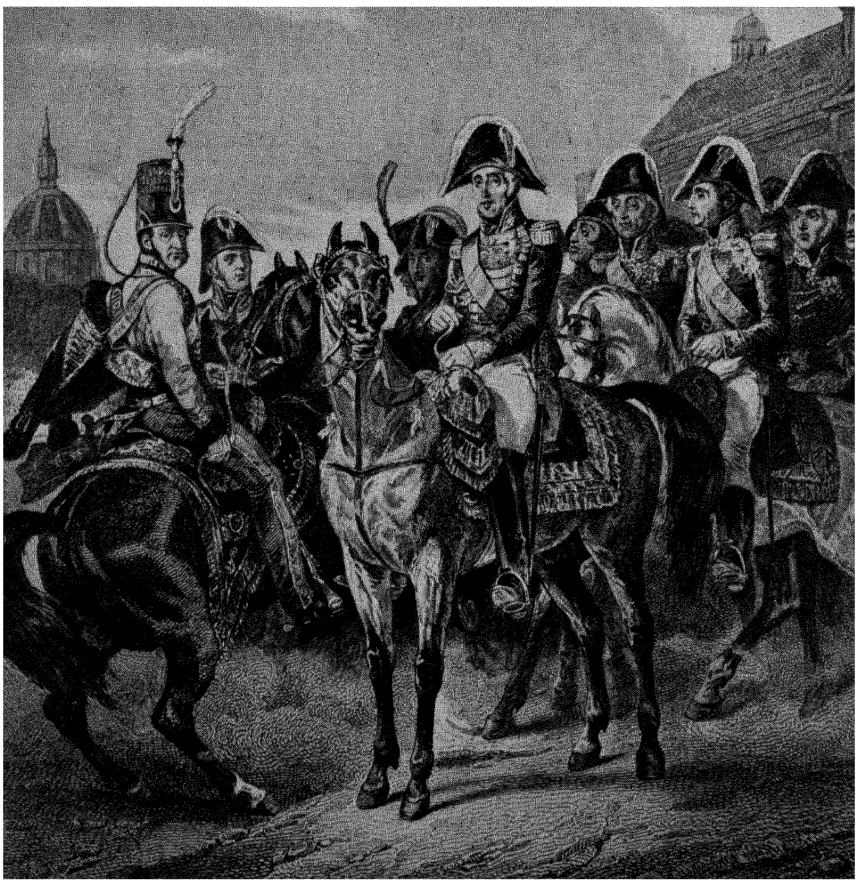
The floating capital, which had grown to an enormous extent, was in its hands, and was indispensable to the Government if it was to free itself from the burden of a foreign occupation. By the decree of April 27th, 1825, the reduced noble families whose goods had been confiscated by the nation were relieved by the grant of £40,000,000. The decree, however, did not imply their restoration to the social position they had formerly occupied; the emigrant families might be the pensioners of the nation, but could no longer be the leading figures of a society which thought them tiresome and somewhat out of date. Louis XVIII., a well-disposed monarch, and not without ability, died on September 16th, 1824, and was succeeded by his brother Charles X., who had, as Count of Artois, incurred the odium of every European court for his obtrusiveness, his avowed contempt for the people, and for his crotchety and inconsistent character; he now addressed himself with entire success to the task of destroying what remnants of popularity the Bourbon family had retained. He was, however, tolerably well received upon his accession. The abolition of the censorship of the Press had gained him the enthusiastic praise of Victor Hugo, but his liberal tendencies disappeared after a short period. Jesuitical priests played upon his weak and conceited mind with the object of securing a paramount position in France under his protection.

Charles X. King Of France

The French, however, nicknamed him, from the words of Béranger, the bold song writer, "Charles le Simple" when he had himself crowned in Rheims after the old Carolingian custom. His persecution of the liberal Press increased the influence of the journalists. The Chambers showed no hesitation in rejecting the law of censorship introduced by his Minister, Villèle. When he dissolved them, barricades were again raised in Paris and volleys fired upon citizens. Villèle could no longer remain at the helm. Martignac, the soul of the new Ministry which entered on office January 5th, 1828, was a man of honour, and especially adapted to act as mediator. His clear intellect raised him a head and shoulders above the mass of the Royalists. He wished for moderation and progress, but he never possessed Charles's affection, and was no statesman. Charles opposed Martignac's diplomacy with the help of his

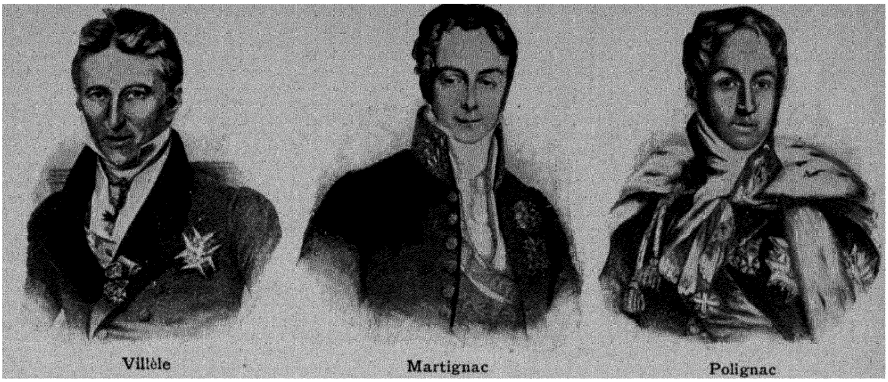
A New Ministry in Power

confidants, Polignac and others; and while Martignac seemed to the king to be "too little of a Villèle," public opinion accused him of being "too much of a Villèle." His laws as to elections and the Press seemed too liberal to Charles; his interference in the Church and the schools roused the fury of the Jesuits; and the Abbé Lamennais, who had been won back by them, compared the king with Nero and Diocletian. Lamennais attacked the Gallican Church of "atheistic" France, called the constitutional monarchy of Charles the most abominable despotism which had ever burdened humanity, and scathingly assailed the ordinances which Charles had issued in June, 1828, relating to religious brotherhoods and clerical education. Martignac's government, he said, demoralised society, and the moment was near in which the oppressed people must have recourse to force, in order to rise up in the name of the infallible Pope against the atheistic king. Martignac's Cabinet could claim an important foreign success when the Marquis de Maison, who led an expeditionary corps to the Morea, compelled the Egyptians, under Ibrahim Pasha, to retreat in August, 1828, and thwarted Metternich's plan of a quadruple alliance for the forcible pacification of Russia and Turkey. But when Martignac



CHARLES X., KING OF FRANCE

On the death of Louis XVIII. in 1824, his brother, Charles X., succeeded to the throne. Prior to that, the direction of affairs had been largely in his hands owing to the weakness of the king, and by his obtrusiveness and his avowed contempt for the people he had incurred the odium of every European court. Though he was fairly well received upon his accession, he quickly alienated the sympathies of his people, and he was compelled to abdicate in 1830.



THREE NOTABLE MINISTERS OF FRANCE UNDER CHARLES X.
The rapidly-growing unpopularity of the French king, Charles X., was shared by the Ministry of Villèle, which was defeated at the polls. Martignac, the soul of the new Ministry, which entered office on January 5th, 1828, aimed at moderation and progress and met with opposition from Charles. When Martignac withdrew, in 1829, his place was taken by Polignac, but his position as head of the Bourbon Ministry did not commend itself to the people of France, and the revolt against the rule of Charles soon drove that monarch from the throne, thus ending the Bourbon regime.

wished to decentralise the French administration, and brought in Bills for this purpose in February, 1829, he was deserted by everyone. The extreme Right allied itself with the Left; Martignac withdrew the proposals in April, and on August 8th, 1829, Polignac took his place.

The name of Jules Polignac seemed to the country a presage of coups d'état and anti-constitutional reaction. The new Ministry included not a single popular representative amongst its members. A cry of indignation was heard, and the Press made the most violent attacks on the new Minister. The Duke of Broglie placed himself at the head of the society formed to defend the charter, called "Aide-toi, le ciel t'aidera"; republicans, eager for the fray, grouped themselves round Louis Blanqui, Étienne Arago, and Armand Barbès.

The newspaper, "National," began its work on behalf of the Orleans family, for whom Talleyrand, Thiers, Jacques Laffite the banker, and Adelaide, the sister of Duke Louis Philippe, cleared the road. Even Metternich, Wellington, and the Emperor Nicholas advised that no coup d'état should be made against the Charta. Charles, however, remained the untaught emigrant of Coblenz, and did not understand the new era; he saw in every constitutionalist a supporter of the revolutionary party and a Jacobin. Polignac was the dreamer of the restoration, a fanatic without any worldly wisdom, whom delusions almost removed from the world of reality, who considered himself, with his limited capacity, to be infallible. The Virgin had appeared to him and commanded him to cut off the head of the hydra of democracy and infidelity.

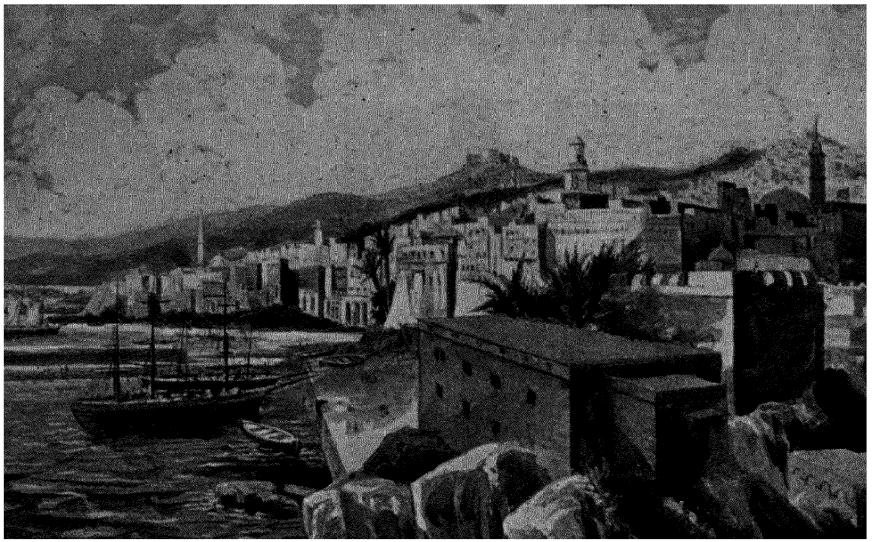
The Dreamer Of the Restoration

Polignac, originally only Minister of Foreign Affairs, became on November 17th, 1829, President of the Cabinet Council. In order to gain over the nation, which was hostile to him, he tried to achieve foreign successes for it. He laid stress on the principle of the freedom of the ocean as opposed to Great Britain's claims to maritime supremacy, and sketched a fantastic map of the Europe of the future; if he could not transform this into reality, at all events military laurels should be won at the first opportunity which presented itself.

Algiers in the Hands of the French

The Dey of Algiers had been offended by the French, and had aimed a blow at their consul, Deval, during an audience. Since he would not listen to any remonstrances, France made preparations by land and sea. In June, 1830, the Minister of War, Count Bourmont, landed with 37,000 men near Sidi-Ferruch, defeated the Algerians, sacked their camp, and entered the capital on July 6th, where he captured much treasure. He banished the Dey, and was promoted to be marshal of France. Algiers became French, but Charles and Polignac were not destined to enjoy the victory.

The new elections, for which writs were issued after the Chamber of Deputies had demanded the dismissal of Polignac, proved unfavourable to the Ministry and forced the king either to change the Ministry or make some change in the constitution. The Jesuits at that time had not yet adequately organised their political system,



ALGIERS AS IT WAS IN THE YEAR 1830 WHEN TAKEN BY THE FRENCH
From an engraving of the period

and were in France more obscure than in Belgium and Germany. However, they thought themselves sure of their ground, and advised the king to adopt the latter alternative, notwithstanding the objections of certain members of his house, including the dauphine Marie Thérèse.

Meanwhile, the Press and the parties in opposition became more confident; Royer-Collard candidly assured Charles that the Chamber would oppose every one of his Ministries. Charles, however, only listened to Polignac's boastful confidence, and at the opening of the Chambers on March 2nd, 1830, in his speech from the throne he threatened the opposition in such unmistakable terms that doctrinaires as well as ultra-Liberals detected the unsheathing of the royal sword. Pierre Antoine Berryer, the most brilliant orator of legitimacy, and perhaps the greatest French orator of the century, had a lively passage of arms in the debate on the address with François Guizot, the clever leader of the doctrinaires, and was defeated; the Chamber, by 221 votes against 181, accepted on March 16th a peremptory answer to the address, which informed the monarch that his Ministers did not possess the confidence of the nation and that no harmony existed between the Government and the Chamber. Charles, however, saw that the monarchy itself was at stake, declared his resolutions unalterable, and insisted that he would never allow his Crown to be humiliated. He prorogued the Chambers on March 19th until September 1st, and dismissed prefects and officials; whereupon the 221 were fêted throughout France. Charles in some perturbation then demanded from his Ministers a statement of the situation. But Polignac's secret memorandum of April 14th lulled his suspicions again.

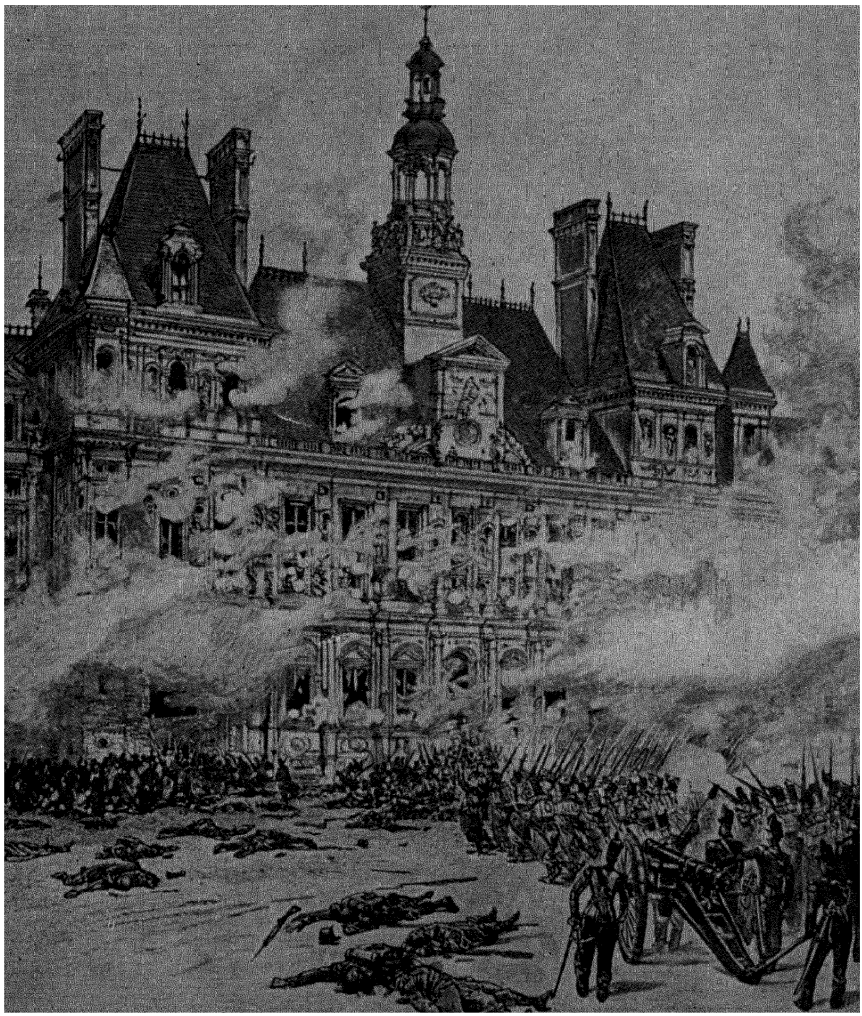
It said that only a small fraction of the nation was revolutionary and could not be dangerous; the charter was the gospel, and a peaceful arrangement was easy. Charles dissolved the Chambers on May 16th, and summoned a new one for August 3rd. Instead of recalling Villèle, he strengthened the Ministry by followers of Polignac. On May 19th De Chantelauze and Count Peyronnet came in as Minister of Justice and Minister of the Interior.

The King's Defiance of the People

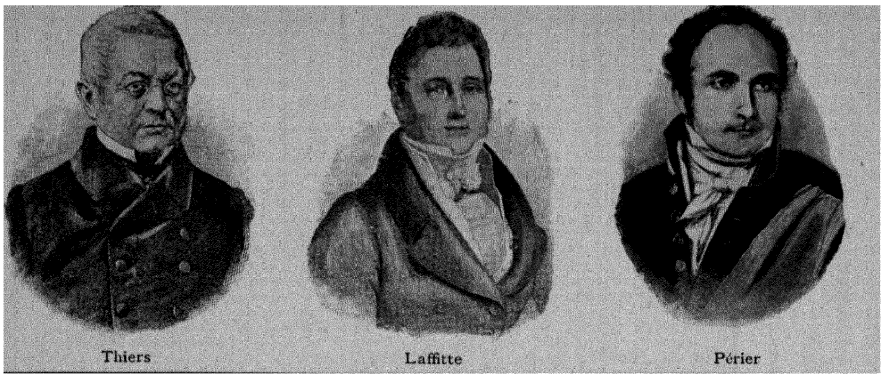
The appointment of Peyronnet was, in Charles' own words, a slap in the face for public opinion, for there was hardly an individual more hated in France; he now continually advised exceptional measures and urged a coup d'état against the provisions of the Charta. In order to facilitate the victory of the Government at the new elections, he explained in his proclamation to the people on June 13th that he would not give in. But the society "Aide-toi, le ciel t'aidera" secured

the re-election of the 221 ; the opposition reached the number of 272 ; the Ministry, on the other hand, had only 145 votes.

Disorders were visible in the whole of France. Troops were sent to quiet them, but the Press of every shade of opinion fanned the flame. Charles saw rising before him the shadow of his brother, whom weak concessions had brought to the guillotine ; spoke of a dictatorship ; and, being entirely under Polignac's influence, inclined towards the plan of adopting exceptional measures and re-asserting his position as king. On July 26th five royal ordinances were published. In these the freedom of the Press as established by law was greatly limited ; the Chambers of Deputies, though only just elected, were again dissolved ; a new law for reorganising the elections was proclaimed, and a chamber to be chosen in accordance with this method was summoned for September 28th. In other words, war was declared



THE CAPTURE OF THE HOTEL DE VILLE BY THE CITIZENS OF PARIS
The Paris Revolution of 1830 was brief but decisive, ending in the dethronement of Charles X. For three days—from July 28th till the 29th—Paris was in a state of revolution. The populace attacked the Hôtel de Ville and the Tuileries, the capture of the former, after a spirited defence by the National Guard, being shown in the above picture.



LEADERS IN THE FRENCH REVOLUTION OF 1830

The best known political writer in France at the time, Adolphe Thiers, wrote the "Histoire de la Révolution Française," which obtained a rapid popularity. An opponent of the Polignac administration, he declared for a change of dynasty, and in his liberal policy was supported by the financiers Jacques Laffitte, and Casimir Périer, who had a large following, enjoying unlimited influence among the property-owning citizens, who were joined by some of the nobility.

upon the constitution. According to paragraph 14 of the charter, the king "is chief head of the state. He has command of the military and naval forces; can declare war, conclude peace, alliances, and commercial treaties; has the right of making appointments to every office in the public service, and of issuing the necessary regulations and decrees for the execution of the laws and the security of the state." Had the king, as indeed was maintained by the journals supporting the Ministry, ventured to claim the power of ruling through his own decrees, for which he alone was responsible, then all regulations as to the state of the legislature and the subordination of the executive would have been entirely meaningless. Paris, desiring freedom, was clear upon this point, and immediately set itself with determination to the task of resistance. The first day began with the demonstrations of the printers, who found their occupation considerably reduced by the Press censorship. This movement was accompanied by tumultuous demonstrations of dissatisfaction on the part of the general public in the Palais Royal, and the windows of the unpopular Minister's house were broken. On the morning of the second day the liberal newspapers appeared without even an attempt to gain the necessary authorisation from the authorities. They contained a manifesto couched in identical language and including the following sentence: "In the present state of affairs obedience ceases to be a duty." The author of this composition was Adolphe Thiers, at that time the best known political writer in France, born in Marseilles, April 15th, 1797, and practising as advocate in Aix in 1820. In 1821 he came to Paris and entered the office of the "Constitutionnel," and co-operated in the foundation of several periodicals, writing at the same time his "Histoire de la Révolution Française," in ten volumes, 1823–1827. This work was rather a piece of journalism than a scientific history. It attained rapid popularity among the liberal bourgeois as it emphasised the great successes and the valuable achievements of the Revolution, while discountenancing the aberrations of the lamentable excesses of an anarchical society; constitutionalism and its preservation were shown to be the results of all the struggles and sacrifices which France had undergone to secure freedom and power of self-determination to nations at large. Thiers also supported the view of the members that the charter of 1814 provided sufficient guarantees for the preservation and exercise of the rights of the people. These, however, must be retained in their entirety and protected from the destructive influences of malicious misinterpretation. Such protection he considered impossible under the government of Charles X. He was equally distrustful of that monarch's son, the Duke



LAFAYETTE

Author of the "Rights of Man" theory, and the patriarch of the Revolution, he commanded the National Guard in the rising of 1830.

of Angoulême, and had already pretty plainly declared for a change of dynasty and the deposition of the royal line of the House of Bourbon in favour of the Orleans branch. Thiers and his journalistic friends were supported by a number of the advocates present in Paris, including the financiers Jacques Laffitte and Casimir Périer. They also possessed a considerable following and enjoyed unlimited influence among the property-owning citizens, who were again joined by the independent nobility excluded from court. They gave advice upon the issue of manifestoes, while Marmont, the Duke of Ragusa and military commander in Paris, strove, with the few troops at his disposal, to suppress the noisy gatherings of the dissatisfied element, which had considerably increased by July 27th. Paris began to take up arms on the following night. On the 28th, thousands of workmen, students from the polytechnic schools, doctors, and citizens of every profession, were fighting behind numerous barricades, which resisted all the efforts of the troops. Marmont recognised his inability to deal with the revolt, and advised the king, who was staying with his family and Ministers in Saint Cloud, to withdraw the ordinances. Even then a rapid decision might have caused a change of feeling in Paris, and have saved the Bourbons, at any rate for the moment; but neither the king nor Polignac suspected the serious danger confronting them, and never supposed that the Parisians would be able to stand against 12,000 troops of the line. This, indeed, was the number that Marmont may have concentrated from the garrisons in the immediate neighbourhood. In view of the well-known capacity of the Parisians for street fighting, their bravery and determination, this force would scarce have been sufficient, even granting their discipline to have been unexceptionable, and assuming their readiness to support the king's cause to the last. The troops, however, were by no means in love with the Bourbon hierarchy, and no one felt any inclination to risk his life on behalf of such a ridiculous coxcomb as Polignac, against whom the revolt appeared chiefly directed. The regiments advancing upon Paris from the neighbouring provinces halted in the suburbs. Within Paris itself two regiments of the line were won over by the brother of Laffitte, the financier, and deserted to the revolters. During the forenoon of July 29th, Marmont continued to hold the Louvre and the Tuileries with a few thousand men. In the afternoon, however, a number of armed detachments made their way into the Louvre through a gap caused by the retreat of a Swiss battalion, and Marmont was forced to retire into the Champs Elysées. In the evening the marshal rode off to Saint Cloud with the news that the movement in Paris could no longer be suppressed by force, and that the king's only course of action was to open negotiations with the leaders of the revolt. Marmont had done all he could for the Bourbon monarchy with the very inadequate force at his disposal, and was now forced to endure the aspersions of treachery uttered by the Duke of Angoulême before the guard. This member of the Bourbon family, who had been none too brilliantly gifted by Providence, was entirely spoiled by the ultra legitimist rulers and priests, who praised his Spanish campaign as a brilliant military achievement, and compared the attack on the Trocadero to Marengo and Austerlitz. A prey to the many illusions emanating from the brain of the "sons of Saint Louis," it was left to his somewhat nobler and larger-minded father to inform him that even kings might condescend to return thanks, at any rate to men who had risked their lives in their defence.

Paris in Arms against the King

The Soldiery Desert to the Revolters



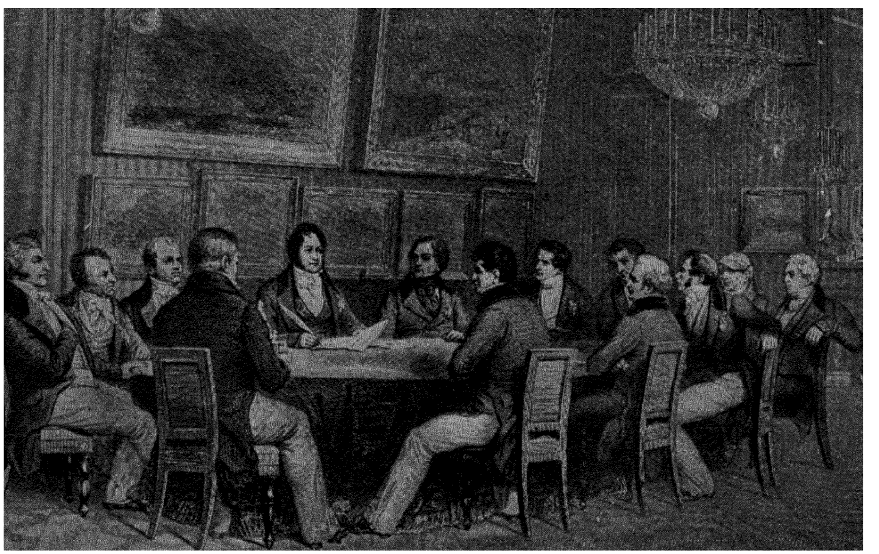
LOUIS PHILIPPE, KING OF FRANCE
After the Revolution of 1830, which drove Charles X. from the throne, Louis Philippe, the eldest son of Philip "Égalité," received the crown, and under her "citizen king" France regained some of her old prosperity.

Marmont was, moreover, mistaken in his idea that Charles could retain his throne for his family by negotiations, by

the dismissal of Polignac, by the recognition of recent elections, or even by abdication in favour of his grandson Henry, afterwards Count of Chambord. The fate of the Bourbons was decided on July 30th, and the only question for solution was whether their place should be taken by a republic or by a liberal constitutional monarchy under the princes of Orleans.

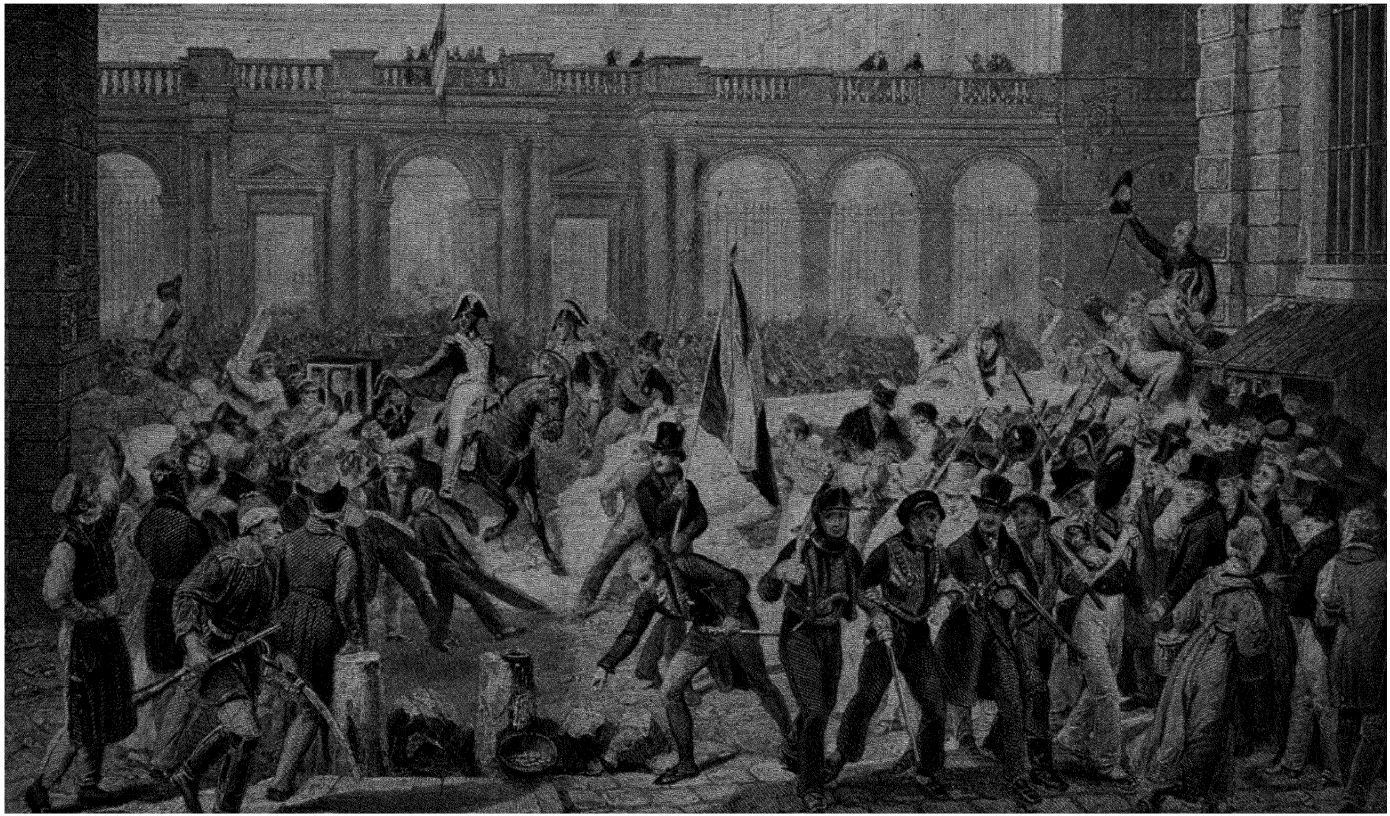
Louis Philippe, son of the Duke of Orleans and of the Princess Louise Marie Adelaide of Penthièvre, had been given on his birth, October 6th, 1773, the title of the Duke of Valois, and afterwards of Duke of Chartres. During the Revolution visited almost every country in Europe, and in North America had enjoyed the opportunity of becoming acquainted with the democratic state and its powers of solving the greatest tasks without the support of princes or standing armies.

Consequently upon his return to France he was considered a Liberal, was both hated and feared by the royal family, and became highly popular with the people, the more so as he lived a very simple life notwithstanding his regained wealth; he associated with the citizens, invited their children to play with his sons and daughters, and in wet weather



THE DEPUTIES OFFERING THE LIEUTENANCY OF FRANCE TO THE DUKE OF ORLEANS
Meeting at the Bourbon Palace on July 30th, 1830, the deputies offered the "lieutenancy of the kingdom" to the Duke of Orleans, who had become popular with the people. He at first hesitated, but on the following day, acting, it is said, on the advice of Talleyrand, accepted the office. Reading from left to right, the figures in the above picture are: Aug. Périer, Aug. Hilarion de Kératry, Bérard, Baron B. Delessert, Duke of Orleans, General Sebastiani, A. de St. Aignan, Charles Dupin, André Gallot, Dugas-Montbel, Duchaffaud, General Count Mathieu Dumas, Bernard de Rennes.

he had called himself General Egalité, and Duke of Orleans after the death of his father, the miserable libertine who had voted for the death of Louis XVI. As he had been supported by Dumouriez in his candidature for the throne, he was obliged to leave France after the flight of that leader. He had then been forced to lead a very wandering life, and even to earn his bread in Switzerland as a schoolmaster. Forgiveness for his father's sins and for his own secession to the revolters had long been withheld by the royal house, until he was at length recognised as the head of the House of Orleans. He had would put up his umbrella and go to the market and talk with the saleswomen. He had become a very capable man of business, and was highly esteemed in the financial world. Complicity on his part in the overthrow of his relatives cannot be proved – such action was indeed unnecessary; but there can be no doubt that he desired their fall, and turned it to his own advantage. In his retreat at Raincy at Neuilly he received the message of Laffitte and the information from Thiers in person that the Chamber would appoint him lieutenant-general to the king and invest him with full power.



LOUIS PHILIPPE LEAVING THE PALAIS ROYAL FOR THE HÔTEL DE VILLE AFTER HIS ELECTION

Following upon his election as Lieutenant-General of France, Louis Philippe had his doubts as to how the acceptance of this office would be received by the people of France, in spite of the popularity which he had earned for himself with the people, and he decided boldly to face the situation by going through Paris from the Palais Royal to the Hôtel de Ville. The public seemed on the verge of rising against the new ruler, but no adverse movement took place, and at the Hôtel de Ville Louis Philippe was received with applause.

From the painting by Horace Vernet

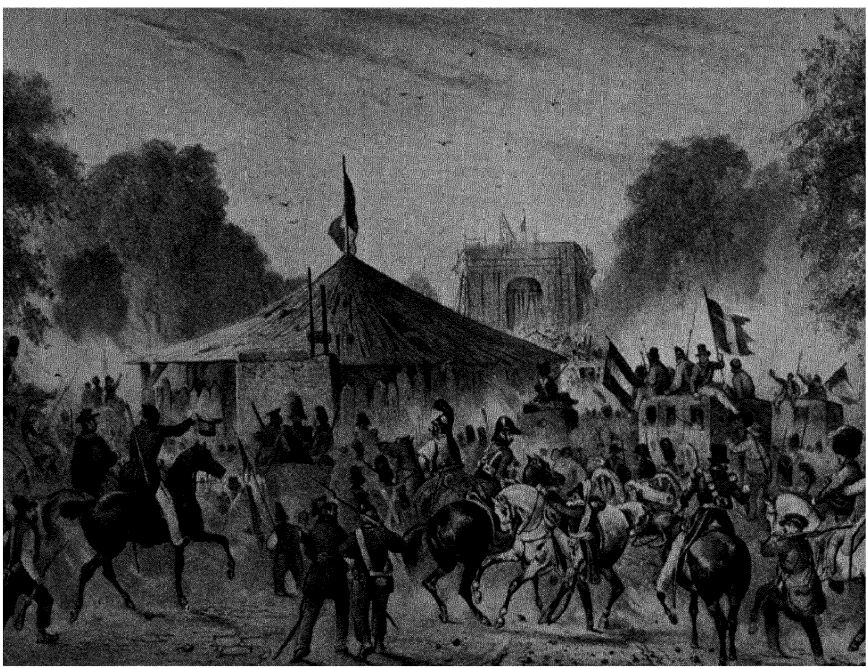
He then returned to Paris, and was there entrusted by Charles X. with that office in his own name and as representative of Henry V., who was still a minor. He conformed his further procedure to the spirit of these commands as long as he deemed this course of action favourable to his own interests. As soon as he became convinced that the king's word was powerless, he announced the monarch's abdication, but kept silence upon the fact that he had abdicated in favour of his grandson. No doubt the representations of his adherents that he alone could save France from a republic largely contributed to the determination of his decision.

The Doom of the Bourbon Monarchy

On July 31st it was definitely decided that France should be permanently relieved of the Bourbons who had been imposed upon her; however, concerning the future constitution widely divergent opinions prevailed. The decision lay with the Marquess of Lafayette, the author of the "Rights of Man" theory, the patriarch of the Revolution, who had already taken over the command of the National Guard on the 29th, at the request of the Chamber of Deputies. The Republicans, who had been responsible for all the work of slaughter, and had inspired the people to take up arms, reposed full confidence in him as a man after their own heart, and entrusted him with the office of dictator. The rich bourgeoisie, and the journalists in connection with them, were, however, afraid of a Republican victory and of the political ideals and social questions which this party might advance for solution.

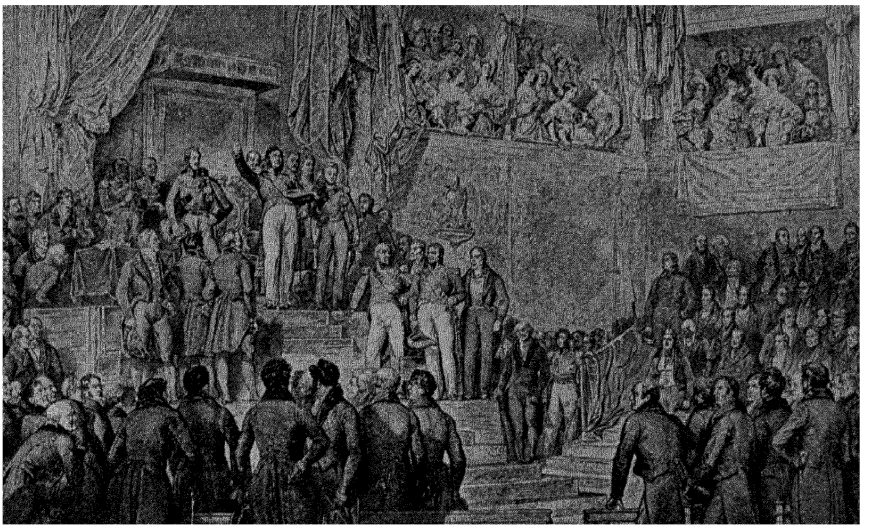
France's "Citizen King"

That liberalism which first became a political force in France is distinguished by a tendency to regulate freedom in proportion to social rank, and to make the exercise of political rights conditional upon education and income. The financial magnates of Paris expected to enter unhindered into the inheritance of the



THE MARCH OF THE NATIONAL GUARD TO RAMBOUILLET

Realising that the nation was at last tired of the Bourbon dynasty, Charles X. abdicated in favour of his young grandson Henry V.; but France preferred Louis Philippe, and he was called to the throne. He naturally wished to have his inconvenient cousin out of the country, and to hasten his departure a march of the National Guard to Rambouillet, where Charles was at that time residing, was organised. The march was more like a holiday procession than an intimidating movement, being joined by crowds of people, some on vehicles and others on foot, singing the Marseillaise and shouting "Vive la liberté!" The movement, however, had the desired result, Charles leaving France for England.



LOUIS PHILIPPE TAKING THE OATH OF THE CONSTITUTION ON AUGUST 9TH, 1830
Before a brilliant assembly of the Chambers, as shown in the above picture, Louis Philippe took the oath of the Constitution on August 9th, 1830, and from that time entitled himself "The King of the French."

Legitimists, and permanently to secure the powers of government so soon as peace had been restored. For this purpose they required a constitutional king of their own opinions, and Louis Philippe was their only choice. He probably had no difficulty in fathoming their designs, but he hoped when once established on the throne to be able to dictate his own terms and address himself forthwith to the task of reducing the Republican party to impotence. He proceeded in a solemn procession to the town hall, with the object of winning over Lafayette by receiving the supreme power from his hands. The old leader considered this procedure entirely natural, constituted himself plenipotentiary of the French nation, and concluded an alliance with the "citizen-king," whom he introduced, tricolour in hand, to the people as his own candidate.

France's New Constitution

In less than a week the new constitution had been drawn out in detail. It was to be "the direct expression of the rights of the French nation"; the king became head of the state by the national will, and was to swear to observe the constitution upon his accession. The two Chambers were retained; an elected deputy was to sit for five years, and the limits of age for the passive and the active franchise were fixed respectively at thirty and twenty-five years. The right of giving effect to the different tendencies which were indispensable to the existence of a constitutional monarchy as conceived by liberalism was reserved for the legislature. Such were the provisions for trial by jury of offences against the Press laws, for the responsibility of Ministers, for full liberty to teachers, for compulsory education in the elementary schools, for the yearly vote of the conscription, and so forth. The deputies chosen at the last election passed the proposals by a large majority, 219 against 38. Of the peers, eighty-nine were won over to their side; eighteen alone, including Chateaubriand, the novelist of the romantic school, supported the rights of Henry V.

The Ex-king Charles at Rambouillet

In the meantime, Charles had retired from Saint Cloud to Rambouillet, retaining the Guards and certain regiments which had remained faithful; he once again announced his abdication, and that of Angoulême, to the Duke of Orleans, and ordered him to take up the government in the name of Henry V. To this demand Louis Philippe sent no answer; he confined his efforts to getting his inconvenient cousin out of the country, which he already saw at his own feet. When his representations produced no effect in this direction, his adherents organised a march of the National Guard to Rambouillet, a movement which, though more like a

holiday procession than an intimidating movement, brought about the desired result The Bourbons and their parasites showed not a spark of knightly spirit, not the smallest attempt was made to teach the insolent Parisians a lesson, or to let them feel the weight of the "Legitimist" sword With ostentatious deliberation a move was made from Rambouillet to Cherbourg without awakening the smallest sign of sympathy Charles X betook himself for the moment to England

The Death of Charles X.

On November 6th, 1836, he died in Gorz, where the Duke of Angoulême also passed away on June 3rd, 1844 To the Duchess Marie Caroline of Berry, the daughter of Francis I of Naples, remained the task of stirring up the loyalists of La Vendée against the government of the treacherous Duke of Orleans, and of weaving, at the risk of her life, intrigues for civil war in France In spite of her capture, November 7th, 1832, at Nantes, she might have been a source of serious embarrassment to Louis Philippe, and perhaps have turned his later difficulties to the advantage of her son, if she had not fallen into disfavour with her own family, and with the arrogant legitimists, on account of her secret marriage with a son of the Sicilian prince of Campofranco, the Conte Ettore Carlo Lucchesi Palli, to whom she bore a son, the later Duca della Grazia, while in captivity at Blaye, near Bordeaux Her last son by her first marriage, the Count of Chambord, contented himself throughout his life with the proud consciousness of being the legal King of France, however, the resources of the good Henry were too limited for him to become dangerous to any government

France had thus relieved herself of the Bourbons at little or no cost, she was now to try the experiment of living under the House of Orleans, and under a constitutional monarchy The Republicans were surprised at their desertion by Lafayette, they could not but observe that the mass of people who were insensible to political conviction and accustomed to follow the influences of the moment, hailed with acclamation the new constitution adjusted by the prosperous Liberals For the moment they retired into private life with ill-concealed expressions of dissatisfaction, and became the nucleus for a party of malcontents which was speedily reinforced by recruits from every direction. "The King of the French," as the Duke of Orleans entitled himself from August 9th, 1830, at the very outset of his government stirred up a dangerous strife, and by doing so undermined his own position, which at first had seemed to be founded upon the national will He ought to have honourably and openly enforced the "Republican institutions" which, upon Lafayette's theory, were meant to be the environment of his royal power, he ought to have appeared as representing the will of the nation, and should in any case have left his fate exclusively in the hands of the people He attempted, however, to secure his recognition from the great Powers, to assert his claims to consideration among the other dynasties of Europe, and to gain their confidence for himself and France Prince Metternich supported him in these attempts as soon as he observed that the influences of the Left had been nullified, and that the new king was making a serious effort to suppress that party The Austrian chancellor fully recognised that Louis Philippe, in preventing the formation of a Republic by his intervention, had done good service to the cause of reaction, he readily thanked him for his election of a constitutional throne, whereby the monarchies had been spared the necessity of again taking the field against a Republican France The Bonapartists had proposed to bring forward an opposition candidate to Louis Philippe in the person of the highly gifted and ambitious son of Napoleon I, "le fils de l'homme," and the Archduchess Marie Louise, who had been brought up under the care of his grandfather in Vienna

France and its New Dynasty

Successors of the Bourbons

The untimely death of the excellent Duke of Reichstadt, who succumbed to a galloping consumption on July 22nd, 1832, which was not, as often stated, the result of excessive self-indulgence, freed "the citizen-king" from a danger which had threatened to increase with every year At the end of August England recognised unconditionally and without reserve the new government in France, her example was followed by Austria and Prussia, to the extreme vexation of the Tsar Nicholas I The House of Orleans might thus far consider itself at least tolerated as the successor of the French Bourbons

HANS VON ZWIEDINECK-SUDENHORST
ARTHUR KLEINSCHMIDT



THE NEW REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD

NATIONALIST AND CONSTITUTIONAL MOVEMENTS IN THE 'THIRTIES

THE events of 1830 in Paris introduced a new revolutionary period in Europe which was to produce far more comprehensive and permanent transformations than the Revolution of 1789. From that date was broken the spell of the reactionary theory which forbade all efforts for the identification of monarchical and popular rights, and demanded blind submission to the decrees of the government.

This tyranny had been abolished by the will of a people which, notwithstanding internal dissensions, was united in its opposition to the Bourbons. Thirty or forty thousand men, with no military organisation and without preparation of any kind, had defeated in street fighting twelve thousand troops of the line, under the command of an experienced general, a marshal of the Grand Army of Napoleon I. Though gained by bloodshed, the victory was not misused or stained by atrocities of any kind; at no time was any attempt made to introduce a condition of anarchy. Upon the capture of the Louvre by bands of armed citizens, little damage had been done, and the artistic treasures of the palace had been safely removed from the advance of the attacking party. In the course of a fortnight a new constitution had been organised by the joint action of the leading citizens, a new regime had been established in every branch of the administration, and a new dynasty had been entrusted with supreme power. It had been shown that revolutions did not of necessity imply the destruction of social order, but might also become a means to the attainment of political rights.

France Under a New Dynasty

Proof had thus been given that it was possible for a people to impose its will upon selfish and misguided governments, even when protected by armed force. The so-called conservative Great Powers were not united among themselves, and were therefore too weak to exclude a nation from the exercise of its natural right of self-government when that nation was ready to stake its blood and treasure on the issue. Other peoples living under conditions apparently or actually intolerable might be tempted to follow this example and to revolt. The weight of a foreign yoke, a term implying not only the rule of a conqueror king, but also that of a foreigner legally in possession of the throne, is more than ever galling if not supported upon a community of interests.

Causes of National Friction

The strong aversion which springs from the contact of characters fundamentally discordant can never be overcome even by consideration of the mutual advantages to be gained from the union, however great these advantages may be. Repugnance and animosity, purely sentimental in their origin, and impossible of suppression by any process of intellectual exercise, are influences as important in national as in individual life. Irritated ambition, exaggerated pride, the under and over estimation of defects and advantages, are so many causes of national friction, with tremendous struggles and political convulsions as their consequence.

To prefer national sentiment to political necessity is naturally an erroneous doctrine, because contrary to the fundamental laws of civilisation, which define man's task as the conquest of natural forces by his intellectual power for his own good. Yet such a doctrine is based at least upon the ascertained fact that, notwithstanding ages of intellectual progress, instinct is more powerful than reason, and that the influences of instinct must be remembered both by nations and individuals in the pursuit of their several needs. In nineteenth-century Europe the development of inherent national powers was

Development of Political Vitality

entirely justified, if only because for centuries it had been neglected and thwarted, or had advanced, if at all, by a process highly irregular Many European countries had developed a political vitality under, and as a consequence of, monarchical government, and if this vitality was to become the realisation of the popular will

The Nations In Process of Organisation

it must first gain assurance of its own value and importance, and acquire the right of self-government It was to be tested in a series of trials which would prove its vital power and capacity, or would at least determine the degree of dependency which should govern its relations to other forces

Hence it is that national revolutions are the substratum of European political history after the Vienna Congress Hence it is that cabinet governments were gradually forced to undertake tasks of national importance which had never before even attracted their notice Hence, too, such nations as were vigorous and capable of development must be organised and tested before entering upon the struggle for the transformation of society—a struggle which ultimately overshadowed national aspirations and became itself the chief aim and object of civilised endeavour

The oppression of an alien rule to which Europe had been forced to submit was, if not entirely overthrown, at any rate shaken to its foundations The tyranny under which the Christian inhabitants of the Balkan countries had groaned since the middle of the fifteenth century, and which had entirely checked every tendency to progress, was now in process of dissolution Among the Slav races of the Balkans the Servians had freed themselves by their own power, and had founded the beginnings of a national community With unexampled heroism, which had risen almost to the point of self-immolation, the Greeks had saved their nationality, and had united a considerable portion of their

Greek Nationality Saved

numbers into a self-contained state In Germany and Italy the national movement, together with the political, had been crushed in the name of the conservative Great Powers and their "sacred" alliances, in this case it was only to be expected that the influence of the French Revolution would produce some tangible effect It was, however, in two countries, where systems unusually artificial had been created by the arbitrary action of dynasties and diplomatists, that these influences became earliest and most permanently operative in the new kingdom of the United Netherlands, and in Poland under the Russian protectorate

In 1813 and 1815, the Dutch had taken an honourable share in the general struggle for liberation from the French yoke, they had formed a constitution which, while providing a sufficient measure of self-government to the nine provinces of their kingdom, united those nine into a uniform body politic They had abolished their aristocratic republic, which had been replaced by a limited monarchy, the son of their last hereditary stadtholder, Prince William Frederic of Orange, had been made king, with the title of William I, and so far everything had been done that conservative diplomacy could possibly desire Conservatism, however, declined to allow the Dutch constitution to continue its course of historical development, and proceeded to ruin it by the artificial addition of Belgium—a proceeding which may well serve as an example of the incompetent bureaucratic policy of Prince

Belgian Union with Holland

Metternich The Orange king naturally regarded this unexpected accession of territory as a recognition of his own high capacity, and considered that he could best serve the interests of the Great Powers by treating the Belgians, whom he considered as Frenchmen, as subjects of inferior rank

Many disabilities were laid upon them by the administration, which was chiefly in the hands of Dutchmen Dutch trade had begun to revive, and Belgian industries found no support in Holland Day by day it became clearer to the Belgians that union with Holland was for them a disastrous mistake, and they proceeded to demand separation Not only by the Catholic Conservative party, but also by the Liberals, the difference of religious belief was thought to accentuate the opposition of interests The attitude of hostility to their Protestant neighbours which the Catholic provinces of the Netherlands had adopted during 150 years of Spanish government had never been entirely given up, and was now resumed, after a short armistice, with much secret satisfaction

Without any special preparation, the ferment became visible on the occasion of a performance of the "Revolution Opera" completed in 1828, "The Dumb Girl of Portici," by D F. E Auber, on August 25th,

1830. Personal intervention might even then perhaps have saved the political union of the Netherland countries. The king, however, made no honourable attempt to secure the confidence of the Belgians, and any possibility of agreement was removed by the attempt to seize Brussels, which he was persuaded to make through Prince Frederic, who had 10,000 men at his command. On November 10th, 1830, the National Congress decided in favour of the introduction of a constitutional monarchy, and for the exclusion of the House of Orange in favour of a new dynasty. Here, also, the expression of popular will failed to coincide with the hopes of the Revolution leaders, who were inclined to republicanism.

The Liberal coteries, who were forced in Belgium to act in concert with the Church, preferred government under a constitutional monarchy; if a republic were formed, an ultramontane majority would inevitably secure tyrannical supremacy, and all freedom of thought would be impossible. A royal family, if not so intellectually incapable as the Bourbons, would never consent to bind itself hand and foot to please any party, but, while respecting the rights of the minority, would unite with them in opposition to any attempted perversion of power.



WILLIAM I. OF HOLLAND
On the readjustment of European affairs that followed the fall of Napoleon, Belgium and Holland were united under one sovereign, William I., who abdicated in 1840.

The ready proposal of the Belgians to accept a monarchical government was received with satisfaction by the Great Powers, who were reluctantly considering the necessity of opposing the Revolution by force. The Tsar Nicholas had already made up his mind to raise his arm against the West; his attention, however, was soon occupied by far more pressing questions within his own dominions. Metternich and Frederic William III. were disinclined, for financial reasons, to raise contingents of troops; the scanty forces at the command of Austria were required in Italy, where the Carbonari were known to be in a state of ferment. Louis Philippe decided the general direction of his policy by declining to listen to the Radical proposals for a union of Belgium with France, and thereby strengthened that confidence which he had already won among the Conservative cabinets.

Adjusting the Dutch-Belgian Difficulty

The British proposal to call a conference at London for the adjustment of the Dutch-Belgian difficulty was received with general approbation. On December 20th the independence of Belgium was recognised by this assembly, and the temporary government in Brussels was invited through ambassadors to negotiate with the conference. The choice of the new king caused no great difficulty; the claims of Orange, Orleans, and Bavarian candidates were considered and rejected, and the general approval fell upon Prince Leopold George of Coburg, a widower, who had been previously married to Charlotte of England. On June 4th, 1831, the National Congress appointed him King of the Belgians, and he entered upon his dignity in July. It proved a more difficult task to induce the King of Holland to agree to an acceptable compromise with Belgium and to renounce his claims to Luxemburg. In the session of October 15th, 1831, the conference passed twenty-four articles, proposing a partition of Luxemburg, and fixing Belgium's yearly contribution to the Netherland national debt at 8,400,000 gulden. On two occasions it became necessary to send French troops as far as Antwerp to protect Belgium, a weak military power, from reconquest by Holland; and on each occasion diplomatic negotiation induced the Dutch to retire from the land which they had occupied.

Declaration of Belgian Independence

It was not until 1838 that peace between Belgium and Holland was definitely concluded; King William had fruitlessly strained the resources of his state to the utmost, and for the increased severity of the conditions imposed upon him he had merely his own obstinacy to thank. Belgium's share of the payment towards the interest due upon the common national debt was ultimately fixed at 5,000,000 gulden. On August 9th, 1832, King Leopold married Louise of Orleans, the eldest daughter of Louis Philippe; though not himself a Catholic, he had his sons baptised into that faith, and thus became the founder of a new Catholic dynasty in Europe, which rapidly acquired importance

through the politic and dignified conduct of Leopold I What the Belgians had gained without any unusual effort Poland was unable to attain in spite of the streams of blood which she poured forth in her struggle with Russia She had been a nation on an equality with Russia, with a constitution of her own,

Poland under Russian Oppression

her resistance now reduced her to the position of a province of the empire, deprived of all political rights, and subjected to a government alike despotic and arbitrary The popular will was unable to find expression, for the nation which it inspired had been warped and repressed by a wholly unnatural course of development, there was no unity, no social organism, to support the expansion of classes and professions

There were only two classes struggling for definite aims—the great territorial nobility, who were attracted by the possibility of restoring their exaggerated powers, which had depended on the exclusion of their inferiors from legal rights, and the small party of intelligent men among the Schlactha, the petty nobility, civil officials, military officers, teachers, etc, who had identified themselves with the principles of democracy, and were attempting to secure their realisation Though its purity of blood was almost indisputable, the Polish race had sunk so low that the manufacturing and productive element of the population, the craftsmen and agricultural workers, had lost all feeling of national union and had nothing to hope from a national state

Averse from exertion, incapable of achievement, and eaten up by preposterous self-conceit, Polish society, for centuries the sole exponent of national culture, was inaccessible to the effect of any deep moral awakening, hence national movement in the true sense of the term was impossible At the outset the Polish Revolution was

The Poles Strike for Freedom

marked by some display of resolution and enthusiasm It was, however, a movement animated rather by ill-feeling and injured pride than originating in the irritation caused by intolerable oppression. It is true that the government was for the most part in the hands of the Russians, but there is no reason to suppose that it was in any way more unjust or more corrupt than the monarchical republic that had passed away It cannot be said that the Russian administration prevented the Poles from recognising the defective results of their social development, from working to remove those defects, to relieve the burdens of the labouring classes, and to found a community endowed with some measure of vitality, the advantages of which were plainly to be seen in the neighbouring Prussian districts The moderate independence which Alexander I had left to the Polish National Assembly was greater than that possessed by the Prussian provincial assemblies The Poles possessed the means for relieving the legislature of the arrogance of the nobles, whom no monarchy, however powerful, had been able to check, and thus freeing the people from the weight of an oppression far more intolerable than the arbitrary rule of individuals, officials, and commanders

Yet, was there ever a time when the much-lauded patriotism of the Poles attempted to deal with questions of this nature? So long as they failed to recognise their duty in this respect, their patriotism, founded upon a vanity which had risen to the point of monomania, was valueless

Wars of the Polish Revolution

to the nation at large Events proved that the struggle between Poland and Russia cannot be described as purposeless The revolutionary party had long been quietly working, and when the progress of events in France became known, was immediately inflamed to action Its first practical steps were generally attended with a high measure of success

After the storming of the Belvedere, November 29th, 1830, occupied by the governor, the Grand Duke Constantine, that personage was so far intimidated as to evacuate Warsaw with his troops On December 5th, 1830, a provisional government was already in existence On January 25th, 1831, the Assembly declared the deposition of the House of Romanoff, and in February a Polish army of 78,000 men was confronting 100,000 Russians, who had been concentrated on the frontiers of Old Poland under Diebitsch-Sabalkanski, and his general staff officer, Karl Friedrich, Count of Toll These achievements were the unaided work of the nobility, their military organisation had been quickly and admirably successful

Their commander-in-chief, Prince Michael Radziwill, who had served under Thaddeus Kosciuszko and Napoleon, had several bold and capable leaders at his disposal.

If at the same time a popular rising had taken place throughout the country, and a people's war in the true sense of the word had been begun, it is impossible to estimate the extent of the difficulties with which the Russian Government would have had to deal. Notwithstanding the victories of Bialolenka and Grochow, February 24th and 25th, 1831, Diebitsch did not dare to advance upon Warsaw, fearing to be blockaded in that town; he waited for reinforcements, and even began negotiations, considering his position extremely unfavourable. However, Volhynia and Podolia took no serious part in the revolt. The deputies of the Warsaw government found scattered adherents in every place they visited; but the spirit of enterprise and the capacity for struggle disappeared upon their departure. It was only in Lithuania that any public rising on an extensive scale took place.

On May 26th, Diebitsch, in spite of a heroic defence, inflicted a severe defeat at Ostrolenka upon the main Polish army under Jan Boncza Skrzynecki. Henceforward the military advantage was decidedly on the side of the Russians. The outbreak of cholera, to which Diebitsch succumbed on June 10th, might perhaps have produced a turn of fortune favourable to the Poles. Count Ivan Feodvitch Paskevitch-Erivanski, who now assumed the chief command, had but 50,000 men at his disposal, and would hardly have dared to advance from Pultusk if the numerous guerrilla bands of the Poles had done their duty and had been properly supported by the population. Never, however, was there any general rising; terrified by the ravages of the cholera, the mob declined to obey the authorities, and their patriotism was not proof against their panic. Skrzynecki and his successor, Henry Dembinski, had 50,000 men under their colours when they attempted to resist the advance of Paskevitch upon Warsaw; but within the capital itself a feud had broken out between the aristocrats and the democrats, who were represented among the five members of the civil government by the historian Joachim Lelevel, after the dictatorship of Joseph Chlopicki had not only abolished but utterly shattered the supremacy of the nobles. The government, at the head of which was the senatorial president, Prince Adam George Czartoryiski, was forced to resign, and the purely democratic administration which succeeded fell into general disrepute. Military operations suffered from lack of concerted leadership. The storming of Warsaw on September 6th and 7th, carried out by Paskevitch and Toll, with 70,000 Russians against 40,000 Poles, decided the struggle. The smaller divisions still on foot, under the Genoese Girolamo Ramorino, Mathias Rybinski, Rozycki, and others, met with no support from the population, and were speedily forced to retreat beyond the frontier.

Poland Ravaged by Cholera

End of the Polish Dream of Freedom



KING OF THE BELGIANS
When the independence of Belgium was recognised, the choice of a new king fell upon Prince Leopold George of Coburg, and on July 4th, 1831, the National Congress appointed him King of the Belgians.

The Polish dream of freedom was at an end. The Kingdom of Poland, to which Alexander I. had granted nominal independence, became a Russian province in 1832 by a constitutional edict of February 26th; henceforward its history was a history of oppression and stern and cruel tyranny. However, the consequent suffering failed to produce any purifying effect upon the nation, though European liberalism, with extraordinary unanimity, manifested a sympathy which, in Germany, rose to the point of ridiculous and hysterical sentimentalism.

It was by conspiracies, secret unions, and political intrigues of every kind, by degrading mendicancy and sponging, that these "patriots" thought to recover freedom and independence for their native land. Careless of the consequences and untaught by suffering, in 1846 they instigated revolts in Posen and in the little free state of Cracow, which was occupied by Austria at the request of Russia, and eventually incorporated with the province of Galicia. The peasant revolt, which was characterised by unexampled ferocity and cruelty, made it plain to the world at large that it was not the Russian, the

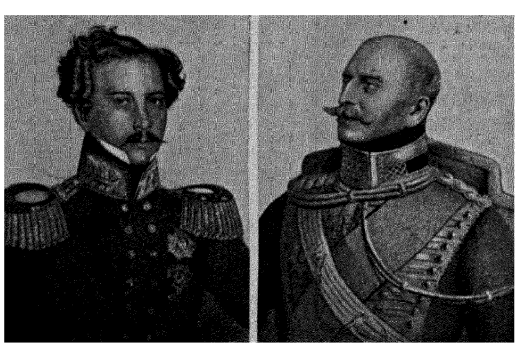


LEADERS IN THE POLISH-RUSSIAN WARS

General Jan Boncza Skrzynecki was in command of the main Polish army at Ostrolenka, where it suffered defeat; Count Ivan Feodvitch Paskevitch-Erivanski commanded the Russian troops opposed to Skrzynecki and Dembinski, crushing the Poles and taking Warsaw; while the Grand Duke Constantine, brother of the Tsar of Russia and governor of Warsaw, after the storming of the Belvedere on November 29th, 1830, was so far intimidated as to evacuate Warsaw.

Austrian, or the Prussian whom the Polish peasant considered his deadly enemy and oppressor, but the Polish noble.

The revolutionary party in connection with the Revolution of July brought little to pass in Italy except abortive conspiracies and a general state of disturbance. The nation as a whole was inspired by no feeling of nationalism; the moderate party kept aloof from the intrigues of the Carbonari, who continued their activities in secret after the subjugation of Piedmont and Naples by the Austrians in 1821. The chief Austrian adherents were to be found in the Church states; there, however, an opposition union, that of the "Sanfedists," had been formed, with the countenance of the papacy. While striving for the maintenance of the papal power and the strengthening of religious feeling, the party occupied itself with the persecution of all Liberals, and rivalled the Carbonari in the use of poison and dagger for the attainment of its ends. Cardinal Consalvi had availed himself of the help of the Sanfedists; but he allowed their power to extend only so far as it might be useful for the furtherance of his political objects. However, under the government of Pope Leo XII., 1823–1829, the influence of the party increased considerably, and led the Cardinal Rivarola, the legate of Ravenna, to perpetrate cruelties upon the Carbonari in Faenza, a policy which contributed to increase the general ill-feeling with which Italy regarded the futile administration of the papacy. Pius VIII., 1829–1830, and Cardinal Albani supported the union of the Sanfedists; their continued attempts at aggrandisement resulted in the temporary success of the revolution in Bologna. This movement had been long prepared, and broke out on February 4th, 1831, when Menotti in Parma gave the signal for action. The Duke of Modena, Francis IV., imprisoned Menotti in his own house; feeling himself, however, too weak to deal with the movement, he fled into Austrian territory with his battalion of soldiers, and hastened to Vienna to appeal to Metternich for help. His example was followed by Pope Gregory XVI., elected on February 2nd, 1831, formerly



DUKE OF BRUNSWICK KING OF HANOVER

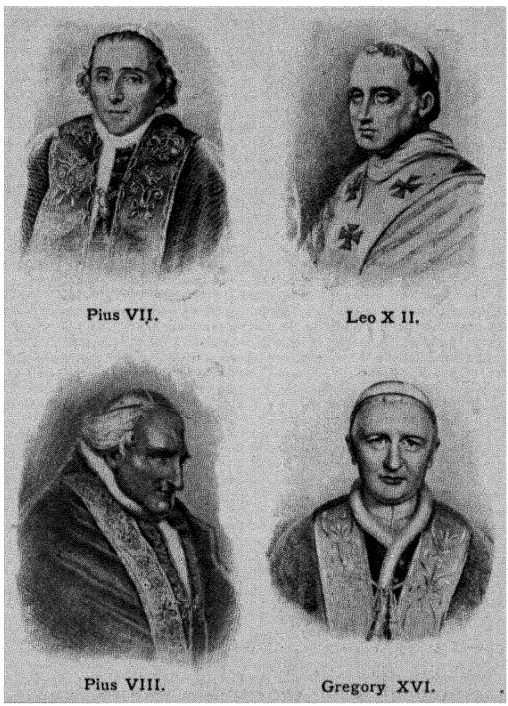
When Charles, Duke of Brunswick, proved his incompetence, his brother William, at the request of Prussia, offered himself for the high office and was received with acclamation. King of Hanover, Ernest Augustus exhibited a weak narrow-mindedness by refusing the constitution between the nobility and the representatives of the peasants.

Bartolommeo Cappelleri, general of the Camaldulensian Order, whose supremacy was no longer recognised by the Umbrian towns which had broken into revolt, by the legation, or by the Marks.

The Austrian chancellor thought it advisable to maintain at any cost the protectorate exercised by the emperor in Italy; notwithstanding the threats of France, who declared that she would regard the advance of Austrian troops into the Church states as a casus belli, he occupied Bologna, March 21st, after seizing Ferrara and Parma in the first days of March. Ancona was also forced to surrender; in this town the provisional government of the Romagna had taken refuge, together with Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, son of the King of Holland and of Hortense Beauharnais, who first came into connection with the revolutionary party at this date. The task of the Austrians was then brought to completion.

On July 15th they retired from the papal states, but were obliged to return on January 24th, 1832, in consequence of the new revolt which had been brought about by the cruelties of the papalini, or papal soldiers. Louis Philippe attempted to lend some show of support to the Italian Liberal party by occupying Ancona at the same time, February 22nd. Neither France nor Austria could oblige the Pope to introduce the reforms which he had promised into his administration. The ruling powers of the Curia were apprehensive of the reduction of their revenues, and steadily thwarted all measures of reorganisation. When Gregory XVI. enlisted two Swiss regiments for the maintenance of peace and order, the foreign troops evacuated his district in 1838.

In Germany the effects of the July Revolution varied according to differences of political condition, and fully represented the divergences of feeling and opinion prevailing in the separate provinces. There was no uniformity of thought, nor had any tendency to nationalist movement become apparent. Liberal and Radical groups were to be found side by side, divided by no strict frontier line; moreover, operations in common were inconceivable, for no common object of endeavour had yet been found. In particular federal provinces special circumstances gave rise to revolts intended to produce a change in the relations subsisting between the rulers and the ruled.



A GROUP OF NINETEENTH CENTURY POPES

During the restless period in the first half of last century, St. Peter's Chair was occupied in turn by the Popes whose portraits are given above. Pius VII. died in 1823, and was succeeded by Leo XII. At his death, Pius VIII. became Pope, ruling only from March, 1829, till November, 1830. He was followed by the reactionary Gregory XVI.

Brunswick was a scene of events as fortunate for that state as they were rapid in development. Charles, Duke of Brunswick, who had begun his rule in 1823 as a youth of nineteen years of age, showed himself totally incompetent to fulfil the duties of his high position. He conducted himself towards his relations of England and Hanover with an utter want of tact; and towards his subjects, whose constitutional rights he declined to recognise, he was equally haughty and dictatorial. After the events of July he had returned home from Paris, where he had spent his time in the grossest pleasures,

and immediately opposed the nobles and the citizens as ruthlessly as ever Disturbances broke out in consequence on September 7th, 1830, and so frightened the cowardly libertine that he evacuated his capital with the utmost possible speed and deserted his province At the request of Prussia, his brother William, who had taken over the principality of Ols, offered himself to the people of Brunswick, who received him with acclamation Notwithstanding the opposition of Metternich in the diet, the joint action of Prussia and England secured William's recognition as duke on December 2nd, after Charles had made himself the laughing-stock of Europe by a desperate attempt to cross the frontier of Brunswick with a small body of armed ruffians

William Duke of Brunswick

The people of Hesse forced their elector, William II, to summon the representatives of the Orders in September, 1830, and to assent to the constitution which they speedily drew up On January 8th, 1831, the elector, in the presence of the Crown Prince Frederic William, signed the documents and handed them to the Orders, however, the people of Hesse were unable to secure constitutional government They declined to allow the elector to reside among them in Cassel, with his mistress, Emilie Ortlopp, whom he made Countess of Reichenbach in 1821, and afterwards Countess of Lessonitz, they forced him to withdraw to Hanover and to appoint the Crown Prince as co-regent, September 30th, 1831, but found they had merely fallen out of the frying-pan into the fire

In August, 1831, Frederic William I married Gertrude Lehmann, née Falkenstein, the wife of a lieutenant, who had been divorced by her husband in Bonn, made Countess of Schaumburg in 1831, and Princess of Hanau in 1853, as a result he quarrelled with his mother, the Princess Augusta of Prussia and with the estates, who espoused the cause of the injured electress He was a malicious and stubborn tyrant, who broke his plighted word, deliberately introduced changes into the constitution through his Minister, Hans Daniel von Hassenpflug, whom he supported in his struggle with the estates until the Minister also insulted him and opposed his efforts at unlimited despotism Hassenpflug left the service of Hesse in July, 1837, first entering the civil service in Sigmaringen, November, 1838, then that of Luxemburg, June, 1839, ultimately taking a high place in the public administration of Prussia, 1841.

The Tyrant Frederic William

The people of Hesse then became convinced that their position had rather deteriorated than otherwise, the Landtag was continually at war with the government, and was repeatedly dissolved The Liberals went to great trouble to claim their rights in endless appeals and proclamations to the Federal Council, but were naturally and invariably the losers in the struggle with the unscrupulous regent, who became elector and gained the enjoyment of the revenues from the demesnes and the trust property by the death of his father on November 20th, 1847 The Liberals were not anxious to resort to any violent steps which might have provoked the Federal Council to interference of an unpleasant kind, they were also unwilling to act in concert with the Radicals

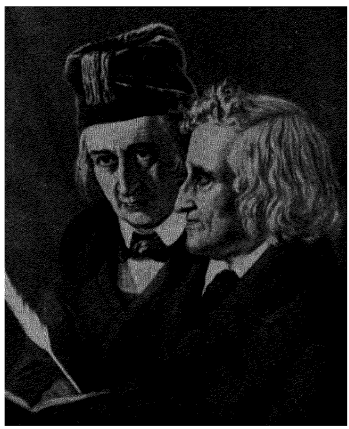
Even more helpless and timorous was the behaviour of the Hanoverians when their king, Ernest Augustus, who had contracted debts amounting to several million thalers as Duke of Cumberland, was so narrow-minded as to reject the constitution which had been arranged after long and difficult negotiations between the nobility and the representatives of the peasants Seven professors of Gottingen, Jakob and Wilhelm Grimm, Dahlmann, Weber and Gervinus, Ewald and Albrecht, protested against the patent of November 1st, 1837, which absolved the state officials from their oaths of fidelity to the constitution.

The brave Professors of Gottingen

The state prosecution and merciless dismissal of these professors aroused a general outcry throughout Germany against the effrontery and obstinacy of the Guelphs, none the less, the estates, who had been deprived of their rights, were too timid to make a bold and honourable stand against the powers oppressing them. A number of the electors consented, in accordance with the decrees of 1819, which were revived by the king, to carry through the elections for the General Assembly of the estates, thereby enabling the king to maintain that in form at least his state was constitutionally governed in the spirit of the Act of Federation. In vain did that indomitable champion of the popular rights, Johann Karl Tertern Stuve, burgomaster of Osnabruck, protest before the

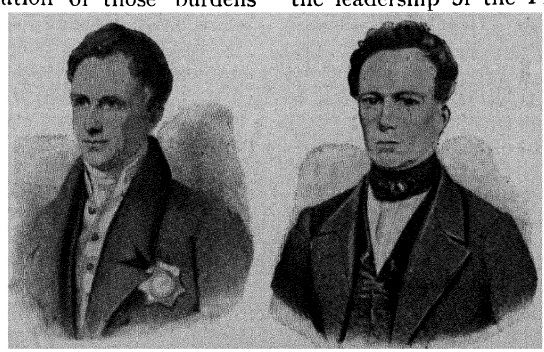
Federal Council against the illegal imposition of taxes by the Hanoverian government. The prevailing disunion enabled the faithless ruler to secure his victory; the compliance of his subjects gave a fairly plausible colouring to his arbitrary explanation of these unconstitutional acts; his policy was interpreted as a return to the old legal constitution, a return adopted, and therefore ratified, by the estates themselves.

The Saxons had displayed far greater inclination to riot and conspiracy; however, in that kingdom the transition from class privilege to constitutional government was completed without any serious rupture of the good relations between the people and the government; both King Anthony and his nephew Frederic Augustus II., whom he had appointed co-regent, possessed sufficient insight to recognise the advantages of a constitution; the co-operation of large sections of the community would define the distribution of those burdens which state necessities inevitably laid upon the shoulders of individuals. They supported the Minister Bernhard August of Lindenau, one of the wisest statesmen in Germany under the old reactionary regime, when he introduced the constitution of September 4th, 1831, which provided a sufficient measure of representation for the citizen classes, and protected the peasants from defraudation; they continued their support as long as he possessed the confidence of the Second Chamber. When his progressive tendencies proved incompatible with the favour which the Saxon Court attempted to show the Catholic Church, the two princes considered in 1843 that they were able to dispense with his services. The great rise in prosperity manifested in every department of public life under his government was invariably ascribed to his wise statesmanship and his great capacity.



THE BROTHERS GRIMM
Jakob and Wilhelm Grimm, two prominent educationists of Göttingen, were among the professors dismissed in 1837 for protesting against the absolution of state officials from their oaths of fidelity to the constitution.

Not entirely disconnected are those political phenomena which occurred in Baden, Hesse-Darmstadt, and the Bavarian Palatinate, as results of the changes which had been brought to pass in France. In these provinces it became plain that liberalism, and the legislation it promoted, were incapable of satisfying the people as a whole, or of creating a body politic sufficiently strong to secure the progress of sound economic development. Nowhere throughout Germany was the parliamentary spirit so native to the soil as in Baden, where the democrats, under the leadership of the Freiburg professors Karl von Rotteck and Karl Theodor Welcker, the Heidelberg jurist Karl Joseph Mittermayer, and the Mannheim high justice Johann Adam von Itzstein, had become predominant in the Second Chamber. The constitutions of Bavaria and Hesse-Darmstadt gave full licence to the expression of public opinion in the Press and at public meetings. But liberalism was impressed with the insufficiency of the means provided for the expression and execution of the popular will; it did not attempt to create an administrative policy



AUGUST OF LINDENAU KARL THEODOR WELCKER
"One of the wisest statesmen in Germany," Bernhard August of Lindenau introduced the constitution of September 4th, 1831, which provided a sufficient measure of representation for the citizen classes, and protected the peasants. Karl Theodor Welcker was one of the Freiburg professors who became predominant in the Second Chamber.

which might have brought it into line with the practical needs of the poorer classes. It hoped to attain its political ends by unceasing efforts to limit the power of the Crown and by extending the possibilities of popular representation. The result was distrust on the part of the dynasties, the government officials, and the classes in immediate connection with them, while the discontented classes, who were invariably too numerous even in districts so blessed by Nature as these, were driven into the arms of the Radical agitators, who had immigrated from France, and in particular from Strassburg.

Discontent Encouraged by the Press

The very considerable freedom allowed to the Press had fostered the growth of a large number of obscure publications, which existed only to preach the rejection of all governmental measures, to discredit the monarchical party, and to exasperate the working classes against their more prosperous superiors. The numerous Polish refugees who were looking for some convenient and exciting form of occupation requiring no great expenditure of labour were exactly the tools and emissaries required by the leaders of the revolutionary movement, and to them the general sympathy with the fate of Poland had opened every door. The first disturbances broke out in Hesse-Darmstadt at the end of September, 1830, as the result of incorporation in the Prussian Customs Union, and were rapidly suppressed by force of arms; the animosity of the mob was, however, purposely fostered and exploited by the chiefs of a democratic conspiracy who were preparing for a general rising. In May, 1832, the Radicals prepared a popular meeting at the castle of Hambach near Neustadt on the Hardt. No disguise was made of their intention to unite the people for the overthrow of the throne and the erection of a democratic republic. The unusual occurrence of a popular manifestation proved a great attraction. The turgid outpourings, seasoned with violent invectives against every form of moderation, emanating from those crapulous scribblers who were transported with delight at finding in the works of Heinrich Heine and Lewis Baruch Börnes inducements to high treason and anti-monarchical feeling, inflamed minds only too accessible to passion and excitement. As vintage advanced feeling grew higher, and attracted the students, including the various student corps which had regained large numbers of adherents, the remembrance of the persecutions of the 'twenties having been gradually obliterated.

The Germans Preparing for Revolution

At Christmas-time, 1832, an assembly of the accredited representatives of these corps in Stuttgart was induced to accede to the proposal to share in the forthcoming popular rising. The result was that after the émeute set on foot by the democrats in Frankfort-on-Main on April 3rd, 1833, when an attempt was made to seize the federal palace and the bullion there stored, it was the students who chiefly had to pay for their irresponsibility and lack of common sense; the measures of intimidation and revenge undertaken by the German Government at the demand of Metternich fell chiefly and terribly on the heads of the German students. No distinction was made between the youthful aberrations of these corps, which were inspired merely by an overpowering sense of national feeling, and the bloodthirsty designs of malevolent intriguers—for example, of the priest Friedrich Ludwig Weidig in Butzbach—or the unscrupulous folly of revolutionary monomaniacs, such as the Göttingen privat-dozent Von Rauschenplat.

The Terrible Fate of the Students

Hundreds of young men were consigned for years to the tortures of horrible and pestilential dungeons by the cold-blooded cruelty of red-tape indifferentism. The punitive measures of justice then enforced, far from creating a salutary feeling of fear, increased the existing animosity, as is proved by the horrors of the Revolution of 1848.





THE WELDING OF THE STATES

THE GERMAN FEDERATION AND THE GERMAN CUSTOMS UNION

DURING the period subsequent to the Congress of Vienna a highly important modification in the progress of German history took place, in spite of the fact that such expressions of popular feeling as had been manifested through the existing constitutional outlets had effected but little alteration in social and political life. This modification was not due to the diet, which, properly speaking, existed to protect the common interests of the German states collectively. It was the work of the Prussian Government, in which was concentrated the keenest insight into the various details of the public administration, and which had therefore become a centre of attraction for minds inclined to political thought and for statesmen of large ideals. In Germany the political movement had been preceded by a period of economic progress; the necessary preliminary to such a movement, a certain level of prosperity and financial power, had thus already been attained. This achievement was due to the excellent qualities of most of the German races, to their industry, their thrift, and their godliness. The capital necessary to the economic development of a people could only be gradually recovered and amassed after the enormous losses of the French war, by petty landowners and the small handicraftsmen.

Economic Progress in Germany

However, this unconscious national co-operation would not have availed to break the fetters in which the economic life of the nation had been chained for 300 years by provincial separatism. Of this oppression the disunited races were themselves largely unconscious; what one considered a burden, his neighbour regarded as an advantage. Of constitutional forms, of the process of economic development, the nation severally and collectively had long since lost all understanding, and it was reserved for those to spread such knowledge who had acquired it by experience and intellectual toil. These two qualifications were wanting to the Austrian Government, which had formed the German Federation according to its own ideas. Even those who admire the diplomatic skill of Prince Metternich must admit that the Austrian chancellor displayed surprising ignorance and ineptitude in dealing with questions of internal administration.

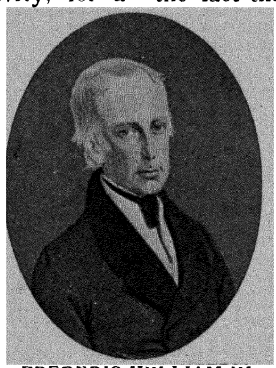
The Ignorance of Prince Metternich

His interest was entirely concentrated upon matters of immediate importance to the success of his foreign policy, upon the provision of money and recruits; of the necessities, the merits, and the defects of the inhabitants of that empire to which he is thought to have rendered such signal service, of the forces dormant in the state over which he ruled, he had not the remotest idea.

The members of the bureaucracy whom he had collected and employed were, with few exceptions, men of limited intelligence and poor education; cowardly and subservient to authority, they were so incompetent to initiate any improvement of existing circumstances that the first preliminary to any work of a generally beneficial nature was the task of breaking down their opposition. The Archduke John, the brother of the Emperor Francis, a man fully conscious of the forces at work beneath the surface, a man of steady and persistent energy, suffered many a bitter experience in his constant attempts to improve technical and scientific training, to benefit agriculture and the iron trades, co-operative enterprises, and savings banks. The Emperor Francis and his powerful Minister had one aversion in common,

Archduke John as Reformer

which implied unconditional opposition to every form of human endeavour—an aversion to pronounced ability. Metternich's long employment of Gentz is to be explained by the imperative need for an intellect so pliable and so reliable in its operations, and also by the fact that Gentz would do anything for money; for a position of independent activity, for a chance of realising his own views or aims, he never had any desire. Men of independent thought, such as Johann Philipp of Wessenberg, were never permanently retained, even for foreign service. This statesman belonged to the little band of Austrian officials who entertained theories and proffered suggestions upon the future and the tasks before the Hapsburg monarchy, its position within the Federation, and upon further federal developments. His opinion upon questions of federal reform was disregarded, and he fell into bad odour at the London conference, when his convictions led him to take an independent position with reference to the quarrel between Belgium and Holland.



FREDERIC WILLIAM IV. Crowned King of Prussia at Königsberg in 1840, he promised the introduction of reforms, which were not carried out. Becoming insane in 1857, he died in 1861.

The fate of the German Federation lay entirely in the hands of Austria, and Austria is exclusively responsible for the ultimate fiasco of the Federation, which she eventually deserted. The form and character of this alliance, as also its after development, were the work of Metternich. People and Government asked for bread, and he gave them a stone. He conceived the state to be merely an institution officered and governed by police. When more than twenty millions of Germans declared themselves a commercial corporation with reference to the world at large, with the object of equalising the conditions of commercial competition, of preventing an overwhelming influx of foreign goods, and of opening the markets of the world to their own producers—in that memorable year of 1834 the Austrian Government, after inviting the federal representatives to months of conferences in Vienna, could find nothing of more pressing importance to bring forward than proposals for limiting the effectiveness of the provincial constitutions as compared with the state governments, for increased severity in the censorship of the Press, and the surveillance of university students and their political activity.

Metternich's Conception of the State

Student interference in political life is utterly unnecessary, and can only be a source of mischief; but Metternich and his school were unable to grasp the fact that such interference ceases so soon as political action takes a practical turn. If Austria were disappointed in her expectations of the German federal states, her feelings originated only in the fact that Prussia, together with Bavaria, Würtemberg, Saxony, and Baden, entertained loftier views than she herself upon the nature of State existence and the duties attaching thereto.

The kingdom of Prussia had by no means developed in accordance with the expectations entertained by Metternich in 1813 and 1815; it was a military state, strong enough to repel any possible Russian onslaught, but badly "rounded off," and composed of such heterogeneous fragments of territory that it could not in its existing form aspire to predominance in Germany. Prussia was as yet unconscious of her high calling; she was wholly spellbound by Austrian federal policy, but none the less she had completed a task incomparably the most important national achievement since the attainment of religious freedom—the foundation of the pan-Germanic Customs Union.

Cotta, the greatest German book and newspaper publisher, and an able and important business man, had been able to shield the loyal and thoroughly patriotic views of Lewis I. of Bavaria from the inroads of his occasionally violent paroxysms of personal vanity, and had secured the execution of the Act of May 27th, 1829, providing for a commercial treaty between Bavaria-Würtemberg and Prussia with Hesse-Darmstadt, the first two states to join a federal customs union. The community of interests between North and South Germany, in which only far-seeing men, such as Friedrich List, the national economist, had believed, then became so incontestable a fact that the

Inauguration of a Federal Customs Union

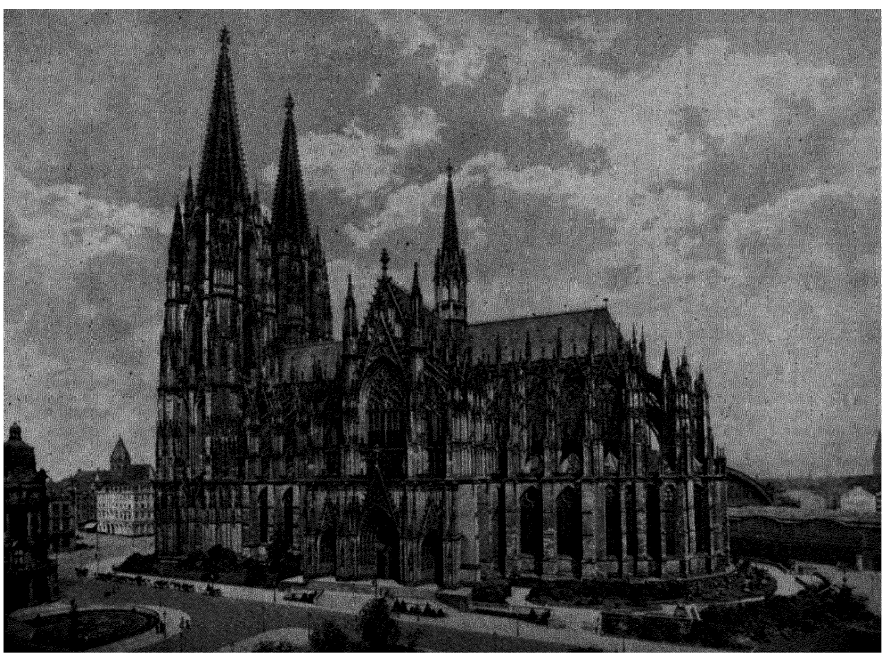
commercial treaty took the form of a customs union, implying an area of uniform economic interests.

The "Central German Union," which was intended to dissolve the connection between Prussia and South Germany, and to neutralise the advantages thence derived, rapidly collapsed. It became clear that economic interests are stronger than political, and the dislike amounting to aversion of Prussia entertained by the Central German governments became friendliness as soon as anything was to be gained by a change of attitude—in other words, when it seemed possible to fill the state exchequers. The electorate of Hesse had taken the lead in opposing the Hohenzollern policy of customs federation; as early as 1831 she recognised that her policy of commercial isolation spelt ruin.

Collapse of the Central German Union

A similar process led to the dissolution of the so-called "Einbeck Convention" of March 27th, 1830, which had included Hanover, Brunswick, Oldenburg, and the electorate of Hesse. Saxony joined Prussia on March 30th, as did Thüringen on May 11th, 1833; on May 22nd, 1833, the Bavarian-Würtemberg and the Prussian groups were definitely united. On January 1st, 1834, the union included eighteen German states, with 23,000,000 inhabitants; in 1840 these numbers had risen to twenty-three states with 27,000,000 inhabitants. In 1841 the union was joined by Brunswick, and by Luxemburg in 1842; Hanover did not come in until September 7th, 1851, when she ceased to be an open market for British goods. The expenses of administration and of guarding the frontiers were met from a common fund. The profits were divided among the states within the union in proportion to their population. In 1834 the profits amounted to fifteen silver groschen, one shilling and sixpence per head; in 1840, to more than twenty silver groschen, two shillings.

In the secondary and petty states public opinion had been almost entirely opposed to such unions. Prussia was afraid of the Saxon manufacturing industries, and Leipzig foresaw the decay of her great markets. The credit of completing this great national achievement belongs almost exclusively to the governments



THE STATELY COLOGNE CATHEDRAL Photochrom

The foundations of this magnificent structure, regarded as one of the finest examples of Gothic architecture extant were laid in 1248; the work was renewed in 1842, and in 1880 the building was completed according to the original plan

and to the expert advisers whom they called in Austria now stood without the boundary of German economic unity Metternich recognised too late that he had mistaken the power of this union Proposals were mooted for the junction of Austria with the allied German states, but met with no response from the industrial and manufacturing interests The people imagined that a process of division was even then beginning which was bound to end in political separation, but the importance of Prussia, which naturally took the lead in conducting the business of the union, notwithstanding the efforts of other members to preserve their own predominance and independence, became obvious even to those who had originally opposed the conclusion of the convention The Wurtemberg deputy and author, Paul Pfizer, recognised the necessity of a political union of the German states under Prussian hegemony, and saw that the separation of Austria was inevitable

The Shadow of Political Separation

In 1845, in his "Thoughts upon Rights, State and Church," he expounded the programme which was eventually adopted by the whole nation, though only after long struggles and severe trials "The conditions," he there said, "of German policy as a whole seem to point to a national alliance with Prussia and to an international alliance with the neighbouring Germanic states and with Austria, which is a first-class Power even apart from Germany There can be no question of abolishing all political connection between Germany and Austria In view of the danger threatening Germany on the east and west, nothing would be more foolish, no enemy or rival of Germany can be allowed to become paramount in Bohemia and Central Germany But the complete incorporation of Bohemia, Moravia, and Austria, together with that of the Tyrol, Carinthia, and Styria, would be less advantageous to Germany than the retention of these countries by a power connected with her by blood relationship and an offensive and defensive alliance, a power whose arm can reach beyond the Alps on the one hand, and to the Black Sea on the other"

Prussia's Relations with Germany

It was now necessary for Prussia to come to some agreement with the German people and the State of the Hapsburgs For more than three centuries the latter had, in virtue of their dynastic power, become the representatives of the Romano-German Empire Their historical position enabled them to lay claim to the leadership of the federation, though their power in this respect was purely external Certain obstacles, however, lay in the way of any settlement It was difficult to secure any feeling of personal friendship between the South Germans and the Prussians of the old province Some measure of political reform was needed, as well for the consolidation of existing powers of defence as for the provision of security to the individual states which might then form some check upon the severity of Prussian administration

Finally, there was the peculiar temperament of Frederic William IV, who had succeeded to the government of Prussia upon the death of his father, Frederic William III, on June 7th, 1840 In respect of creative power, artistic sense, and warm, deep feeling, his character can only be described as brilliant He was of the ripe age of forty-five, and his first measures evoked general astonishment and enthusiasm But he did not possess the strong grasp of his great ancestors and their power of guiding the ship through critical dangers unaided He had not that inward consciousness of strength and that decisiveness which shrink from no responsibility, least of all had he a true appreciation of the time and the forces at work

The Brilliant Frederic William IV

Prussia's great need was a constitution which would enable her to send up to the central government a representative assembly from all the provinces, such assembly to have the power of voting taxes and conscriptions, of supervising the finances, and of legislating in conjunction with the Crown On May 22nd, 1815, Frederic William III had made some promises in this direction, but these remained unfulfilled, as the government could not agree upon the amount of power which might be delegated to an imperial parliament without endangering the position of the executive. Such danger undoubtedly existed

The organisation of the newly-formed provincial federation was a process which necessarily affected private interests and customs peculiar to the individual areas which had formerly been indepen-

dent sections of the empire, and were now forced into alliance with other districts with which little or no connection had previously existed The conflicting views and the partisanship inseparable from parliamentary institutions would have checked the quiet, steady work of the Prussian bureaucracy, and would in any case have produced a continual and unnecessary agitation The improvements in the financial condition created by the better regulation of the national debt, by the limitation of military expenditure, and the introduction of a graduated system of taxation, could not have been more successfully or expeditiously carried out than they were by such Ministers as Bulow and Klewitz

So soon as the main part of this transformation of the Prussian state had been accomplished, prosperity began to return to the peasant and citizen classes, and the result of the customs regulations and the consequent extension of the market began to be felt The citizens then began to feel their power and joined the inheritors of the rights formerly possessed by the numerous imperial and provincial orders in a demand for some share in the administration It was found possible to emphasise these demands by reference to the example of the constitutional governments existing in neighbouring territories The speeches delivered by Frederic William IV at his coronation in Konigsberg on September 10th, 1840, and at his reception of homage in Berlin on October 15th, 1840, in which he displayed oratorical powers unequalled by any previous prince, appeared to point to an immediate fulfilment of these desires

Coronation Pledges of Prussian King

The king was deeply moved by the outburst of national enthusiasm in Germany which was evoked by the unjustifiable menaces directed against Germany by France in the autumn of 1840 during the Eastern complications. The Minister, Thiers, who had been in office since March 1st, suddenly broke away from the Great Powers during the Turco-Egyptian war, and initiated a policy of his own in favour of Egypt—a short-sighted departure which obliged Great Britain, Russia, Austria, and Prussia to conclude the quadruple alliance of July 15th, 1840, with the object of compelling Mehemet Ali to accept the conditions of peace which they had arranged With a logic peculiarly their own, the French considered themselves justified in securing their immunity on the Continent, as they were powerless against England by sea The old nonsensical argument of their right to the Rhine frontier was revived and they proceeded to mobilise their forces The German nation made no attempt to disguise their anger at so insolent an act of aggression, and showed all readiness to support the proposals for armed resistance Nikolaus Becker composed a song against the French which became extremely popular

The Relations of Germany and France

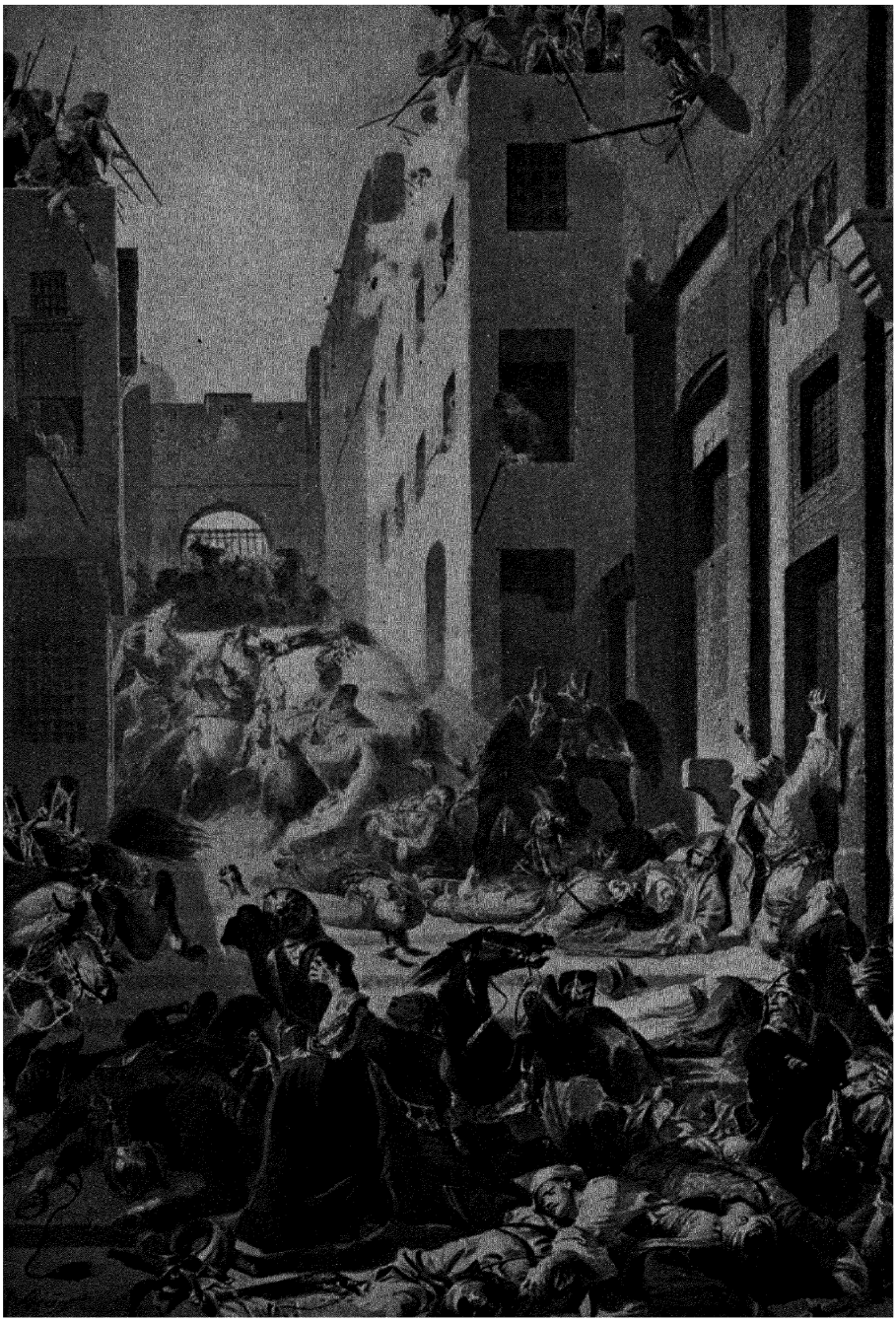
> For free and German is the Rhine,
> And German shall remain,
> Until its waters overwhelm
> The last of German name

The nation were united in support of their princes, most of whom adopted a dignified and determined attitude towards France Then was the time for Frederic William IV to step forward Supported by the warlike temper of every German race, with the exception of the Austrians, who were in financial difficulties, and by the popularity which his speeches had gained for him, he might have intimidated France both at the moment and for the future However, he confined himself to the introduction of reforms in the federal military constitution at Vienna, and thus spared Austria the humiliation of openly confessing her weakness The result of his efforts was the introduction of a regular inspection of the federal contingents and the occupation of Ulm and Rastatt as bases for the concentration and movements of future federal armies

Thus was lost a most favourable opportunity for securing the federal predominance of Prussia by means of her military power, for she could have concentrated a respectable force upon the German frontier more quickly than any other member of the Federation Moreover, the attitude of Prussia at the London conference was distinctly modest and in no way such as a Great Power should have adopted The king's lofty words at the laying of the foundation stone of Cologne Cathedral on September 4th, 1842, produced no deception as to his lack of political decision Whenever a special effort was expected or demanded in an hour of crisis, Frederic William's powers proved unequal to the occasion, and the confidence which the nation reposed in him was deceived.

Frederic William a Failure

HANS VON ZWIEDINECK-SUDENHORST



THE MASSACRE OF THE MAMELUKES BY MEHEMET ALI IN 1811



THE NEW KINGDOM OF GREECE

RUSSIA AND THE SUBLIME PORTE

AFTER the Porte had given its consent to the protocol of February 3rd, 1830, the Great Powers of Europe addressed themselves to the task of reorganising the Greek kingdom. Thessaly, Epirus, Macedonia, even Acarnania, remained under Turkish supremacy; but a considerable portion of the Greek people, forming a national entity, though limited in extent, was now able to begin a new and free existence as a completely independent state.

This success had been attained by the remarkable tenacity of the Greek nation, by the continued support of Great Britain, and, above all, by the pressure which the Russian co-religionists of the Greeks had brought to bear upon the Turkish military power. The work of liberation was greatly hindered by the diplomacy of the other Great Powers, and particularly by the support given to the Turks, the old arch enemies of Christendom, by Catholic Austria. To Austria it is due that the Greek question has remained unsolved to the present day; that instead of developing its inherent strength the Greek nation is still occupied with the unification of its different tribes, and that the Turkish state, which was hostile to civilisation, and has justified its existence only by means of the bayonets of Anatolian regiments, still exists on sufferance as a foreign body within the political system of Europe. Once again the obstacle to a thorough and comprehensive reform of the political conditions within the Balkan Peninsula was the puerile fear of the power inherent in a self-determining nation, and, in a secondary degree, a desire for the maintenance or extension of influence which might be useful in the peninsula.

Austria's Support of the Turks

The true basis of such influence was not as yet understood. It is not the statesmanship of ambassadors and attachés which gives a nation influence abroad, but its power to assert its will when its interest so demands. National influence rests upon the forces which the state can command, upon the industry of its traders, the value and utility of its products, the creative power of its labour and capital. The Greeks were now confronted with the difficult task of concentrating their forces accommodating themselves to a new political system, and making their independence a practical reality; for this purpose it was necessary to create new administrative machinery, and for this there was an entire dearth of the necessary material. The problem was further complicated by the fact that a desperately contested war had not only unsettled the country, but reduced it almost to desolation. The noblest and the bravest of the nation had fallen upon the battlefields or under the attacks of the Janissaries and Albanians, or had been slaughtered and hurled into the flames of burning towns and villages, after the extortion of their money, the destruction of their property, and the ruin of their prosperity.

Greece After its Wars

The contribution of the European Powers to facilitate the work of reconstruction consisted of a king under age and 2,400,000 pounds at a high rate of interest. Prince Leopold of Coburg, the first candidate for the Greek throne, had unfortunately renounced his project; he would have proved a capable and benevolent ruler, and would perhaps have adapted himself to the peculiar characteristics of Greek life and thought, with the eventual result of providing a starting-point for the introduction of more civilised and more modern methods. In consequence of his retirement, the presidency of Capodistrias continued for some time, until the murder of this statesman, who had deserved well of his people, on October 9th, 1831; then followed the short reign of his brother Augustine, who did not enjoy

Problem of the Greek Throne

the recognition of the constitutional party, the Syntagmatikoi Ultimately, by working on the vanity of King Lewis of Bavaria, European diplomacy persuaded this monarch to authorise his son Otto, born on June 1st, 1815, to accept the Greek throne The government was to be carried on by three Bavarian officials until the youth attained his majority This settlement was brought about by the London "Quadruple Convention" on May 7th, 1832, and is one of the most ill-considered pieces of work ever performed by the statesmen of the old school

Otto King of Greece

Of the young prince's capacity as a ruler not even his father can have had the smallest idea, yet he was handed over to fate, to sacrifice the best years of his life in a hopeless struggle for power and recognition The Greeks were fooled with promises impossible of fulfilment, and inspired with mistrust and hatred for their "benefactors" King Otto and his councillors had not the patience to secure through the National Assembly a gradual development of such conditions as would have made constitutional government possible, they would not devote themselves to the task of superintendence, of pacification, of disentangling the various complications, and restraining party action within the bounds of legality

The Bavarian officials, who might perhaps have done good service in Wurzburg or Amberg, were unable to accommodate themselves to their Greek environment, their mistakes aroused a passionate animosity against the Germans, resulting in their complete expulsion from Hellas in 1843. On March 16th, 1844, King Otto was obliged to agree to the introduction of a new constitutional scheme, the advantages of which were hidden to him by the fact that it merely aroused new party struggles and parliamentary discord Consequently he did not observe this constitution with sufficient conscientiousness to regain the national respect Disturbances in the East and the Crimean War proved so many additional obstacles to his efforts, which were ended by a revolt in October, 1862, when the Greeks declined to admit their king within the Piræus as he was returning from the Morea, and thus unceremoniously dismissed him from their service In 1830, Greece was definitively separated from

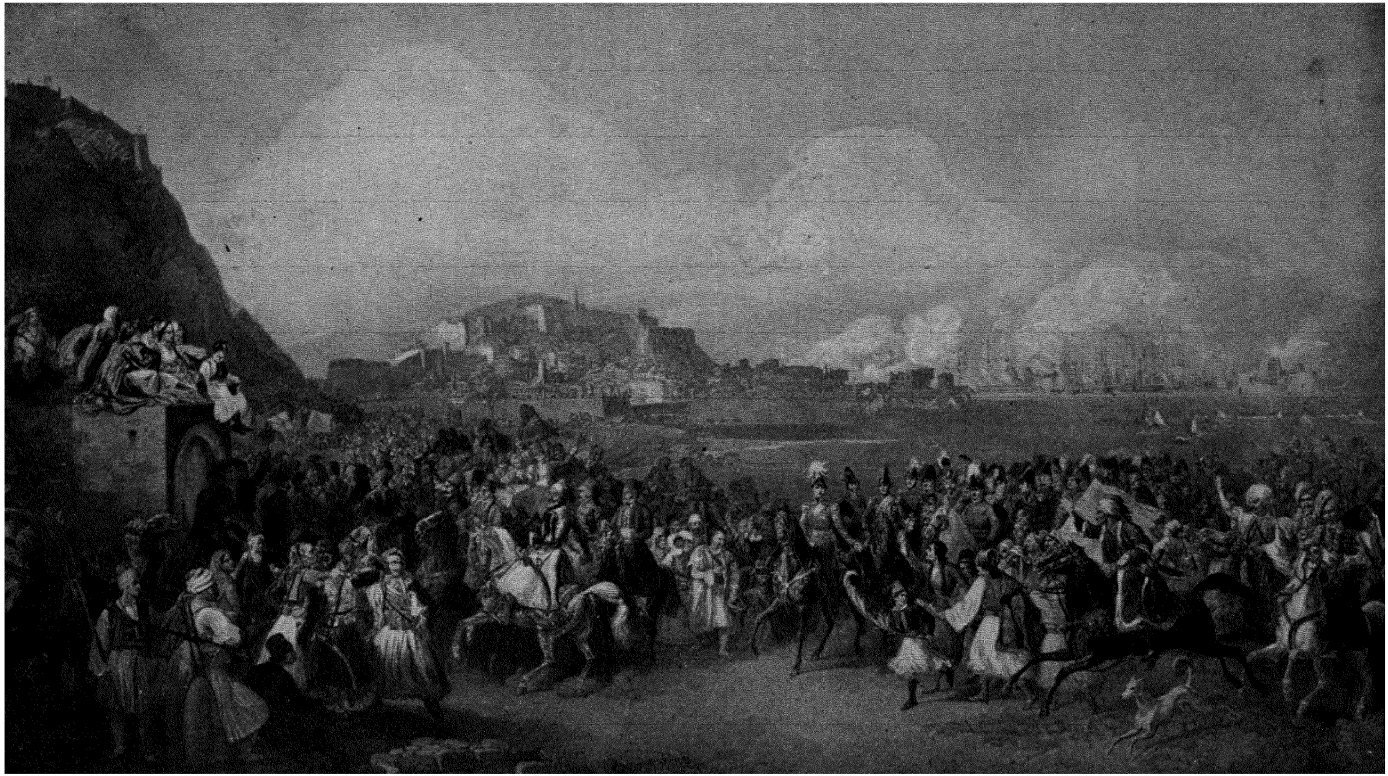
The Greeks Dismiss Their King

Turkey, and at the same time the insolence of the Dey of Algiers, hitherto under the Ottoman suzerainty, gave the Bourbon monarchy the chance of trying to recover its prestige with the nation by the seizure of Algeria The piratical activity of the Barbary States was brought to an end In Turkey also that movement was now beginning, which will be considered later, the literary and political revolution of the Young Turkish party

The indefatigable Mahmud, however, again resumed his efforts to secure the unity of the empire But he was forced to give way to his Pasha of Egypt, Mehemet Ali, one of the most important rulers whom the East had produced for a long time He was born in 1769 at Kavala, in Roumelia, opposite the island of Thasos He had gone to Egypt in 1800 with some Albanian mercenaries, in the struggle with the French, English, and Mamelukes he had raised himself to supremacy, had conquered the Wahabites, subjugated Arabia and Nubia, and created a highly competent army by means of military reform upon a large scale When Mahmud II declined to meet his extensive demands in return for the help he had rendered against the Greeks, Ibrahim, an adopted son of Mehemet, a general of the highest class, invaded Syria in 1831, defeated the Turks on three occasions, conquered Akka, 1832, and advanced to Kiutahia, in Asia Minor, in 1833 Mahmud appealed to Russia for help Russia forthwith sent 15,000 men to the Bosphorus, whilst the fleets of France and England jealously watched the Dardanelles Mehemet Ali was obliged to make peace on May 4th, 1833, and was driven back behind the Taurus

Russian Help for the Turks

The most important result of these events, however, was the recompense which the Sultan was induced to give to the Russians for their help He had been shown the letters of the French Ambassador, which revealed the intention of the Cabinet of the Tuileries to replace the Ottoman dynasty by that of Mehemet The result was the convention of Hunkyar-Skalessi, the imperial stairs on the Bosphorus, July 8th, or May 26th, 1833 In this agreement the terrified Sultan made a supplementary promise to close the Dardanelles in future against every Power that was hostile to Russia When this one-sided convention, concluded in defiance of all international rights, became



GERMANY'S CONQUERING EMPEROR: THE TRIUMPHAL ENTRY OF WILLIAM I. INTO BERLIN ON JUNE 16TH, 1871
From the painting by Camphausen, by permission of the Berlin Photographic Co.

known, the Western Powers were naturally irritated, and Prince Metternich wittily designated the sultan as "le sublime portier des Dardenelles au service du tsar" The naval Powers withdrew their fleets from the Dardanelles, after entering a protest against this embargo Meanwhile, the will of the tsar was supreme both in Athens and Stamboul

Where the Tsar was Supreme

Obeying his instructions, Mahmud refused to allow the Austrians to blast the rocks on the Danube at Orsova, or to permit his subjects to make use of the ships of the Austria-Hungarian Lloyd Company, founded in Trieste in 1836, notwithstanding this prohibition the company was able to resume with success the old commercial relations of the Venetians with the Levant The Russian ambassador discountenanced the wishes of the grand vizir and of the seraskier, who applied to the Prussian ambassador, Count Konigsmark, with a request for Prussian officers to be sent out, in view of a reorganisation of the army, which was in fact carried out under the advice of Moltke

In 1837 the first bridge over the Golden Horn was built, between Unkapau and Asabkapusi, not until 1845 and 1877 was the new bridge constructed which is known as the Valide, after the mother of Abd ul-Mejid On August 16th, 1838, the British ambassador Ponsonby secured the completion, in the house of Reshid Pasha at Balta-Nin on the Bosphorus, of that treaty respecting trade and customs duties, which has remained the model of all succeeding agreements By way of recompense the British fleet accompanied the Turkish fleet during all its manœuvres in the Mediterranean, until its secession to Mehemet Ali War was declared upon him by Sultan Mahmud in May, 1839, when the Druses had revolted against the Syrian authorities in the Hauran However, the sultan died on July 1st, before he could receive the

Death of Sultan Mahmud

news of the total defeat of his army at Nisib on June 24th, and the desertion of his fleet in Alexandria on July 14th At a later period, after his return to the Sublime Porte, Moltke vindicated the capacity which Hafiz Pasha had shown in face of the lack of discipline prevailing in his army, although the seraskier had treated the suggestions of the Prussian officers with contempt Ibrahim did not pursue his master's troops, as his own soldiers were too exhausted to undertake any further movements Mahmud II died a martyr to his own ideas and plans, even his greatest reforms remained in embryo. However, his work lives after him, he was the founder of a new period for Turkey, as Peter the Great, with whom he liked to be compared, had been for Russia The difficulty of the political situation, the incapacity of his predecessors, the slavery imposed by the domestic government and court etiquette, were the real source of those obstacles which often caused him such despondency that he sought consolation in drunkenness, to the utter destruction of his powers

Abd ul-Mejid, 1839-1861, the son of Mahmud, undertook at the age of sixteen the government of a state which would irrevocably have fallen into the power of the Pasha of Egypt had not the ambitious plans of France been thwarted by the conclusion of the Quadruple Alliance on July 15th, 1840, between England, Russia, Austria, and Prussia The interference of the alliance forced the victorious Pasha Mehemet Ali to evacuate Syria, after the conclusion of peace he obtained the Island of Thasos,

The Sultan's Gift to the Pasha

the cradle of his race, from the sultan, as an appanage of the viceroys of Egypt, in whose possession it still remains An important advance is denoted by the Hatti-sherif of Gulhane on November 3rd, 1839, which laid down certain principles, on which were to be based further special decrees The reformation proclaimed as law what had in fact long been customary, the theoretical equality of the subjects of every nation, race, and religion before the law It must be said that in the execution of this praiseworthy decree certain practical difficulties came to light Reshid Pasha, the creator of the "hat," was not inspired by any real zeal for reform, but was anxious simply to use it as a means for gaining the favour of the Christian Powers

As early as 1830, for example, a census had been undertaken, the first throughout the whole Turkish Empire, the results of which were valueless No official would venture to search the interior of a Moslem house inhabited by women and children. It was, moreover, to the profit of the revenue officials to represent the number of houses and families in their district as lower than it really was, with the object of filling their pockets with the excess. The Porte, unable to secure the obedience

of the Syrians by a strong government like the military despotism of Ibrahim, was equally unable to win over the country by justice and good administration, for lack of one necessary condition, an honest official service. It was not to the "hat" of Gülhane of 1856, nor yet to the later Hatti-humayun, that reform was due, but to the European Powers associated to save the crescent. These Powers suggested the only permanent solution by supplying the watchword "A la franca"; and urged the Turks to acquire a completer knowledge of the West, to learn European languages and sciences, to introduce the institutions of the West.

Literature also had to follow this intellectual change. Towards the end of the eighteenth century, a poet endowed with the powers of the ancient East had appeared in Ghalib, and a court poet in the unfortunate Selim III. Heibet ullah Sultana, a sister of the Sultan Mahmud II., and aunt of the reforming Minister Fuad, also secured a measure of popularity. These writers were, however, unable to hinder the decay of old forms, or rather the dawn of a new period, the Turkish "modern age." The study of the languages of Eastern civilisation became neglected in view of the need of the study of the West. The new generation knew more of La Fontaine, Montesquieu, and Victor Hugo than of the Moslem classics. The political need of reform made men ambitious to secure recognition for the drafting of a diplomatic note rather than for the composition of a Kassited, or of a poem with a purpose. In the East as well as in the West mediæval poetry became a lost art.



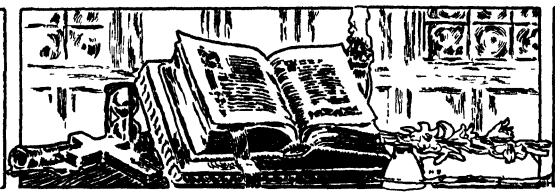
SULTAN ABD UL-MEJID
In 1841 he concluded peace with Mehemet Ali of Egypt, and in 1853 his resistance to Russia's claims to a protectorate over his subjects led to the Crimean war.

Russia's Plans in the Black Sea

By the Dardanelles Convention, which was concluded with the Great Powers in London on July 13th, 1841, the Porte consented to keep the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus closed to foreign ships of war in the time of peace. By this act the Turkish Government gave a much desired support to Russian aims at predominance in the Black Sea. In the same year it was necessary to suppress revolts which had broken out in Crete and Bulgaria. In consequence of the incursions of Mehmet Shah into the Arabian Irak, Suleimanieh, Bagdad, Kerbela, and Armenia, a war with Persia was threatened, and the dispute was only composed with difficulty by a peace commission summoned to meet at Erzeroum. Within the Danubian principalities the sovereign rights of the Porte were often in conflict with the protectorate powers of Russia. In Servia, Alexander Karageorgevitch was solemnly appointed bashbeg, or high prince of Servia, by the Porte on November 14th, 1842; Russia, however, succeeded in persuading Alexander voluntarily to abdicate his position, which was not confirmed until 1843 by Russia, after his re-election at Topchider, near Belgrade. The Roman Catholic —uniate—Armenians, who had already endured a cruel persecution in 1828, secured toleration for their independent Church in 1835 and a representative of their own. A similar persecution, supported by Russia from Etshmiadsin, also broke out against the Protestant Armenians in 1845. It was not until November, 1850, that their liberation was secured by the energetic ambassador, Stratford Canning. Even more dangerous was the diplomatic breach between the Porte and Greece, 1847. This young state had grown insolent; supported by the Russian party which dominated the Chamber of Deputies, Greece had availed herself of the helplessness of the Porte against Mehemet Ali, at the time when Abd ul-Mejid began his reign, to send help to the Cretans. The Prime Minister, Kolettis, 1844-1847, had repeatedly demanded the union of the Greeks. Continued friction ended in 1846 with a collision between the Turkish ambassador and the Greek king, with the breaking off of diplomatic relations, and with a revenge taken by the sultan upon his Greek subjects, which might almost have ended in war between Greece and Turkey, England and France. Not until September, 1847, was an understanding between the two neighbours secured, by the intervention of the tsar on the personal appeal of King Otto.

Persecution of Protestant Armenians

HANS VON ZWIEDINECK-SÜDENHORST
HEINRICH ZIMMERER



THE STATE OF RELIGION IN EUROPE AND THE PROGRESS OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

THE great revolutions which had taken place in the political world since 1789 were not calculated to produce satisfaction either among contemporaries or posterity Disillusionment and fear of the degeneration of human nature, distrust of the capacity and the value of civic and political institutions, were the legacy from these movements As men lost faith in political movement as a means of ameliorating the conditions of life or improving morality, so did they yearn for the contentments and the consolations of religion "Many believe, all would like to believe," said Alexis de Tocqueville of France after the July Revolution However, the germs of piety, "which, though uncertain in its objects, is powerful enough in its effects," had already sprung to life during the Napoleonic period Throughout the nineteenth century there is a general yearning for the restoration of true Christian feeling It was a desire that evoked attempts at the formation of religious societies, often of a very extraordinary nature, without attaining any definite object, on the other hand, it opened the possibility of a magnificent development of the power of Catholicism

Restored Power of the Catholic Church

The progress of the movement had made it plain that only a Church of this nature can be of vital importance to the history of the world, and that the revival of Christianity can be brought about upon no smaller basis than that which is held by this Church The force of the movement which resulted in the intensification of papal supremacy enables us to estimate the power of reaction which was bound to occur, though the oppression of this supremacy will in turn become intolerable and the foundations of ultramontanism and of its successes be shattered.

The restoration of power to the Catholic Church was partly due to the Jesuit Order, which had gradually acquired considerable and potent influence over the papacy, and the success it attained was by no means artificial Jesuitism has ideals; for it, religion is more than a department of politics By the creation of a hierarchy within a temporal state it hopes to secure full scope for the beneficent activity of Christian doctrine confined within the discipline of the Church For this purpose Jesuitism can employ any and every form of political government It has no special preference for monarchy, though it simulates such a preference for dynasties which it can use for its own purposes, it is equally ready to accommodate itself to the conditions of republican and parliamentary government Materialism is no hindrance to the fulfilment of its task, the steady increase of the priestly power, for the grossest materialism may be accompanied by the most sincere faith, and this latter is one of its most valuable weapons While fostering education and devotion, it shares in the hobbies of science, criticism and research One maiden marked with the stigmata may seem of greater value to society than the well-meaning efforts of a hundred learned fathers

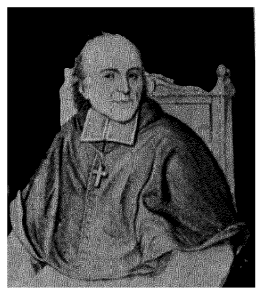
The Policy of the Jesuits

On August 7th, 1814, Pope Pius VII issued the encyclical *Sollicitudo omnium*, reconstituting the Society of Jesus, which retained its original constitution and those privileges which it had acquired since its foundation At the Congress of Vienna Cardinal Consalvi had succeeded in convincing the Catholic and Protestant princes that the Jesuit Order would prove a means of support to the Legitimists, and would, in close connection with the papacy, undertake the interests of the royal houses—a device successfully employed even at the present day This action of the papacy, a step as portentous for the destinies of Europe as any of those taken during the unhappy years of the first Peace of Paris, appeared at first comparatively unimportant The new world power escaped notice until the highly gifted Dutchman, Johann Philip of Roothaan,

Jesuit Order Supported by the Papacy

took over the direction on July 9th, 1829, and won the Germans over to the Order. The complaisance with which the French and the Italians lent their services for the attainment of specific objects deserves acknowledgment. But even more valuable than their diplomatic astuteness in the struggle against liberal free thought were the blind unreasoning obedience and the strong arms of Flanders, Westphalia, the Rhine districts and Bavaria. At the outset of the thirties the society possessed, in the persons of numerous young priests, the implements requisite for destroying that peace between the Churches which was founded upon religious toleration and mutual forbearance. By the same means the struggle against secular governments could be begun, where such powers had not already submitted by concordat to the Curia, as Bavaria had done in 1817.

The struggle raged with special fury in Prussia, though this state, considering its very modest pecuniary resources, had endowed the new-created Catholic bishoprics very handsomely. The Jesuits declined to tolerate a friendly agreement in things spiritual between the Catholics and Protestants in the Rhine territories, to allow the celebration of mixed marriages with the "passive assistance" of the Catholic pastor; they objected to the teaching of George Hermes, professor in the Catholic faculty at the new-created university of Bonn, who propounded to his numerous pupils the doctrine that belief in revelation necessarily implied the exercise of reason, and that the dictates of reason can not therefore be contradicted by dogma.



ARCHBISHOP OF COLOGNE

Archbishop Ferdinand worthily fulfilled the duties of his high office and died on August 2nd, 1835.

After the death of the excellent Archbishop Ferdinand of Cologne on August 2nd, 1835, the blind confidence of the government elevated the prebendary Klemens August Freiherr von Droste-Vischering to the Rhenish archbishopric. He had been removed from the general vicariate at Münster as a punishment for his firmness. In defiance of his previous promises, the ambiguity of which had passed unnoticed by the Minister Altenstein, the archbishop arbitrarily broke off the agreement concerning mixed marriages arranged by his predecessor. His repeated transgression of his powers and his treatment of the Bonn professors obliged the Prussian Government to pronounce his deposition on November 14th, 1837, and forcibly to remove him from Cologne.

The Defiant Archbishop of Cologne

The Curia now protested in no measured terms against Prussia, and displayed a galling contempt for the Prussian ambassador, Bunsen, who had exchanged the profession of archæology for that of diplomacy. Prince Metternich had formerly been ready enough to claim the good services of the Berlin Cabinet whenever he required their support; his instructive diplomatic communications were now withheld, and with some secret satisfaction he observed the humiliation of his ally by Roman statecraft. The embarrassment of the Prussian administration was increased both by the attitude of the Liberals, who, with doctrinaire shortsightedness, disputed the right of the government to arrest the bishop, and by the extension of the Catholic opposition to the ecclesiastical province of Posen-Gnesen, where the insubordination and disloyalty of the archbishop, Martin von Dunin, necessitated the imprisonment of that prelate also. Those ecclesiastical dignitaries who were under Jesuit influence proceeded to persecute such supporters of peace as the prince-bishop of Breslau, Count Leopold of Sedlnitzky, in 1840, employing every form of intercollegiate pressure which the labours of centuries had been able to excogitate. In many cases congregations were ordered to submit to tests of faith, with which they eventually declined compliance.

Catholic Prelate Punished

A more vigorous, and in its early stages a more promising, resistance arose within the bosom of the Church itself. This movement was aroused by the exhibition in October, 1844, of the "holy coat" in Trèves, a relic supposed to be one of Christ's garments, an imposture which had long before been demonstrated; an additional cause was the disorderly pilgrimage thereto promoted by Bishop Arnoldi. The chaplain, Ronge, characterised the exhibition as a scandal, and denounced

the "idolatrous worship of relics" as one of the causes of the spiritual and political humiliation of Germany He thereby became the founder of a reform movement, which at once assumed a character serious enough to arouse hopes that the Catholic Church would now undergo the necessary process of purification and separation, and would break away from the prevalent influence of Jesuitism About two hundred "German Catholic" congregations were formed in the year 1845, and a Church council was held at Leipzig from March 23rd to 26th, with the object of finding a common basis for the constitution of the new Church

The Serious Influence of Jesuitism

However, it proved impossible to arrange a compromise between the insistence upon free thought of the one party and the desire for Catholic dogma manifested by the other What was wanted by the freethinkers was a new idea, brilliant enough to attract the universal gaze and to distract attention from established custom and its separatist consequences Great and strong characters were wanting, though these were indispensable for the direction and organisation of the different bodies who were attempting to secure their liberation from one of the most powerful influences that has ever imposed disciplinary authority upon an intellectually dormant humanity. As long as each party went its own way, proclaimed its own war-cry to be the only talisman of victory, and adopted new idols as its ensign, so long were they overpowered by the determined persistency of the Society of Jesus.

Within the Protestant Churches also a movement for intellectual independence arose, directed against the suppression of independent judgment, and the subjugation of thought to the decrees of the "Superiors" The movement was based upon the conviction that belief should be controlled by the dictates of reason and not by ecclesiastical councils The Prussian Government limited the new movement to the utmost of its power, at the same time it was so far successful that the authorities avoided the promulgation of decrees likely to excite disturbance and practised a certain measure of toleration The discoveries made by the scientific criticism of the evangelical school gave a further impulse in this direction, as these results were utilised by Strauss in his "Life of Jesus," 1835, and his "Christian Dogma, explained in its Historical Development and in Conflict with Modern Science," 1840–1841, works which made an epoch in the literary world, and the importance of which remained undiminished by any measures of ecclesiastical repression

Discoveries of Scientific Criticism

Among the Romance peoples religious questions were of less importance than among the Germans In Spain, such questions were treated purely as political matters, the foundation of a few Protestant congregations by Manuel Matamoros exercised no appreciable influence upon the intellectual development of the Spaniards The apostacy of the Roman prelate Luigi Desancti to the Waldenses and the appearance of scattered evangelical societies produced no effect upon the position of the Catholic Church in Italy In France, the liberal tendencies introduced by Lamartine and Victor Hugo remained a literary fashion, the efforts of Lacordaire and Montalembert to found national freedom upon papal absolutism were nullified by the general direction of Roman policy There was, however, one phenomenon deserving a closer attention —a phenomenon of higher importance than any displayed by the various attempts at religious reform during the nineteenth century, for the reason that its evolution displays the stages which mark the process of liberation from Jesuitism

Lamennais the Fiery Champion of the Papacy

Lamennais began his priestly career as the fiery champion of the papacy, to which he ascribed infallibility He hoped to secure the recognition of its practical supremacy over all Christian governments Claimed by Leo X as the "last father of the Church," he furiously opposed the separatism of the French clergy, which was based on the "Gallican articles", he attacked the government of Charles X as being "a horrible despotism," and founded after the July Revolution a Christian-revolutionary periodical, "L'Avenir," with the motto, "Dieu et Liberté—le Pape et le Peuple" By his theory, not only was the Church to be independent of the State, it was also to be independent of State support, and the clergy were to be maintained by the voluntary offerings of the faithful

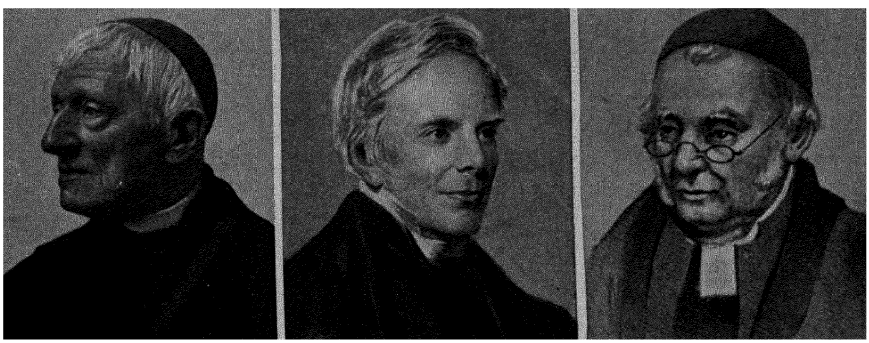
This demand for the separation of Church and State necessarily brought Lamennais into connection with political democracy;

hence it was but a step to the position that the Church should be reconstructed upon a democratic basis. This fact was patent not only to the French episcopate, but also to Pope Gregory XVI., who condemned the doctrines of the "father of the Church," and, upon his formal submission, interdicted him from issuing any further publications. Lamennais, like Arnold of Brescia or Girolamo Savonarola in earlier times, now recognised that this papacy was incompetent to fulfil the lofty aims with which he had credited it; he rejected it in his famous "Paroles d'un Croyant" in 1834, and found his way to that form of Christianity which is based upon brotherly love and philanthropy and aims at procuring an equal share for men in the enjoyment of this world's goods. But in England and in Scotland there was considerable ferment on religious questions during the 'thirties and 'forties. German rationalism indeed would hardly have been permitted to obtain a foothold in either country; when respectability was at its zenith, German rationalism was not regarded as respectable. In Scotland the crucial question was not one of theology, but of Church government; in that country the national system of education combined with the national combativeness of character to make every cottar prepared to support his own religious tenets with a surprising wealth of scriptural erudition; and "spiritual independence" was fervently cherished. That greatly prized possession was, however, threatened by the system of the Established Church, which forced upon the congregations ministers who were not to their liking; but this was in itself merely incidental to the more important and comprehensive fact that the "establishment" was subject to civil control, and that questions affecting it might be carried for decision to a court which was Scottish only in the sense that it contained a Scottish element—the House of Peers.

Religion in England and Scotland

The view rapidly gained ground that in matters regarded as spiritual the Church ought to be subject to no authority save its own; in other words, that it ought to be free from state control. But that view was not general, nor was the state prepared to recognise it. It only remained, therefore, for the protesting portion of the community to sever itself from the state by departing from the Establishment and sacrificing its share in the endowments and privileges thereto pertaining. In the great Disruption of 1843 hundreds of ministers resigned their manses and churches rather than their principles; and the Free Church took its place side by side with the Established Church as a self-supporting religious body, although in point of doctrine there was no distinction between the two communities, which were both alike Calvinist in theology and Presbyterian in system.

The Tractarian movement in England was of a different type. On the one side, it was inspired by the desire to awaken

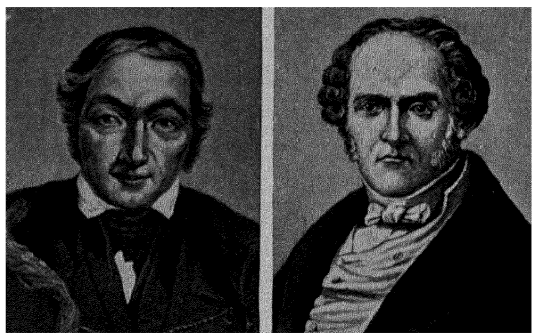


Newman Keble Pusey

LEADERS OF THE TRACTARIAN MOVEMENT

Inspired by the desire to "awaken into new life a Church which was becoming torpid by a revival of mediæval ideals and mediæval devotion," and with the aim of counteracting the "danger to religion arising from a sceptical criticism," the Tractarian movement in England had as its most notable champions Newman, Keble, and Pusey. Their teachings were in many quarters regarded as nothing but barely veiled "Popery," a view that was strengthened when Cardinal Newman went over to the Church of Rome, whither he was followed by many of his disciples.

into new life a Church which was becoming torpid, by a revival of mediæval ideals and mediæval devotion, to be attained through insistence on mystical doctrines, on the apostolic character of the priesthood, on the authority of the fathers of the Church as against the miscellaneous unauthorised and ignorant interpretations of the Scriptures, and on the historic and aesthetic attractions of elaborate ceremonial. On another side it sought especially to counteract the danger to religion arising from a sceptical criticism, and from the attacks of the scientific spirit which declined to regard convictions adopted on authority as being knowledge.



THE SOCIAL REFORMERS OWEN AND FOURIER
In the large spinning-works at New Lanark in Scotland, of which he was manager, Robert Owen put into practice his socialistic theories, but his experiment was not permanently successful. Equally futile and unsatisfactory was Charles Fourier's project of the "Phalanstère," a new social community having all things in common.

The "Tracts for the Times," from which the movement took its name, the teaching of John Henry Newman, of Keble, and of Pusey, who were its most notable champions, alarmed the popular Protestantism—the more when Newman himself went over to the Church of Rome, whither he was followed by many of his disciples; and "Puseyism" was commonly regarded as nothing but barely veiled "Popery." Newman would have had many more imitators if the greatest of his colleagues had not maintained their view that the doctrines of "The Church" are those of the Anglican Church, and refused to sever themselves from her. They remained, and it will probably be admitted that while their movement inspired the clerical body—not only their adherents, but their opponents also—to a renewed activity at the time, it had the further effect ultimately, though not till after a considerable lapse of time, of attaching to itself a majority of the most energetic and the most intellectual of the clergy.

That Christian socialism to which Lamennais had been led by reason and experience was a by-product of the numerous attempts to settle the pressing question of social reform, attempts begun simultaneously in France and England, and resulting in a movement which soon affected every nation. The great revolution had accomplished nothing in this direction. The sum total of achievement hitherto was represented by certain dismal experiences of "State help" in the distribution of bread and the subsidising of bakers. The phrase inscribed in the "Cahiers" of the deputies of the Third Estate in 1789 had now been realised in fact: "The voice of freedom has no message for the heart of the poor who die of hunger." Babeuf, the only French democrat who professed communistic views, was not understood by the masses, and his martyrdom, one of the most unnecessary political murders of the Directory, had aroused no movement among those for whom it was undergone.

The general introduction of machinery in many manufactures, together with the more distant relations subsisting between employer and workman, had resulted in an astounding increase of misery among the journeymen labourers. The working classes, condemned to hopeless poverty and want, and threatened with the deprivation of the very necessaries of existence, broke into riot and insurrection; factories were repeatedly destroyed in England at the beginning of the century; the silk weavers of Lyons in 1831 and the weavers of Silesia in 1844 rose against their masters. These facts aroused the consideration of the means by which the appalling miseries of a fate wholly undeserved could be obviated.

Factory Riots in England

Among the wild theories and fantastic aberrations of Saint-Simon were to be found many ideas well worth consideration which could not fail to act as a stimulus to further thought. The pamphlet of 1814, "Réorganisation de la Société Européenne," had received no consideration from the Congress of Vienna, for it maintained that congresses were not

the proper instrument for the permanent restoration of social peace and order. It was, however, plainly obvious that even after the much-vaunted "Restoration" the lines of social cleavage had rapidly widened and that the majority were oppressed with crying injustice.

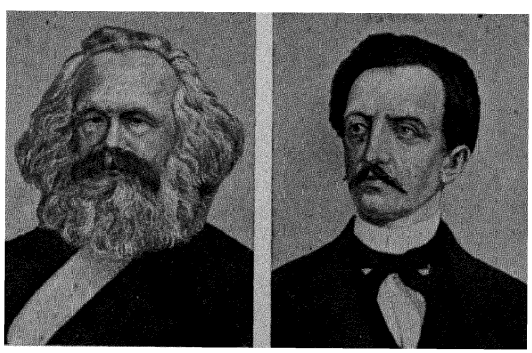
Not wholly in vain did Saint-Simon repeatedly appeal to manufacturers, industrial potentates, business men, and financiers, with warnings against the prevailing sweating system; not in vain did he assert in his "Nouveau Christianisme," 1825, that every Church in existence had stultified its Christianity by suppressing the loftiest teaching of Christ, the doctrine of brotherly love.

Europe's Social Development

No immediate influence was exerted upon the social development of Europe by Barthélemy Prosper Constantin's proposals for the emancipation of the flesh, and for the foundation of a new "theocratic-industrial state," or by Charles Fourier's project of the "Phalanstère," a new social community having all things in common, or by the Utopian dreams of communism expounded by Etienne Cabet in his "Voyage en Icarie." Such theorising merely cleared the way for more far-seeing thinkers, who, from their knowledge of existing institutions, could demonstrate their capacity of transformation.

In Britain, Robert Owen, the manager of the great spinning-works a New Lanark, i Scotland, was th first to attemp the practica realisation of philosophica social system. Owen's theories may be pronounced a definite advance, as demonstrating that capitalism as a basis of economics was not founded upon any law of Nature, but must be considered as the result of an historical development, and that competition is not an indispensable stimulus to production, but is an obstacle to the true utilisation of labour. The facts thus ascertained were worked into a socialist system by the efforts of a German Jew, Karl Marx, born in 1818 at Trèves, a man fully equipped with Hegelian criticism, and possessed by an extraordinary yearning to discover the causes which had brought existing conditions of life to pass, a characteristic due, according to Werner Sombart, to "hypertrophy of intellectual energy."

He freed the social movement from the revolutionary spirit which had been its leading characteristic hitherto. He placed one definite object before the movement, the "nationalisation of means of production," the method of attaining this end being a vigorous class struggle. Expelled from German soil by the Prussian police, he was forced to take up residence in Paris, and afterwards in London. There he gained an accurate knowledge of the social conditions of Western Europe, devoting special attention to the important developments of the English trades-union struggles, and thus became specially qualified as the founder and guide of an international organisation of the proletariat, an indispensable condition of victory in the class struggle he had proclaimed. In collaboration with Friedrich Engel of Elberfeld he created the doctrine of socialism, which remained the basis of the socialist movement to the end of the nineteenth century. That movement chiefly centred in Germany, after Ferdinand Lassalle had assured its triumph in the sixties. The social movement exerted but little political influence upon the events arising out of the July Revolution; its influence, again, upon the revolutions of the year 1848 was almost inappreciable. It became, however, a modifying factor among the democratic parties, who were looking to political revolution for some transformation of existing public rights, and for some alteration of the proprietary system in their favour.



Marx Lassalle

PIONEERS OF SOCIAL DEMOCRACY

The founder and guide of an international organisation of the proletariat, Karl Marx, a German Jew, freed the social movement from its revolutionary spirit and placed before it the definite object of nationalisation of means of production. Ferdinand Lassalle was also a prominent worker in the cause of social democracy in Germany.



THE SPREAD OF LIBERALISM
AND THE COLLAPSE OF METTERNICH'S SYSTEM

THE lack of initiative displayed by the King of Prussia was a valuable help to Metternich in carrying out his independent policy The old chancellor in Vienna had become ever more profoundly impressed with the insane idea that Providence had specially deputed him to crush revolutions,

The Zenith of Metternich's Influence

to support the sacred thrones of Europe, Turkey included, and that he was the discoverer of a political system by which alone civilisation, morality, and religion could be secured The great achievement of his better years was one never to be forgotten by Germany—the conversion of Austria to the alliance formed against the great Napoleon, and the alienation of the Emperor Francis from the son-in-law whose power was almost invincible when united with that of the Hapsburg emperor At that time, however, Metternich was not the slave of a system, his action was the expression of his will, and he relied upon an accurate judgment of the personalities he employed, and an accurate estimation of the forces at his disposal

As he grew old his self-conceit and an exaggerated estimate of his own powers led him blindly to follow those principles which had apparently determined his earlier policy in every political question which arose during the European supremacy which he was able to claim for a full decade after the Vienna Congress His belief in the system—a belief of deep import to the destinies

The Tsar a Convert of Metternich

of Austria — was materially strengthened by the fact that Alexander I, who had long been an opponent of the system, came over to its support before his death and recognised it as the principle of the Holy Alliance. The consequence was a degeneration of the qualities which Metternich had formerly developed in himself His clear appreciation of the situation and of the main interests of Europe in the summer of 1813 had raised Austria to the most favourable position which she had occupied for centuries Her decision determined the fate of Europe, and so she acquired power as great as it was unexpected

This predominance was the work of Metternich, and so long as it endured the prince was able to maintain his influence He, however, ascribed that influence to the superiority of his own intellect and to his incomparable system neglecting the task of consolidating and securing the power already gained Those acquisitions of territory which Metternich had obliged Austria to make were a source of mischief and weakness from the very outset The Lombard-Venetian kingdom implied no increase of power, and its administration involved a constant drain of money and troops The troops, again which were drawn from an unwarlike

Death of the Emperor Francis I

population, proved unreliable The possession itself necessitated interference in Italian affairs, and became a constant source of embarrassment and of useless expense Valuable possessions, moreover in South Germany already in the hands of the nation were abandoned out of consideration for this kingdom, and acquisitions likely to become highly profitable were declined. Within the kingdom a state of utter supineness prevailed in spite of the supervision bestowed upon it and the incompetence of the administration condemned the state and its great natural advantages to impotence.

Far from producing any improvement the death of the Emperor Francis I., on March 1st, 1835, caused a marked deterioration in the condition of the country The Archdukes Charles and John were unable to override the supremacy of Metternich As hitherto, they were unable to exercise any influence upon the government, which the ill-health and vacillation of Ferdinand I, the successor, had

practically reduced to a regency Franz Anton, Count of Kolowrat-Liebsteinsky, attempted to breathe some life into the Council of State, but his efforts were thwarted by Metternich, who feared the forfeiture of his own power

The Tsar Nicholas upon his visit to Toplitz and Vienna, in 1835, had remarked that Austria was no longer capable of guaranteeing a successful policy, and that her "system" could not be maintained in practice, remarks which had done no good It was impossible to convince Metternich that the source of this weakness lay in himself and his determination to repress the very forces which should have been developed The Archduke Lewis, the emperor's youngest uncle and a member of the State Conference, was averse to any innovation, and therefore inclined to uphold that convenient system which laid down the maintenance of existing institutions as the first principle of statesmanship

Within Austria herself, however, the state of affairs had become intolerable The government had so far decayed as to be incapable of putting forth that energy, the absence of which the Tsar had observed The exchequer accounts betrayed an annual deficit of thirty million gulden, and the government was forced to claim the good offices of the class representatives, and, what was of capital importance, to summon the Hungarian Reichstag on different occasions In that assembly the slumbering national life had been aroused to consciousness, and proceeded to supply the deficiencies of the government by acting in its own behalf Count Széchényi gave an impetus to science and art and to other movements generally beneficial Louis Kossuth, Franz Pulszky, and Franz Deák espoused the cause of constitutional reform

Austria Roused to Action

A flood of political pamphlets published abroad, chiefly in Germany, exposed in full detail the misgovernment prevailing in Austria and the Crown territories European attention was attracted to the instability of the conditions obtaining there, which seemed to betoken either the downfall of the state or a great popular rising Austria's prestige among the other Great Powers had suffered a heavy blow by the Peace of Adrianople, and now sank yet lower. Metternich was forced to behold the growth of events, and the accomplishment of deeds utterly incompatible with the fundamental principles of conservative statesmanship as laid down by the Congresses of Vienna, Carlsbad, Troppau, Laibach, and Verona

The July Revolution and the triumph of liberalism in England under William IV caused the downfall of Dom Miguel, "king" of Portugal, who had been induced by conservative diplomacy to abolish the constitutional measures introduced by his brother, Dom Pedro of Brazil To this policy he devoted himself, to his own complete satisfaction The revolts which broke out against him were ruthlessly suppressed, and thousands of Liberals were imprisoned, banished, or brought to the scaffold Presuming upon his success and relying upon the favour of the Austrian court, he carried his aggrandisements so far as to oblige Britain and France to use force and to support the cause of Pedro, who had abdicated the throne of Brazil in favour of his son, Dom Pedro II , then six years of age, and was now asserting his claims to Portugal

Stirring Times in Portugal

Pedro I adhered to the constitutionalism which he had recognised over-seas as well as in Portugal, thus securing the support not only of all Portuguese Liberals, but also of European opinion, which had been aroused by the bloodthirsty tyranny of Miguel The help of the British admiral, Charles Napier, who annihilated the Portuguese fleet at Cape San Vincent on July 5th, 1833, enabled Pedro to gain a decisive victory over Miguel, which the latter's allies among the French legitimists were unable to avert, though they hurried to his aid His military and political confederate, Don Carlos of Spain, was equally powerless to help him

In Spain, also, the struggle broke out between liberalism and the despotism which was supported by an uneducated and degenerate priesthood, and enjoyed the favour of the Great Powers of Eastern Europe The conflagration began upon the death of King Ferdinand VII , on September 29th, 1833, the material cause being a dispute about the hereditary right to the throne resulting from the introduction of a new order of succession The decree of 1713 had limited the succession to heirs in the male line , but the Pragmatic Sanction of March 29th, 1830, transferred the right to the king's daughters,

Spain's Degenerate Priesthood

Isabella and Louise, by his marriage with Maria Christina of Naples Don Carlos declined to recognise this arrangement, and on his brother's death attempted to secure his own recognition as king

Rebel Movement in Spain

After the overthrow of Dom Miguel and his consequent retirement from Portugal, Don Carlos entered Spain in person with his adherents, who were chiefly composed of the Basques fighting for their special rights, "fueros," and the populations of Catalonia and Old Castile, who were under clerical influence The Liberals gathered round the queen regent, Maria Christina, whose cause was adroitly and successfully upheld by the Minister, Martinez de la Rosa The forces at the disposal of the government were utterly inadequate, and their fleet and army were in so impoverished a condition that they could make no head against the rebel movement Under the leadership of Thomas Zumala-Carregui the Carlists won victory after victory, and would probably have secured possession of the capital had not the Basque general received a mortal wound before Bilbao

Even then the victory of the "Cristinos" was by no means secure The Radicals had seceded from the Liberals upon the question of the reintroduction of the constitution of 1812 The revolution of La Granja gave the Radicals complete influence over the queen regent, they obliged her to accept their own nominees, the Ministry of Calatrava, and to recognise the democratic constitution of June 8th, 1837 Their power was overthrown by Don Baldomero Espartero, who commanded the queen's troops in the Basque provinces After a series of successful movements he forced the Basque general, Maroto, to conclude the capitulation of Vergara on August 29th, 1839 The party of Don Carlos had lost greatly both in numbers and strength, owing to the carelessness and pettifogging spirit of the pretender and the dissensions and domineering spirit of his immediate adherents, who seemed the very incarnation of all the legitimist foolishness in Europe When Carlos abandoned the country on September 15th, 1839, General Cabrera continued fighting in his behalf, however, he also retired to French territory in July, 1840 The queen regent had lost all claims to respect by her intrigues with one of her body-guard, and was forced to abdicate on October 12th Espartero, who had been made Duke of Vittoria, was then entrusted by the Cortes with the regency

Queen Regent Forced to Abdicate

The extreme progressive party, the Exaltados, failed to support him, although he had attempted to fall in with their views. They joined the Moderados, or moderate party, with the object of bringing about his fall Queen Isabella was then declared of age, and ascended the throne Under the Ministry of Don Ramon Maria Narvaez, Duke of Valencia, the constitution was changed in 1837 to meet the wishes of the Moderados, and constitutional government in Spain was thus abolished Though his tenure of office was repeatedly interrupted, Narvaez succeeded in maintaining peace and order in Spain, even during the years of revolution, 1848–1849

The moral support of the Great Powers and the invasion of the French army under the Duke of Angoulême had been powerless to check the arbitrary action of the Bourbons and clergy in Spain No less transitory was the effect of the Austrian victories in Italy, the Italian people had now risen to full consciousness of the disgrace implied in the burden of a foreign yoke The burden, indeed, had been lighter under Napoleon and his representatives than under the Austrians The governments of Murat and Eugène had been careful to preserve at least a show of national feeling, their military power was drawn from the country itself, and consisted of Italian regiments officered with French, or with Italians who had served in French regiments The French had been highly successful in their efforts to accommodate themselves to Italian manners and customs, and were largely helped by their common origin as Romance peoples The Germans, on the other hand, with the Czechs, Magyars, and Croatians, who formed the sole support of the Austrian supremacy in the Lombard-Venetian kingdom, knew but one mode of intercourse with the Italians—that of master and servant, any feeling of mutual respect or attempt at mutual accommodation was impossible

Italy's National Disgrace

A small number of better-educated Austrian officers and of better-class individuals in the rank and file, who were preferably composed of Slav regiments, found it to their advantage to maintain good relations with the native population,

but the domineering and occasionally brutal behaviour of the troops as a whole was not calculated to conciliate the Italians. The very difference of their uniforms from all styles previously known served to emphasise the foreign origin of these armed strangers. Ineradicable was the impression made by their language, which incessantly outraged the delicate Italian ear and its love of harmony.

Of any exchange of commodities, of any trade worth mentioning between the Italian provinces and the Austrian Crown lands, there was not a trace. The newly acquired land received nothing from its masters but their money. Italian consumption was confined to the limits of the national area of production; day by day it became clearer that Italy had nothing whatever in common with Austria, and was without inclination to enter into economic or intellectual relations with her. The sense of nationalism was strengthened by a growing irritation against the foreign rule; this feeling penetrated every class, and inspired the intellectual life and the national literature.



CHARLES ALBERT
Succeeding his father as King of Sardinia, he pursued a policy of moderation; but declaring war against Austria in 1848, in the following year he abdicated the throne.

Vittorio Alfieri, the contemporary of Napoleon, was roused against the French yoke by the movement for liberation. His successors, Ugo Foscolo, Silvio Pellico, Giacomo Leopardi, created a purely nationalist enthusiasm. Their works gave passionate expression to the deep-rooted force of the desire for independence and for equality with other free peoples, to the shame felt by an oppressed nation, which was groaning under a yoke unworthy of so brilliantly gifted a people, and could not tear itself free. Every educated man felt and wept with them, and was touched with the purest sympathy for the unfortunate victims of policy, for the conspirators who were languishing in the Austrian fortresses.

Priests' Good Work for Italy

Highly valuable to the importance of the movement was the share taken by the priests, who zealously devoted themselves to the work of rousing the national spirit, and promised the support and practical help of the Catholic Church for the realisation of these ideals. It was Vincenzo Gioberti who first demonstrated to the papacy its duty of founding the unity of the Italian nation. Mastai Ferretti, Bishop of Imola, now Pope Pius IX., the successor of Gregory XVI., who died June 1st, 1846, was in full sympathy with these views. To the Italians he was already known as a zealous patriot, and his intentions were yet more definitely announced by the decree of amnesty issued July 17th, 1846, recalling 4,000 political exiles to the Church states. Conservative statesmen in general, and the Austrian Government in particular, had granted the Catholic Church high privileges within the state, and had looked to her for vigorous support in their suppression of all movement towards freedom. What more mortifying situation for them than the state of war now subsisting between Austria and papal Italy! The Cabinet of Vienna was compelled to despatch reinforcements for service against the citizen guards which Pius IX. had called into existence in his towns, and therefore in Ferrara, which was in the occupation of Austrian troops.

Austria Disappointed in the Papacy

When Christ's vicegerent upon earth took part in the revolt against the "legitimist" power, no surprise need be felt at the action of that repentant sinner, Charles Albert of Sardinia. Formerly involved with the Carbonari, he had grown sceptical upon the advantages of liberalism after the sad experiences of 1821. He now renounced that goodwill for Austria which he had hypocritically simulated since the beginning of his reign in 1831.

Turin had also become a centre of revolutionary intrigue. Opinion in that town pointed to Sardinia and its military strength as a better nucleus than the incapable papal government for a nation resolved to enter upon a war of liberation. Count Camillo Benso di Cavour, born August 10th, 1810, the editor of the journal "Il Risorgimento," strongly recommended the investment of Charles Albert and his army with the military guidance of the revolt. The Milan nobility were influenced by the court of Turin, as were the more youthful nationalists and the numerous secret societies

which the July Revolution had brought into existence throughout Italy, by Giuseppe Mazzini, one of the most highly gifted and most dangerous leaders of the democratic party in Europe.

Austria Preparing for War

Austria was therefore obliged to make preparations for defending her Italian possessions by force of arms The administration as conducted by the amiable Archduke Rainer was without power or influence. On the other hand, Count Radetzky had been at the head of the Austrian forces in the Lombard-Venetian kingdom since 1831 He was one of the first strategists of Europe, and no less distinguished for his powers of organisation, in short, he fully deserved the high confidence which the court and the whole army reposed in him. He was more than eighty years of age, for he had been born on November 4th, 1766, and had been present at the deliberations of the allies upon their movements in 1813, yet the time was drawing near when this aged general was to be the mainstay of the Austrian body politic, and the immutable corner-stone of that tottering structure

The Jesuits in the Swiss Confederation

A very appreciable danger menacing the progress of nations toward self-government had arisen within the Swiss Confederation, where the Jesuit Order had obtained much influence upon the government in several cantons By the constitution of 1815 the federal members had acquired a considerable measure of independence, sufficient to permit the adoption of wholly discordant policies by the different governments The Jesuits aimed at the revival of denominational institutions to be employed for far-reaching political objects, a movement which increased the difficulty of maintaining peace between the Catholic and the reformed congregations Toleration in this matter was provided by the constitution, but its continuance naturally depended upon the abstention of either party from attempts at encroachment upon the territory of the other. In 1833 an unsuccessful attempt had been made to reform the principles of the federation and to introduce a uniform legal code and system of elementary education. The political movement then spread throughout the cantons, where the most manifold party subdivisions, ranging from conservative ultramontanists to radical revolutionaries, were struggling for majorities and predominance. In Aargau a peasant revolt led by the monks against the liberal government was defeated, and the Church property was sold in 1841, while in Zurich the Conservatives were uppermost, and prevented the appointment of David Frederic Strauss to a professorship at the university

Switzerland's Cantons of Refuge

In Lucerne the ultramontanists stretched their power to most inconsiderate extremes, calling in the Jesuits, who had established themselves in Freiburg, Schwyz, and Wallis, and placing the educational system in their care, October 24th, 1844 Two democratic assaults upon the government were unsuccessful, December 8th, 1844, and March 30th, 1845, but served to increase the excitement in the neighbouring cantons, where thousands of fugitives were nursing their hatred against the ultramontanes, who were led by the energetic peasant Peter Leu The murder of Leu intensified the existing ill-feeling and ultimately led to the formation of a separate confederacy, composed of the cantons of Lucerne, Schwyz, Uri, Unterwalden, Zug, Freiburg, and Wallis, the policy being under Jesuit control. This Catholic federation raised great hopes among conservative diplomatists Could it be strengthened, it would probably become a permanent counterpoise to the liberal cantons, which had hitherto been a highly objectionable place of refuge to those peace-breakers who were hunted by the police of the Great Powers At the Federal Assembly the liberal cantons were in the majority, and voted on July 20th, 1847, for the dissolution of the separate federation, and on September 3rd for the expulsion of the Jesuits from the area of the new federation

At Metternich's proposal, the Great Powers demanded the appointment of a congress to deal with the situation However, the diet, distrusting foreign interference, and with good reason, declined to accede to these demands, and proceeded to put the federal decision into execution against the disobedient cantons Thanks to the careful forethought of the commander-in-chief, William Henry Dufour, the famous cartographer, who raised the federal military school at Thun to high distinction, and also to the rapidity with which the overwhelming numbers of the federal troops, 30,000 men, were mobilised, the "Sonderbund

war" was speedily brought to a close without bloodshed. Austrian help proved unavailing, and the cantons were eventually reduced to a state of impotence

The new federal constitution of September 12th, 1848, then met with unanimous acceptance The central power, which was considerably strengthened, now decided the foreign policy of the country, peace and war, and the conclusion of treaties, controlling also the coinage, and the postal and customs organisation, and maintaining the cantonal constitutions. The theories upon the nature of the Federal State propounded by the jurist professor, Dr Johann Kaspar Bluntschli, were examined and adopted with advantageous results by the radical-liberal party, which possessed a majority in the constitutional diet.

Bluntschli had himself espoused the conservative-liberal cause after the war of the separate federation, which he had vainly tried to prevent Forced to retire from the public life of his native town, he transferred his professional activities to Munich and Heidelberg The developments of his political philosophy were not without their influence upon those fundamental principles which have given its special political character to the constitution of the North German Federation and of the modern German Empire The Swiss Confederation provided a working example of the unification of special administrative forms, of special governmental rights, and of a legislature limited in respect of its sphere of action, in conjunction with a uniform system of conducting foreign policy Only such a government can prefer an unchallenged claim to represent the state as a whole and to comprehend its different forces

Metternich's Lack of Courage

Metternich and the King of Prussia were neither of them courageous enough to support the exponents of their own principles in Switzerland Prussia had a special inducement to such action in the fact of her sovereignty over the principality of Neuenburg, which had been occupied by the Liberals in connection with the movement against the separate federation, and had been received into the confederation as an independent canton In the aristocracy and upper classes of the population Frederic William IV had many faithful and devoted adherents, but he failed to seize so favourable an opportunity of defending his indisputable rights by occupying his principality with a sufficient force of Prussian troops His vacillation in the Neuenburg question was of a piece with the general uneasiness of his temper, which had begun with the rejection of his draft of a constitution for Prussia and the demands of the representatives of the estates for the institution of some form of constitution more honourable and in consonance with the rights of the people. But rarely have the preparations for imperial constitution been so thoroughly made or so protracted as they were in Prussia

Vacillating King of Prussia

From the date of his accession the king had been occupied without cessation upon this question The expert opinion of every adviser worth trusting was called in, and from 1844 commission meetings and negotiations continued uninterruptedly The proposals submitted to the king emanated, in full accordance with conservative spirit, from the estates as constituted, they provided for the retention of such estates as were competent, and for the extension of their representation and sphere of action in conjunction with the citizen class, but this would not satisfy Frederic William

The constitution drafted in 1842 by the Minister of the Interior, Count Arnim, was rejected by the king in consequence of the clauses providing for the legal and regular convocation of the constitutional estates The king absolutely declined to recognise any rights appertaining to the subject as against the majesty of the ruler, he was therefore by no means inclined to make such rights a leading principle of the constitution By the favour of the ruler, exerted by him in virtue of his divine right, the representatives of the original constitutional estates might from time to time receive a summons to tender their advice upon questions of public interest. As the people had every confidence in the wisdom and conscientiousness of their ruler, agreements providing for their co-operation were wholly superfluous "No power on earth," he announced in his speech from the throne on April 11th, 1847, "would ever induce him to substitute a contractual form of constitution for those natural relations between king and people, which were strong, above all in Prussia, by reason of their inherent reality Never under any circumstances would he allow a written

Frederic William & His People

paper, a kind of second providence, governing by paragraphs and ousting the old sacred faith, to intervene between God and his country."

Such was the residuum of all the discussion upon the Christian state and the "hierarchical feudal monarchy of the Middle Ages," which had been the work of the Swiss Lewis von Haller and his successors, the Berlin author Adam Muller, the Halle professor Hienrich Leo, and Frederic Julius Stahl, a Jew converted to Protestantism, whom Frederic William IV had summoned from Erlangen to Berlin in 1840 By a wilful abuse of history the wild conceptions of these theorists were explained to be the proven facts of the feudal period and of feudal society Constitutional systems were propounded as actual historical precedents which had never existed anywhere at any time

The Prussian King a Victim of Delusion

The object of these efforts as declared by Stahl was the subjection of reason to revelation, the reintroduction of the Jewish theocracy into modern political life Frederic William had allowed himself to be convinced that such was the Germanic theory of existence, and that he was forwarding the national movement by making his object the application of this theory to the government and administration of his state He was a victim of the delusion that the source of national strength is to be found in the admiration of the intangible precedents of past ages, whereas the truth is that national strength must at every moment be employed to cope with fresh tasks, unknown to tradition and unprecedented Notwithstanding the emphatic protest of the heir presumptive to the throne, Prince William of Prussia, to the Ministry, at the head of which was Ernest von Bodelschwingh, and though no single Minister gave an unqualified assent to the project, the king summoned the eight provincial Landtags to meet at Berlin as a united Landtag for April 11th, 1847 Even before the opening of the assembly it became manifest that this constitutional concession, which the king considered a brilliant discovery, pleased nobody The old Orders, which retained their previous rights, were as dissatisfied as the citizens outside the Orders, who wanted a share in the legislature and administration The speech from the throne, a long-winded piece of conventional oratory, was marked in part by a distinctly uncompromising tone Instead of returning thanks for the concessions which had been made, the Landtag proceeded to draw up an address demanding the recognition of their rights

Meeting of the United Landtag

The wording of the address was extremely moderate in tone, and so far mollified the king as to induce him to promise the convocation of another Landtag within the next four years, but further negotiations made it plain that both the representatives of the nobility and the city deputies, especially those from the industrial Rhine towns, were entirely convinced that the Landtag must persevere in demanding further constitutional concessions

The value to the state of the citizen class was emphasised by Vincke of Westphalia, Beckerath of Krefeld, Camphausen of Cologne, and Hansemann of Aix-la-Chapelle These were capitalists and employers of labour, and had therefore every right to speak They were at the head of a majority which declined to assent to the formation of an annuity bank for relieving the peasants of forced labour, and to the proposal for a railway from Berlin to Konigsberg, the ground of refusal being that their assent was not recognised by the Crown Ministers as necessary for the ratification of the royal proposals, but was regarded merely as advice requested by the government on its own initiative

Dissension in the Landtag

The Landtag was then requested to proceed with the election of a committee to deal with the national debt Such a committee would have been superfluous if financial authority had been vested in a Landtag meeting at regular intervals, and on this question the liberal majority split asunder The party of Vincke-Hansemann declined to vote, the party of Camphausen-Beckerath voted under protest against this encroachment upon the rights of the Landtag, while the remainder, 284 timorous Liberals and Conservatives, voted unconditionally

The conviction was thus forced upon Liberal Germany that the King of Prussia would not voluntarily concede any measure of constitutional reform, for the reason that he was resolved not to recognise the rights of the people Prussia was not as yet capable of mastering that popular upheaval, the beginnings of which could be felt, and using its strength for the creation of a German Constitution to take the place of the incompetent and discredited Federation.

HANS VON ZWIEDINECK-SUDENHORST



EUROPE IN REVOLUTION

THE FALL OF LOUIS PHILIPPE

AND ITS EFFECTS THROUGHOUT EUROPE

THE monarchy of Louis Philippe of Orleans had become intolerable by reason of its dishonesty. The French cannot be blamed for considering the Orleans rulers as Bourbons in disguise. This scion of the old royal family was not a flourishing offshoot; rather was it an excrescence, with all the family failings and with none of its nobler qualities. Enthusiasm for such prudential, calculating, and unimpassioned rulers was impossible, whatever their education or their claims. Their bad taste and parsimony destroyed their credit as princes in France, and elsewhere their position was acknowledged rather out of politeness than from any sense of respect.

The "citizen-king" certainly made every effort to make his government popular and national. He showed both jealousy for French interests and gratitude to the Liberals who had placed him on the throne; he sent troops unsparingly to save the honour of France in Algiers. After seven years' warfare a completion was made of the conquest, which the French regarded as an extension of their power. The bold Bedouin sheikh, Abd el Kader, whose career has been described elsewhere, was forced to surrender to Lamoricière on December 22nd, 1847. Louis Philippe imprisoned this noble son of the desert in France, although his son Henry, Duke of Aumâle, had promised, as Governor-general of Algiers, that he should have his choice of residence on Mohammedan territory. The king also despatched his son, the Duc de Joinville, to take part in the war against Morocco, and gave him a naval position of equal importance to that which Aumâle held in the army. He swallowed the insults of Lord Palmerston in order to maintain the "entente cordiale" among the Western Powers. He calmly accepted the defeat of his diplomacy in the Turco-Egyptian quarrel, and surrendered such influence as he had acquired with Mehemet Ali in return for paramountcy in the Marquesas Islands and Tahiti. He married his son Anton, Duke of Montpensier, to the Infanta Louise of Spain, with some idea of reviving the dynastic connection between France and Spain.

The Bedouin Prisoner of Louis Philippe

Honour to the dead Napoleon

While thus resuming the policy of Louis XIV., he was also at some pains to conciliate the Bonapartists, and by careful respect to the memory of Napoleon to give his government a national character. The remains of the great emperor were removed from St. Helena by permission of Britain and interred with great solemnity in the Church of the Invalides on December 15th, 1840. Louis Bonaparte, the nephew, had contrived to avoid capture by the Austrians at Ancona, and had proposed to seize his inheritance; twice he appeared within the French frontiers, at Strassburg on October 30th, 1836, and at Boulogne on August 6th, 1840, in readiness to ascend the throne of France.

He only succeeded in making himself ridiculous, and eventually paid for his temerity by imprisonment in the fortress of Ham. There he remained, condemned to occupy himself with writing articles upon the solution of the social question, the proposed Nicaraguan canal, etc., until his faithful follower, Dr. Conneau,

smuggled him into England under the name of Maurer Badinguet. Thus far the reign of Louis Philippe had been fairly successful; but the French were growing weary of it. They were not entirely without sympathy for the family to which they had given the throne, and showed some interest in the princes, who were usually to be found wherever any small success might be achieved. The public sorrow was unfeigned at the death of the eldest prince, Louis, Duke of Orleans, who was killed by a fall from a carriage on July 13th, 1842. These facts, however, did not produce any closer ties between the dynasty and the nation. Parliamentary life was restless and Ministries were constantly changing. Majorities in the Chambers were secured by artificial means, and by bribery in its most reprehensible forms. Conspiracies were discovered and suppressed, and plots for murder were made the occasion of the harshest measures against the Radicals; but no one of the great social groups could be induced to link its fortunes permanently with those of the House



QUEEN OF THE FRENCH

The daughter of Ferdinand I., King of Naples and later of the Two Sicilies, Marie Amelie was married to Louis Philippe in the year 1809.



THE ROYAL HOUSE OF ORLEANS: LOUIS PHILIPPE AND HIS FIVE SONS

In this picture, from the painting by Horace Vernet, Louis Philippe is shown with his sons, the Duke of Orleans, the Duke of Nemours, the Duke of Joinville, the Duke of Aumâle, and the Duke of Montpensier, leaving the Palace of Versailles.

of Orleans. Unfortunately for himself, the king had reposed special confidence in the historian Guizot, the author of histories of the English revolution and of the French civilisation, who had occupied high offices in the state since the Restoration. He had belonged to the first Ministry of Louis Philippe, together with the Duc de Broglie; afterwards, he had several times held the post of Minister of Education, and had been in London during the quarrel with the British ambassador. After this affair, which brought him no credit, he returned to France, and on the fall of Thiers in October, 1840, became Minister of Foreign Affairs, with practical control of the foreign and domestic policy of France, subject to the king's personal intervention. His doctrinaire tendencies had gradually brought him over from the liberal to the conservative side and thrown him into violent opposition to his former colleagues, Thiers in particular. The acerbity of his character was not redeemed by his learning and his personal uprightness; his intellectual arrogance alienated the literary and political leaders of Parisian society. The Republican party had undergone many changes since the establishment of the July monarchy; it now exercised a greater power of attraction upon youthful talent, a quality which made it an even more dangerous force than did the revolts and conspiracies which it fostered from 1831 to 1838. These latter severely tested the capacity of the army for street warfare on several occasions. It was twice necessary to subdue Lyons, in November, 1831, and July, 1834, and the barricades erected in Paris in 1834 repelled the National Guards, and only fell before the regiments of the line under General Bugeaud. The Communist revolts in Paris under Armand Barbés and Louis Auguste Blanqui, in May, 1839, were more easily suppressed, though the Hôtel de Ville and the Palais de Justice had already fallen into the hands of the rebels.

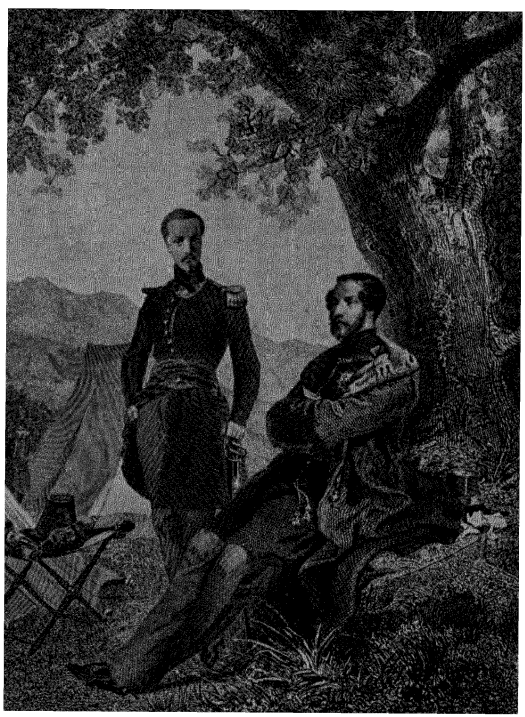
These events confirmed Louis Philippe in his intention to erect a circle of fortifications round Paris, for protection against enemies from within rather than from without. Homicidal attempts were no longer perpetrated by individual desperadoes or bloodthirsty monomaniacs, such as the Corsican Joseph Fieschi, on July 28th, 1835, whose infernal machine killed eighteen people, including Marshal Mortier. They were undertaken in the service of republican propagandism, and were repeated with the object of terrorising the ruling classes, and so providing an occasion for the abolition of the monarchy. The doctrines of communism were then being disseminated throughout France and attracted the more interest as stock-exchange speculation increased; fortunes were made with incredible rapidity, and expenditure rose to the point of prodigality. Louis Blanc, nephew of the Corsican statesman Pozzo di Borgo, went a step further towards the transformation of social and economic life in his treatise "L'Organisation du Travail," which urged that collectivist manufactures in national factories should be substituted for the



LOUIS PHILIPPE, KING OF THE FRENCH

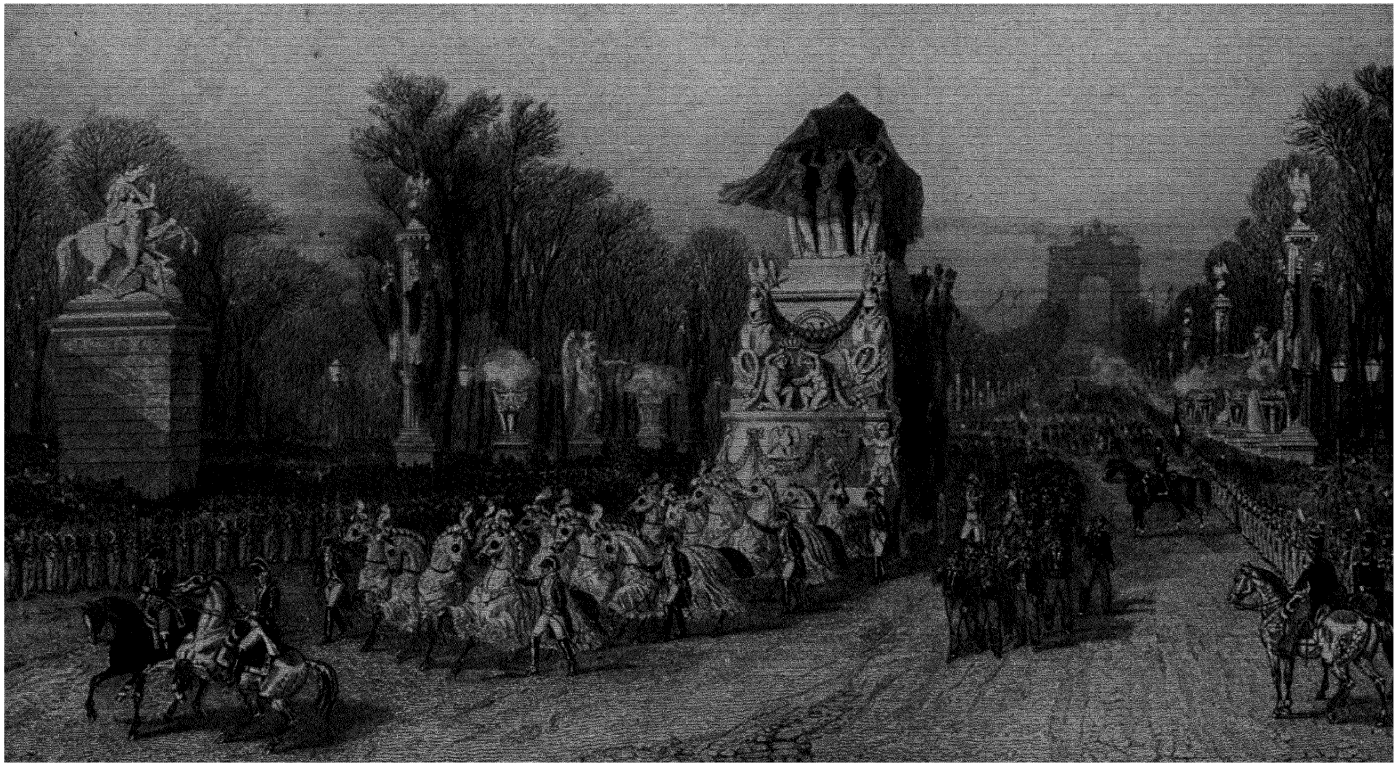
efforts of the individual employer. The rise of communistic societies among the Republicans obliged the old-fashioned Democrats to organise in their turn; they attempted and easily secured an understanding with the advanced Liberals.

The "dynastic opposition," led by Odilon Barrot, to which Thiers occasionally gave a helping hand when he was out of office, strained every nerve to shake the public faith in the permanence of the July dynasty. The republican party in the Second Chamber was led by Alexandre Rollin after the death of Etienne Garnier-Pagès and of Armand Carrel, the leaders during the first decade of the Orleans monarchy. A distinguished lawyer and brilliant orator, Rollin soon overshadowed all other politicians who had aroused any enthusiasm in the Parisians. His comparative wealth enabled him to embark in journalistic ventures; his paper "La Réforme" pointed consistently and unhesitatingly to republicanism as the only possible form of government after the now imminent downfall of the July monarchy. The action of the majority now destroyed such credit as the Chamber had possessed; they rejected proposals from the opposition forbidding deputies to accept posts or preferment from the Government, or to have an interest in manufacturing or commercial companies, the object being to put a stop to the undisguised corruption then rife. Constitutional members united with Republicans in demanding a fundamental reform of the electoral system. Louis Blanc and Rollin raised the cry for universal suffrage. Banquets, where vigorous speeches were made in favour of electoral reform, were arranged in the autumn of 1847, and continued until the Government prohibited the banquet organised for February 22nd, 1848, in the Champs Elysées. However, Ch. M. Tannegui, Count Duchâtel, was induced to refrain from ordering the forcible dispersion of the meeting, the liberal opposition on their side giving up the projected banquet. A great crowd collected on the appointed day in the Place Madeleine, whence it had been arranged that a procession should march to the Champs Elysées. The republican leaders invited the crowd to march to the Houses of Parliament, and it became necessary to call out a regiment of cavalry for the dispersion of the rioters. This task was successfully accomplished, but on the 23rd the disturbances were renewed. Students and workmen paraded the streets arm in arm, shouting not only "Reform!" but also "Down with Guizot!" These cries were taken up by the National Guard, and the king, who had hitherto disregarded the movement, began to consider the outlook as serious; he dismissed Guizot and began to confer with Count Louis Matthieu Molé, a leader of the moderate Liberals, on the formation of a new Ministry. Thus far the anti-dynastic party had been successful, and now began to hope for an upright government on a purely constitutional basis. In this they would



THE DUKES OF ORLEANS AND AUMÂLE

The sons of Louis Philippe, they held commands in the army, and, like their brothers, "were usually to be found wherever any small success might be achieved." There was much public sorrow when the Duke of Orleans was killed by a fall from a carriage in 1842.

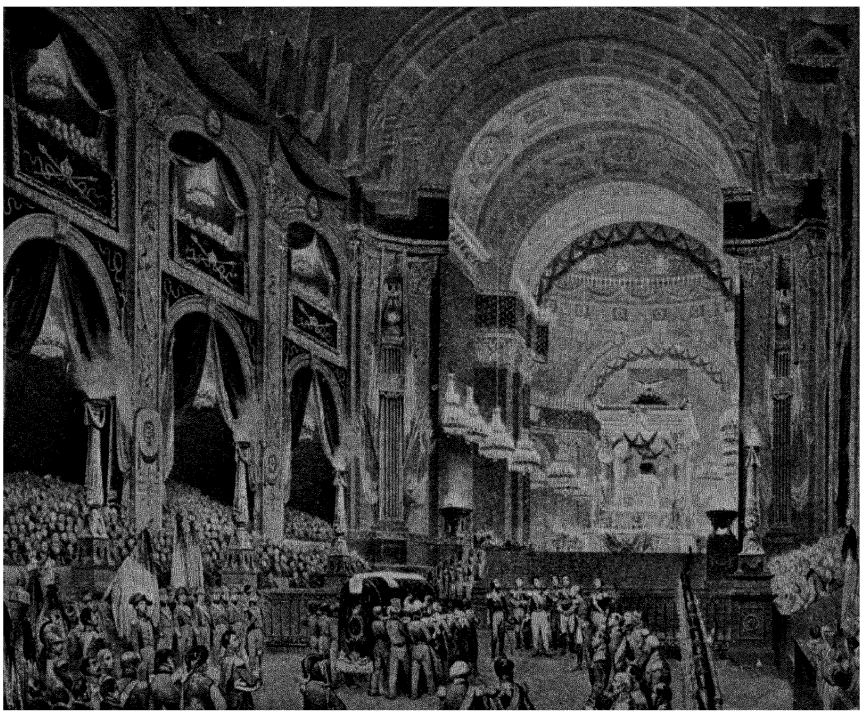


FRANCE HONOURING THE DEAD EMPEROR. NAPOLEON'S REMAINS BEING BROUGHT BACK TO PARIS FOR BURIAL

Nineteen years after the death of Napoleon on the lonely isle of St. Helena, his remains, on December 15th, 1840, were brought back to Paris that they might finally repose ... banks of the Seine, amidst the people whom he had loved so well." Reaching Courbevoie by way of the Seine, the coffin was placed on a gigantic funeral car, and, attended by an imposing military escort, passed by way of the Place de la Concorde and the bridge of that name to the Church of the Invalides amidst a crowd of six hundred thousand spectators.

have been entirely deceived, for uprightness was not one of the king's attributes. But on this point he was not to be tested.

On the evening of February 23rd the crowds which thronged the boulevards gave loud expression to their delight at the dismissal of Guizot. Meanwhile, the republican agents were busily collecting the inhabitants of the suburbs, who had been long prepared for a rising, and sending them forward to the more excited quarters of the city. They would not, in

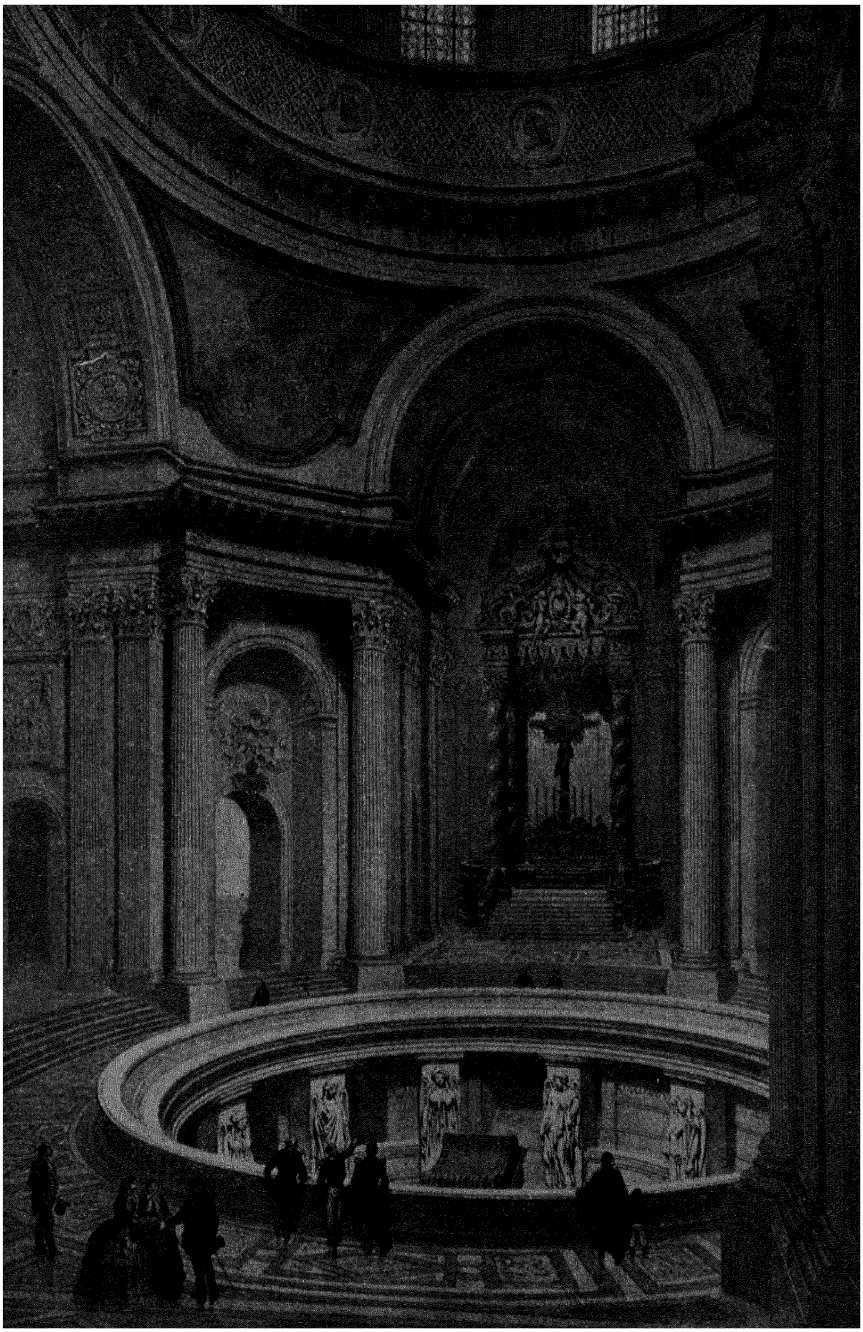


THE RECEPTION OF NAPOLEON'S BODY AT THE CHURCH OF THE INVALIDES

At the Church of the Invalides the body of Napoleon was received by Louis Philippe, the royal family, the archbishop and all the clergy of Paris. The sword and the hat of the emperor were laid on the coffin, which was then placed on a magnificent altar in the centre of the church, and after an impressive funeral service was lowered into the tomb.

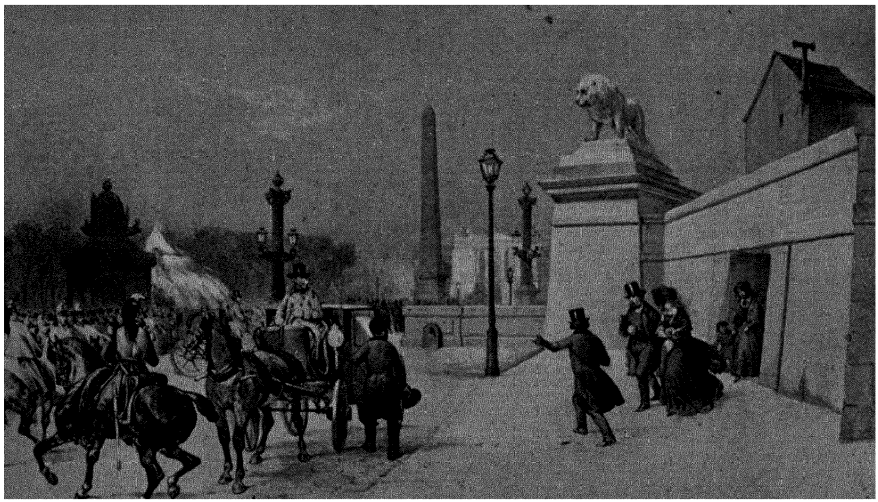
all probability, have been able to transform the good-tempered and characteristic cheerfulness which now filled the streets of Paris to a more serious temper had not an unexpected occurrence filled the mob with horror and rage. A crowd of people had come in contact with the soldiers stationed before Guizot's house. Certain insolent youths proceeded to taunt the officer in command; a shot rang out, a volley followed, and numbers of the mockers lay weltering in their blood. It was but one of those incidents which are always possible when troops are subjected to the threats and taunts of the people, and in such a case attempts to apportion the blame are futile. The thing was done, and Paris rang with cries of "Murder! To arms!" About midnight the alarm bells of Nôtre Dame began to ring, and thousands flocked to raise the barricades. The morning of February 24th found Paris in revolution, ready to begin the struggle against the people's king. "Louis Philippe orders his troops to fire on the people, like Charles X. Send him after his predecessor!" This proposal of the "Réforme" became the republican solution of the question.

The monarchy was now irrevocably lost; the man who should have saved it was asking help from the Liberals, who were as powerless as himself. A would-be ruler must know how to use his power, and must believe that his will is force in itself. When, at his wife's desire, the king appeared on horseback before his



THE TOMB OF NAPOLEON AT THE HOTEL DES INVALIDES IN PARIS

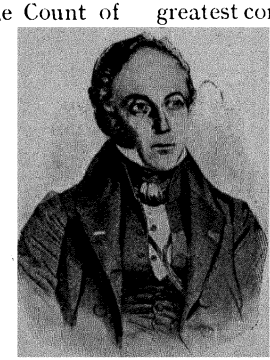
The magnificent tomb erected to Napoleon at the Hôtel des Invalides is a fitting memorial of the man who made Europe tremble and whose genius raised him to the pinnacle of power. A circular crypt, surrounded by twelve colossal figures symbolising his victories, contains the sarcophagus, which was hewn out of a single block of Siberian porphyry.



THE FLIGHT OF LOUIS PHILIPPE FROM PARIS IN 1848

Events in Paris had again been leading up to a revolution, and on February 24th, 1848, the capital of France was once more the scene of a people's rising against the monarchy. Alarmed at the course of affairs, the king abdicated in favour of his grandson, the Count of Paris, and went off to St. Cloud with the queen, afterwards escaping to England.

regiments and the National Guard, he knew within himself that he was not capable of rousing the enthusiasm of his troops. Civilian clothes and an umbrella would have suited him better than sword and epaulettes. Louis Philippe thus abdicated in favour of his grandson, the Count of Paris, whom he left to the care of Charles, Duke of Nemours, took a portfolio of such papers as were valuable, and went away to St. Cloud with his wife. The bold daughter of Mecklenburg, Henriette of Orleans, brought her son, Louis Philippe, who was now the rightful king, into the Chamber of Deputies, where Odilon Barrot, in true knightly fashion, broke a lance on behalf of the king's rights and of constitutionalism. But the victors in the street fighting had made their way into the hall, their comrades were at that moment invading the Tuileries, and Legitimists and Democrats joined in deposing the House of Orleans and demanding the appointment of a provisional government. The question was dealt with by the "Christian moralist," poet, and diplomatist, Alphonse de Lamartine, whose "History of the Girondists" in eight volumes with its glorification of political murder had largely contributed to advance the revolutionary spirit in France. Though the electoral tickets had fallen into the greatest confusion, he contrived to produce a list of names which were backed by a strong body of supporters; these included Louis Garnier-Pagès, half-brother of the deceased Etienne, Ledru-Rollin, the astronomer Dominique François Arago, the Jewish lawyer Isak Crémieux, who was largely responsible for the abdication of Louis Philippe, and Lamartine himself. The list was approved. The body thus elected effected a timely junction with the party of Louis Blanc, who was given a place in the government with four republican consultative members. They then took possession of the Hôtel de Ville, filled up the official posts, and with the concurrence of the people declared France a republic on February 25th. The dethroned king and the members of his house were able, if not unmenaced, at any rate without danger,



GUIZOT THE HISTORIAN

Eminent as an historian, Guizot became chief adviser to Louis Philippe on the dismissal of Thiers, and his reactionary policy did much to bring about the revolution of 1848.



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THE PARIS REVOLUTION OF 1848: THE MOB IN THE THRONE ROOM OF THE TUILERIES

The above picture represents the scene of disorder and brutality which ensued in the Throne Room of the Tuileries after the flight of the king during the Revolution of 1848.

to reach the coasts of England and safety, or to cross the German frontier. The new government failed to satisfy the Socialists, who were determined, after definitely establishing the "right of labour," to insist upon the right of the wage they desired. The installation of state factories and navvy labour at two francs a day was not enough for them; they formed hundreds of clubs under the direction of a central bureau, with the object of replacing the government for the time being by a committee of public safety, which should proceed to a general redistribution of property Ledru-Rollin was not inclined to accept the offer of the presidency of such an extraordinary body, he and Lamartine, with the help of General Changarnier and the National Guards, entirely outmanœuvred the hordes which had made a premature attempt to storm the town hall, and forced them to surrender

Demands of the Socialists

Peace was thus assured to Paris for the moment The emissaries of the revolutionaries could not gain a hearing, and it was possible to go on with the elections, which were conducted on the principle of universal suffrage Every 40,000 inhabitants elected a deputy, every department formed a uniform electorate. Lamartine, one of the 900 chosen, obtained 2,300,000 votes in ten departments The Assembly was opened on May 4th

To the organised enemies of monarchy the February Revolution was a call to undisguised activity, to the world at large it was a token that the times of peace were over, and that the long-expected movement would now inevitably break out It is not always an easy matter to decide whether these several events originated in the inflammatory labours of revolutionaries designedly working in secret, or in some sudden outburst of feeling, some stimulus to action hitherto unknown No less difficult is the task of deciding how far the conspirators were able personally to influence others of radical tendencies but outside their own organisations. These organisations were most important to France, Italy, Germany, and Poland The central bureaus were in Paris and Switzerland, and the noble Giuseppe Mazzini, indisputably one of the purest and most devoted of Italian patriots, held most of the strings of this somewhat clumsy network. His journals "La Giovine Europa" and "La Jeune Suisse" were as short-lived as the "Giovine Italia," published at Marseilles in 1831, but they incessantly urged the duty of union upon all those friends of humanity who were willing to share in the task of liberating peoples from the tyranny of monarchs

Active Enemies of Monarchy

From 1834 a special "union of exiles" had existed at Paris, which declared "the deposition and expulsion of monarchs an inevitable necessity," and looked for a revolution to break out in France or Germany, or a war between France and Germany or Russia, in the hope of assisting France in the attack upon the German rulers Its organisation was as extraordinary as it was secret, there were "mountains," "national huts," "focal points," "circles," wherein preparation was to be made for the transformation of Germany in the interests of humanity

The "righteous" had diverged from the "outlaws," and from 1840 were reunited with the "German union," which aimed at "the formation of a free state embracing the whole of Germany" The persecutions and continual "investigations" which the German Federation had carried on since the riots at Frankfort had impeded, though not entirely broken off, communications between the central officials in Paris and their associates residing in Germany From Switzerland came a continual stream of craftsmen, teachers, and authors, who were sworn in by the united Republicans Karl Mathy, afterwards Minister of State for Baden, who had been Mazzini's colleague in Solothurn, was one of their members in 1840, when he was called to Carlsruhe to take up the post of editor of the "Landtagszeitung"

Persecutions of the German Federation

The deliberations of the united Landtag at Berlin had attracted the attention of the South German Liberals to the highly talented politicians in Prussia, on whose help they could rely in the event of a rearrangement of the relative positions of the German states The idea of some common movement towards this end was mooted at a gathering of politicians at Heppenheim on October 16th, 1847, and it was determined to lay proposals for some change in the federal constitution before the assemblies of the individual states.

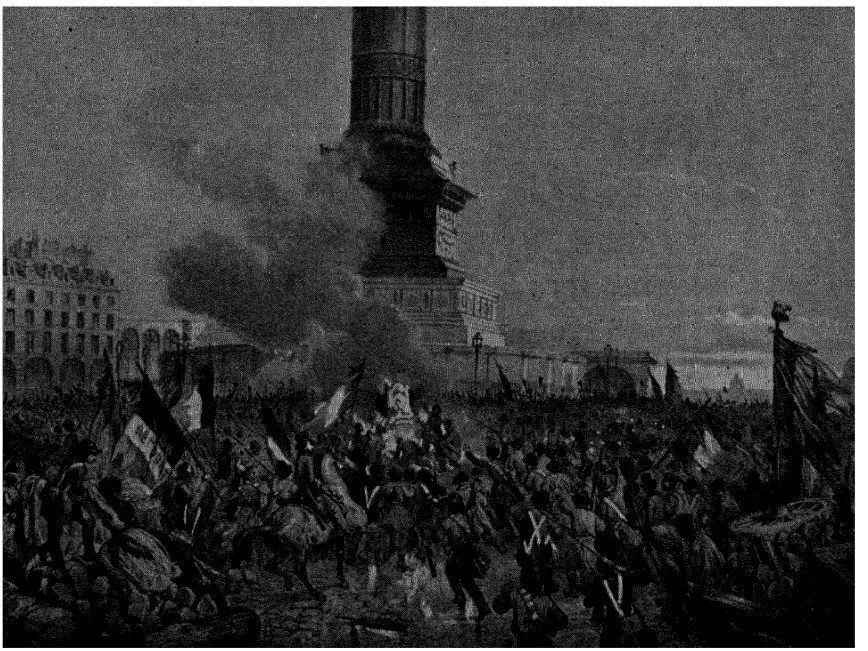
In the grand duchy of Baden the Democrats went even further at a meeting held at Offenburg on September 12th Proceedings were conducted by a certain

lawyer of Mannheim, one Gustav von Struve, an overbearing individual of a Livonian family, and by Friedrich Hecker, an empty-headed prater, also an attorney, who had already displayed his incapacity for political action in the Baden Landtag.

To justifiable demands for the repeal of the decrees of Carlsbad, for national representation within the German Federation, for freedom of the Press, religious toleration, and full liberty to teachers, they added immature proposals, as to the practicable working of which no one had the smallest conception. They looked not only for a national system of defence and fair taxation, but also for "the removal of the inequalities existing between capital and labour and the abolition of all privileges." Radicalism thus plumed itself upon its own veracity, and pointed out the path which the masses who listened to its allurements would take—a result of radical incapacity to distinguish between the practicable and the unattainable.

Immediately before the events of February in Paris were made known, the kingdom of Bavaria, and its capital in particular, were in a state of revolt and open war between the authorities and the members of the state. The king and poet, Lewis I., had conceived a blind infatuation for the dancer Lola Montez, an Irish adventuress—Rosanna Gilbert—who masqueraded under a Spanish name.

This fact led to the downfall of the Ministry, which was clerical without exception; further consequences were street riots, unjustifiable measures against the students who declined to show respect to the dancing-woman, and finally bloody conflicts. It was not until the troops displayed entire indifference to the tyrannical orders which had been issued that the king yielded to the entreaties of the citizens, on February 11th, 1848, and removed from Munich this impossible beauty, who had been made a countess.



EPISODE IN THE PARIS REVOLUTION: BURNING THE THRONE AT THE JULY COLUMN

The first of those surprising phenomena in Germany which sprang from the impression created by the February Revolution was the session of the Federal Assembly on March 1st, 1848. Earlier occurrences in the immediate neighbourhood of Frankfort no doubt materially influenced the course of events. In Baden, before his fate had fallen upon the July king, Karl Mathy had addressed the nation from the Chamber on February 23rd: "For thirty

years the Germans have tried moderation and in vain, they must now see whether violence will enable them to advance, and such violence is not to be limited to the states meeting-hall!" At a meeting of citizens at Mannheim on the 27th, an address was carried by Struve which thus formulated the most pressing questions Universal military service with power to elect the officers, unrestrained freedom of the Press, trial by jury after the English model, and the immediate constitution of a German Parliament

A Call to German Unity

In Hesse-Darmstadt, a popular deputy in the Landtag, one Gagern, the second son of the former statesman of Nassau and the Netherlands, demanded that the Government should not only call a Parliament, but also create a central governing power for Germany The request was inspired by the fear of an approaching war with France, which was then considered inevitable It was fear of this war which suddenly convinced the high Federal Council at Frankfort-on-Main that the people were indispensable to their existence On March 1st they issued "a federal decree to the German people," whose existence they had disregarded for three centuries, emphasising the need for unity between all the German races, and asserting their conviction that Germany must be raised to her due position among the nations of Europe

On March 1st Herr von Struve led a gang of low-class followers in the pay of the Republicans, together with the deputies of the Baden towns, into the federal Chamber. Ejected thence, he turned upon the castle in Carlsruhe, his aim being to foment disturbances and bloody conflict, and so to intimidate the moderately minded majority His plan was foiled by the firm attitude of the troops But the abandonment of the project was not to be expected, and it was clear that the nationalist movement in Germany would meet with its most dangerous check in Radicalism Telegrams from Paris and West Germany reached Munich, when the newly restored peace was again broken The new Minister, State Councillor von Berks, was denounced as a tool of Lola Montez, and his dismissal was enforced On March 6th, King Lewis, in his usual poetical style, declared his readiness to satisfy the popular demands However,

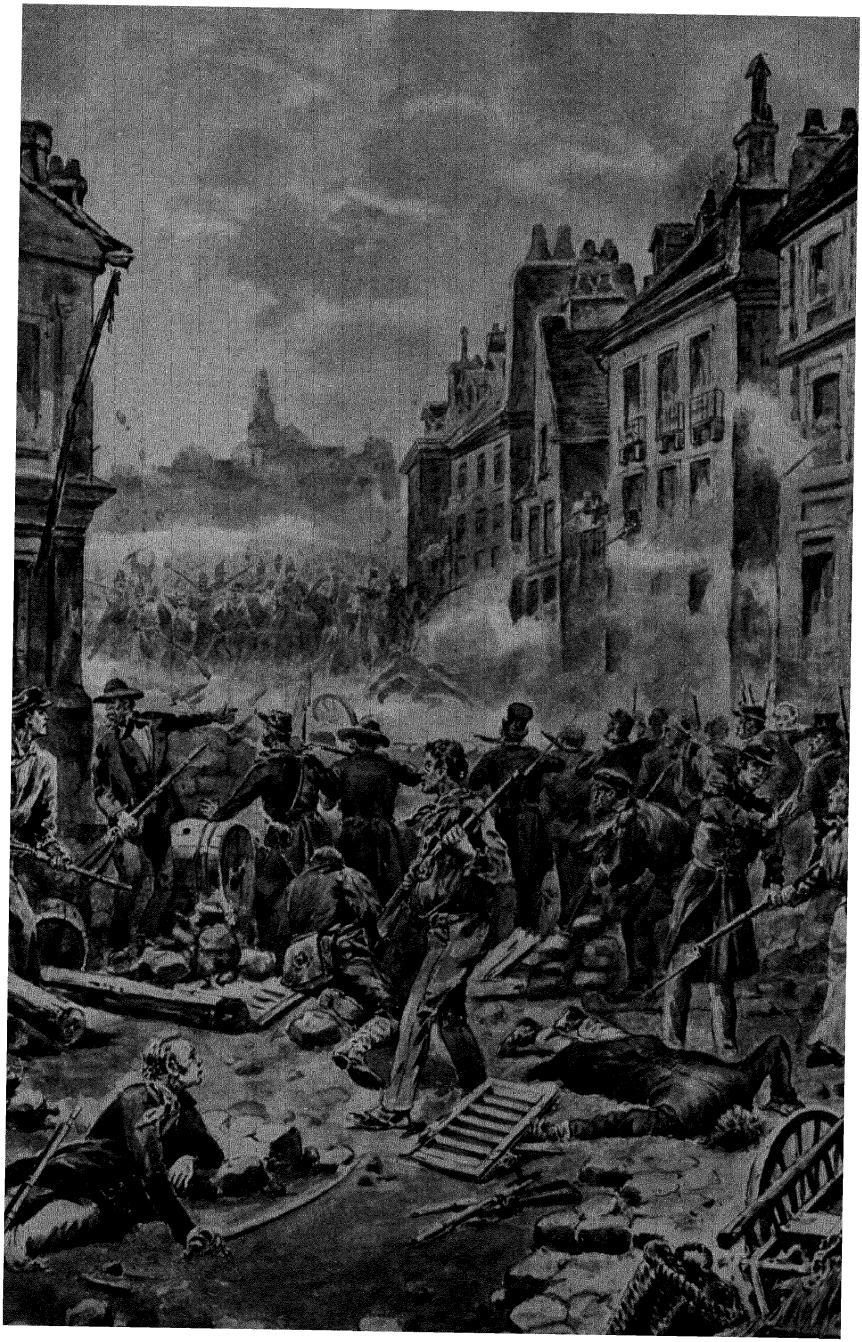
Radicalism the Check to Nationalism

fresh disturbance was excited by the rumour that Lola Montez was anxious to return Lewis, who declined to be forced into the concession of any constitution upon liberal principles, lost heart and abdicated in favour of his son Maximilian II He saw clearly that he could no longer resist the strength of the movement for the recognition of the people's rights The political storm would unchain the potent forces of stupidity and folly which the interference of short-sighted majorities had created When Lewis retired into private life, Metternich had already fallen

The first act of the Viennese, horrified at the victory of the Republicans in Paris, was to provide for the safety of their money-bags The general mistrust of the Government was shown in the haste with which accounts were withdrawn from the public savings banks It was not, however, the Austrians who pointed the moral to the authorities On March 3rd, in the Hungarian Reichstag, Kossuth proposed that the emperor should be requested to introduce constitutional government into his provinces, and to grant Hungary the national self-government which was hers by right In Vienna similar demands were advanced by the industrial unions, the legal and political reading clubs, and the students It was hoped that a bold attitude would be taken by the provincial Landtag, which met on March 13th When the anxious crowds promenading the streets learned that the representatives proposed to confine themselves to a demand for the formation of a committee of deputies from all the Crown provinces, they invaded the council chamber and forced the meeting to consent to the despatch of a deputation to lay the national desire for a free constitution before the emperor

Riots in the Streets of Vienna

While the deputation was proceeding to the Hofburg the soldiers posted before the council chamber, including the Archduke Albert, eldest son of the Archduke Charles, who died in 1847, were insulted and pelted with stones They replied with a volley It was the loss of life thereby caused which made the movement a serious reality The citizens of Vienna, startled out of their complacency, vied with the mob in the loudness of their cries against this "firing on defenceless men" Their behaviour was explained to Count Metternich in the Hofburg, not as an



FIGHTING IN THE STREETS OF PARIS DURING THE REVOLUTION OF FEBRUARY, 1848
From the drawing by Wegner

ordinary riot capable of suppression by a handful of police, but as a revolution with which he had now to deal. Nowhere would such a task have been easier than in Vienna had there been any corporation or individual capable of immediate action, and able to make some short and definite promise of change in the government system. There was, however, no nucleus round which a new government could be formed, Prince Metternich being wholly impracticable for such a purpose.



LEWIS I. OF BAVARIA
Ascending the throne in 1825, he pursued a policy of reaction, which led to public discontent, and in the year 1848 abdicated in favour of his son, Maximilian II.

All the state councillors, the court dignitaries, and generally those whom chance or curiosity rather than definite purpose had gathered in the corridors and antechambers of the imperial castle, were unanimous in the opinion that the Chancellor of State must be sacrificed. This empty figure-head stood isolated amid the surrounding turmoil, unable to help himself or his perplexed advisers; he emitted a few sentences upon the last sacrifice that he could make for the monarchy and disappeared. He left no one to take up his power; no one able to represent him, able calmly and confidently to examine and decide upon the demands transmitted from the street to the council chamber. The Emperor Ferdinand was himself wholly incapable of grasping the real meaning of the events which had taken place in his immediate neighbourhood. The Archduke Lewis, one of Metternich's now useless tools, was utterly perplexed by the conflict of voices and opinions.

In his fear of the excesses that the "Reds" might be expected to perpetrate, he lost sight of the means which might have been used to pacify the moderate party and induce them to maintain law and order. The authorisation for the arming of the students and citizens was extorted from him perforce, and he would hear nothing of concessions to be made by the dynasty to the people. Neither he nor Count Kolowrat Liebsteinsky ventured to draw up any programme for the introduction of constitutional principles. Even on March 14th they demurred to the word "constitution," and thought it possible to effect some compromise with the provincial deputations. Finally, on March 15th, the news of fresh scenes induced the privy councillor of the royal family to issue the following declaration: "Provision has been made for summoning the deputies of all provincial estates in the shortest possible period, for the purpose of considering the constitution of the country, with increased representation of the citizen class and with due regard to the existing constitutions of the several estates." The responsible Ministry of Kolowrat-Ficquelmont, formed on March 18th, included among Metternich's worn-out tools one man only possessed of the knowledge requisite for the drafting of a constitution in detail; this was the Minister of the Interior, Pillersdorf, who was as weak and feeble in character as in bodily health.



THE KING'S FAVOURITE
With this Irish adventuress, who masqueraded under the name of Lola Montez, Lewis I. became infatuated, but was compelled to remove her from Munich.

In Hungary the destructive process was far more comprehensive and imposing. On March 14th Louis Kossuth in the Reichstag at Pressburg secured the announcement of the freedom of the Press, and called for a system of national defence for Hungary, to be based upon the general duty of military service. Meanwhile, his adherents, consisting of students, authors, and "jurats"—idle lawyers—seized the reins of government in Ofenpest, and replaced the town council by a committee of public safety, composed of radical members by preference. On the 15th the State Assembly of the Reichstag was transformed into a National Assembly. Henceforward its conclusions were to be communicated to the magnates, whose consent was to be unnecessary.

On the same day a deputation of the Hungarian Reichstag, accompanied by jurats, arrived at Vienna, where Magyars

and Germans swore to the fellowship with all pomp and enthusiasm. The deputation secured the concession of an independent and responsible Ministry for Hungary.

This was installed on March 23rd by the Archduke Palatine Stephen, and united the popular representatives among Hungarian politicians, such as Batthyány and Széchényi, with Prince Paul Eszterházy, Josef von Eötvös, Franz von Deák, and Louis Kossuth. After a few days' deliberation the Reichstag practically abolished the old constitution. The rights of the lords were abrogated, and equality of political rights given to citizens of towns; the right of electing to the Reichstag was conceded to "the adherents of legally recognised religions"; laws were passed regulating the Press and the National Guards. The country was almost in a state of anarchy, as the old provincial administrations and local authorities had been abolished and replaced by committees of public safety, according to the precedent set at Pest. The example of Austria influenced the course of events throughout Germany; there the desire for a free constitution grew hotter, and especially so in Berlin.



MAXIMILIAN II.—BAVARIA
He ascended the throne on his father's abdication in 1848. A noble-minded man, he made an excellent king, ruling his people on the ideal grounds of "Christian philosophy."

The taxation committees were assembled in that town when the results of the February Revolution became known. The king dismissed them on March 7th, declaring himself inclined to summon the united Landtag at regular intervals. The declaration failed to give satisfaction. On the same day a popular meeting had resolved to request the king forthwith to convoke the Assembly. In the quiet town public life became more than usually lively. The working classes were excited by the agitators sent down to them; in inns and cafés newspapers were read aloud and speeches made. The king was expecting an outbreak of war with France. He sent his confidential military adviser, Radowitz, at full speed to Vienna to arrange measures of defence with Metternich. He proposed temporarily to entrust the command of the Prussian troops upon the Rhine to the somewhat unpopular Prince William of Prussia. However, he was warned that the excitement prevailing among the population of the Rhine province would only be increased by the appearance of the prince. Despatches from Vienna further announced the fall of Metternich. The king now resolved to summon the united Landtag to Berlin on April 17th; he considered, no doubt, that Prussia could very well exercise her patience for a month. On March 15th the first of many riotous crowds assembled before the royal castle, much excited by the news from Vienna. Deputations constantly arrived from the provinces to give expression to the desire of the population for some constitutional definition of their rights. The king went a step further and altered the date of the meeting of the Landtag to April 2nd; but in the patent of March 18th he explained his action by reference only to his duties as federal ruler, and to his intention of proposing a federal reform, to include "temporary federal representation of all German countries." He even recognised that "such federal representation implies a form of constitution applicable to all German countries," but made no definite promise as to any form of constitution for Prussia. Nevertheless, in the afternoon he was cheered by the crowd before the castle. But the leaders of the mob, who desired a rising to secure their own criminal objects, turned gratitude into uproar and bloodshed. The troops concentrated in the castle under General von Prittwitz were busy until midnight clearing the streets.

Germany Preparing for War

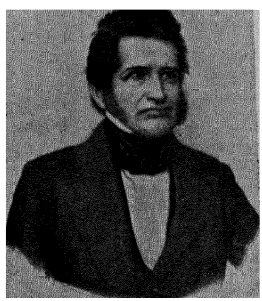
Mobs at the Royal Palace in Berlin

The authorities had 12,000 men at their disposal, and could easily have stormed the barricades next morning; but the king's military advisers were unable to agree upon their action, and his anxiety and nervousness were increased by the invited and uninvited citizens who made their way into the castle. He therefore ordered the troops to cease firing, and the next day, after receiving a deputation of citizens, commanded the troops to concentrate upon the castle, and finally to retire to barracks. The arguments of such Liberals as Vincke, and of the Berlin town

councillors, induced the king to this ill-advised step, the full importance of which he failed to recognise. It implied the retreat of the monarchical power before a riotous mob inspired only by blind antipathy to law and order, who, far from thanking the king for sparing their guilt, proclaimed the retreat of the troops as a victory for themselves, and continued to heap scorn and insult upon king and troops alike. A new Ministry was formed on March 19th, the leadership being taken by Arnim. On the 29th his place was taken by Ludolf Camphausen, president of the Cologne Chamber of Commerce, who was joined by Hanseman and the leaders of the liberal nobility, Alfred von Auerswald, Count Maximilian of Schwerin, and Heinrich Alexander of Arnim.

The German States' Distrust of the King

The Ministry would have had no difficulty in forming a constitution for the state had not the king reduced the monarchy to helplessness by his display of ineptitude. That honest enthusiasm for the national cause which had led him on March 21st to escort the banner of black, red, and gold on horseback through the streets of Berlin, far from winning the popular favour for him, was scorned and flouted by the Republicans. The energy displayed in summoning the Parliament was too rapid a change, made the German states distrustful, and exposed him to degrading refusals, which embittered his mind and lowered his dignity in the eyes of his own people.

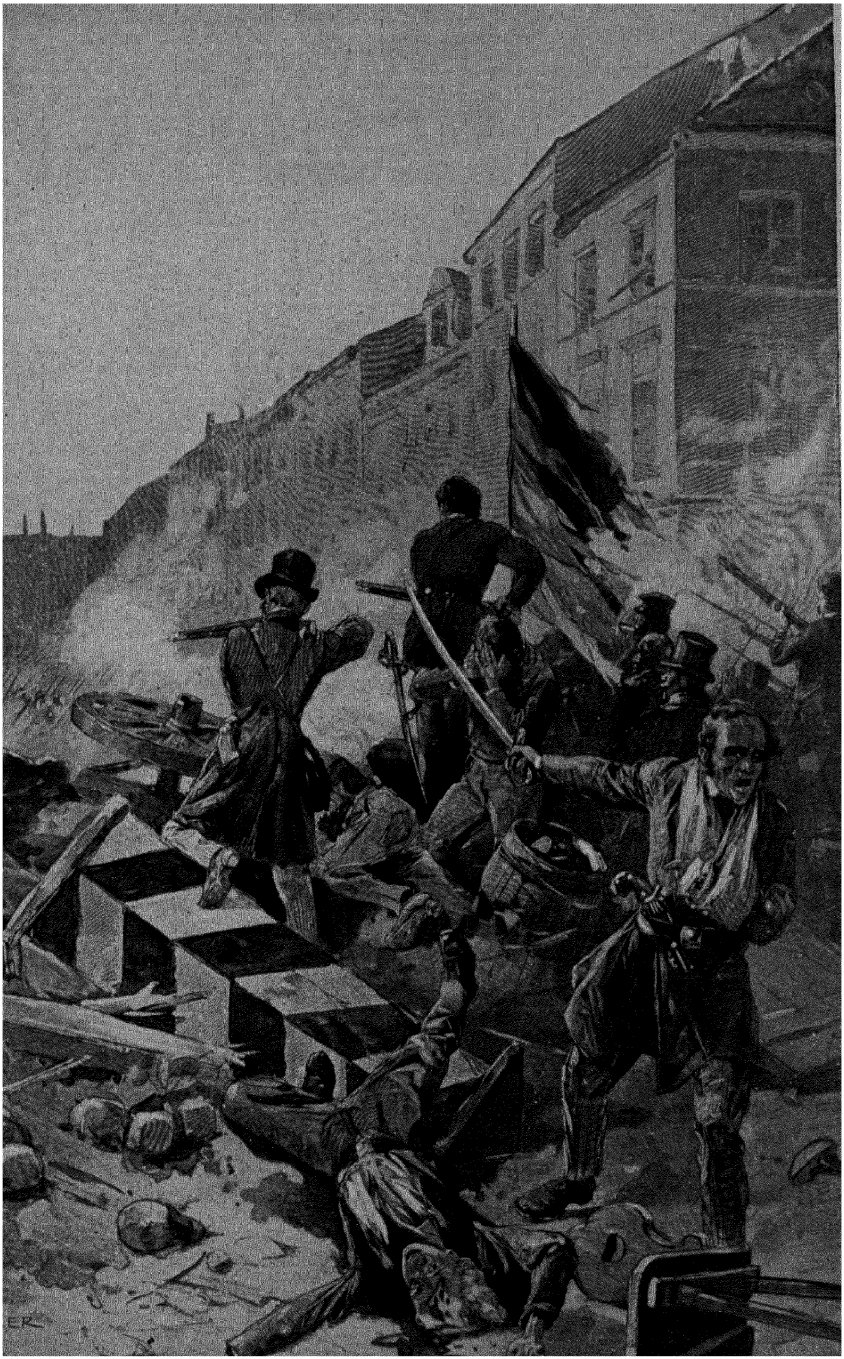


FRIEDRICH DAHLMANN
This distinguished German historian was appointed Professor of History at Bonn in 1842, and was at the head of the constitutional Liberals in the movement of 1848.

The united Landtag met on April 2nd, 1848, and determined upon the convocation of a National Assembly, for the purpose of forming a constitution upon the basis of universal suffrage. To this the Government agreed, at the same time insisting that the Prussian constitution was a matter for arrangement between themselves and the Assembly. During the elections, which took place simultaneously with those to the German Parliament, the democrats uttered their war-cry, to the effect that the resolutions of the Prussian National Assembly required no ratification. Thus the popular claim to a share in the administration disappeared, and was overshadowed by the struggle for supremacy waged by the masses under the guidance of ambitious agitators.

On March 5th, 1848, fifty-one of the better known German politicians met at Heidelberg upon their own initiative by invitation; their object was to discuss what common action they should take to guide a general national movement in Germany. Most of them belonged to the Rhine states; but Prussia, Würtemberg, and Bavaria were represented, and an Austrian writer who happened to be on the spot joined the meeting in order to place it in relation with Austria. The twenty representatives from Baden included the radical democrat Hecker, who even then spoke of the introduction of a republican constitution as a wish of the German people. He, however, was obliged to support the resolution of the majority, to the effect that the German nation must first have the opportunity of making its voice heard, for which purpose preparation must be made for the convocation of a German National Assembly. All were agreed upon the futility of waiting for the Federal Council to take action; they must bring their influence to bear upon the council and the German government by their own energy, by the use of accomplished facts, and by specific demands. A committee of seven members was appointed to invite a conference on March 30th, at Frankfort-on-Main, "of all past or present members of provincial councils and members of legislative assemblies in all German countries," together with other public men of special influence. This "preliminary conference" was then to arrive at some resolutions for the election of the German National Assembly. Both the Federal Assembly and the majority of the German governments viewed these proceedings with favourable eyes; they saw that the nation was at the highest pitch of excitement, and would be prevented from rushing into violence by occupation in political matters. The results of the Parisian revolution led them to think the overthrow of every existing form of government perfectly possible.

The Saving Force of Politics



FIGHTING AT THE BARRICADES IN BERLIN **ON MARCH** 18TH.
From the drawing by C. Becker

The only remaining course was to treat with the Liberals and enlist their support for the existing states and dynasties by the concession of constitutional rights. Only in Hanover and in the electorate of Hesse were there difficulties at the outset However, the fall of Metternich shattered even the pride of Ernest Augustus and of the Elector Frederic William.

Liberal Movements in Saxony

Baden sent the Freiburg professor Karl Welcker to Frankfort On March 7th he proposed on behalf of his Government the convocation of a German Parliament to discuss and carry out the reform of the federal constitution in conjunction with the representatives of the Government In Hesse-Darmstadt, Gagern made a similar proposal in the Chamber. The King of Wurtemberg called one of the members of the Heidelberg conference, Friedrich Romer, to the head of a new Ministry, to which Paul Pfizer also belonged

In Saxony, Frederic Augustus, after unnecessarily alarming the inhabitants of Leipzig by the concentration of troops, was obliged to give way, to dissolve the Ministry of Konneritz, and to entrust the conduct of government business to the leader of the Progressive Party in the Second Chamber, Alexander Braun Of the Liberals in Saxony, the largest following was that of Robert Blum, formerly theatre secretary, bookseller, and town councillor of Leipzig He was one of those trusted public characters who were summoned to the preliminary conference, and directed the attention of his associates to the national tasks immediately confronting the German people In the patent convoking the united Landtag for March 18th, even the King of Prussia had declared the formation of a "temporary federal representation of the states of all German countries" to be a pressing necessity, hence from that quarter no opposition to the national undertaking of the Heidelberg meeting was to be expected Five hundred representatives from all parts of Germany met at Frankfort-on-Main for the conference in the last days of March, they were received with every manifestation of delight and respect The first general session was held in the Church of St Paul, under the presidency of the Heidelberg jurist, Anton Mittermayer, a Bavarian by birth, the conference was then invited to come to a decision upon one of the most important questions of German politics The committee of seven had drawn up a programme dealing with the mode of election to the German National Assembly, and formulating a number of fundamental principles for adoption in the forthcoming federal constitution These demanded a federal chief with responsible Ministers, a senate of the individual states, a popular representative house with one deputy to every 70,000 inhabitants of a German federal state, a united army, and representation abroad, a uniformity in the customs systems, in the means of communication, in civil and criminal legislation

Conference of the German States

This premature haste is to be ascribed to the scanty political experience of the German and his love for the cut and dried, it gave the Radicals, who had assembled in force from Baden, Darmstadt, Frankfort, and Nassau, under Struve and Hecker, an opportunity of demanding similar resolutions upon the future constitution of Germany Hecker gave an explanation of the so-called "principles" propounded by Struve, demanding the disbanding of the standing army, the abolition of officials, taxation, and the hereditary monarchy, and the institution of a Parliament elected without restriction under a president similarly elected, all to be united by a federal constitution on the model of the Free States of North America Until the German democracy had secured legislation upon these and many other points, the Frankfort conference should be kept on foot, and the government of Germany continued by an executive committee elected by universal suffrage

Deliberations of the Frankfort Conference

Instead of receiving these delectable puerilities with the proper amount of amusement, or satirising them as they deserved, the moderate Democrats and Liberals were inveigled into serious discussion with the Radicals Reports of an insignificant street fight aroused their fears and forebodings, and both sides condescended to abuse and personal violence Finally, the clearer-sighted members of the conference succeeded in confining the debate to the subjects preliminary to the convocation of the parliament.

The programme of the committee of seven and the "principles" of the Radicals were alike excluded from discussion. Hecker's proposition for the permanent constitution of the conference was rejected by 368 votes to 143, and it was decided to elect a

committee of fifty members to continue the business of the preliminary parliament

On the question of this business great divergence of opinion prevailed. The majority of the members were convinced that the people should now be left to decide its own fate, and to determine the legislature which was to secure the recognition of its rights A small minority were agreed with Gagern upon the necessity of keeping in touch with the Government and the Federal Council, and constructing the new constitution by some form of union between the national representatives and the existing executive officials This was the first serious misconception of the Liberal party upon the sphere of action within which the Parliament would operate They discussed the "purification" of the Federal Council and its "aversion to special resolutions of an unconstitutional nature," they should have united themselves firmly to the federal authorities, and carried them to the necessary resolutions

The National Movement in Germany

The mistrust of the liberals for the government was greater than their disgust at radical imbecility, a fact as obvious in the preliminary conferenceas in the National Assembly which it called into being This is the first and probably the sole cause of the futility of the efforts made by upright and disinterested representative men to guide the national movement in Germany Franz von Soiron of Mannheim proposed that the decision upon the future German constitution should be left entirely in the hands of the National Assembly, to be elected by the people, with this exception, the constitutional ideal was abandoned and a utopia set up in its place not utterly dissimilar to the dream of "the republic with a doge at its head" Soiron, who propounded this absurdity, became president of the committee of fifty

The mode of election to the National Constituent Assembly realised the most extreme demands of the Democrats Every 50,000 inhabitants in a German federal province, East and West Prussia included, had to send up a deputy "directly"—that is to say, appointment was not made by any existing constitutional corporation The Czechs of Bohemia were included without cavil among the electors of the German Parliament, no regard being given to the scornful refusal which they would probably return The question of including the Poles of the Prussian Baltic provinces was left to the decision of the parliament itself. The Federal Council, in which Karl Welcker had already become influential, prudently accepted the resolutions of the preliminary conference and communicated them to the individual states, whose business it was to carry them out. Feeling in the different governments had undergone a rapid transformation, and in Prussia even more than elsewhere. On March 21st, after parading Berlin with the German colours, Frederic William IV had made a public declaration, expressing his readiness to undertake the direction of German affairs His exuberance led him to the following pronouncement "I have to-day asumed the ancient German colours and placed myself and my people under the honourable banner of the German Empire Prussia is henceforward merged in Germany"

Prussia Merged in Germany

These words would have created a great effect had the king been possessed of the power which was his by right, or had he given any proof of capacity to rule his own people or to defend his capital from the outrages of a misled and passionately excited mob But the occurrences at Berlin during March had impaired his prestige with every class, he was despised by the Radicals, and the patriotic party mistrusted his energy and his capacity for maintaining his dignity in a difficult situation

Moreover, the German governments had lost confidence in the power of the Prussian state Hesse-Darmstadt, Baden, Nassau, and Wurtemberg had shown themselves ready to confer full powers upon the King of Prussia for the formation, in their name, of a new federal constitution with provision for the popular rights They were also willing to accept him as head of the federation, a position which he desired, while declining the imperial title with which the cheers of the Berlin population had greeted him When, however, Max von Gagern arrived in Berlin at the head of an embassy from the above-mentioned states, the time for the enterprise had gone by, a king who gave way to rebels and did obeisance to the corpses of mob leaders was not the man for the dictatorship of Germany at so troublous a time

Frederic William not a Favourite

Notwithstanding their own difficulties, the Vienna government had derived some advantage from the events at Berlin, there was no reason for them to resign their position in Germany. The Emperor

Ferdinand need never yield to Frederic William IV. The Austrian statesmen were sure of the approval of the German people, even of the national and progressive parties, if they straightway opposed Prussian interference in German politics. Relying upon nationalist sentiment and appealing to national sovereignty, they might play off the German parliament against the King of Prussia Austria was, upon the showing of the government and the popular leaders, the real Germany Austria claimed the precedence of all German races, and therefore the black, red, and gold banner flew on the Tower of Stephan, and the kindly emperor waved it before the students, who cheered him in the castle The offer of Prussian leadership was declined, the German constitution was to be arranged by the federal council and the parliament, and Austria would there be able to retain the leading position which was her right

The Proud Claims of Austria

The case of the King of Prussia was sufficiently disheartening, but no less serious for the development of the German movement was the attitude of the Liberals towards the Republicans The professions and avowals of the latter had not been declined with the decisiveness that belong to honest monarchical conviction Even before the meeting of Parliament disturbances had been set on foot by the Baden Radicals, and it became obvious that Radicalism could result only in civil war and would imperil the national welfare

The Struve-Hecker party was deeply disappointed with the results of the preliminary conference It had not taken over the government of Germany, no princes had been deposed, and even the federal council had been left untouched. The leaders, impelled thereto by their French associates, accordingly resolved to initiate an armed revolt in favour of the republic The "moderate" party had cleared the way by assenting to the proposal of "national armament" Under the pretext of initiating a scheme of public defence, arms for the destruction of constitutional order were placed in the hands of the ruffians who had been wandering about the Rhineland for weeks in the hope of robbery and plunder, posing as the retinue of the great 'friends of the people." Acuter politicians, like Karl Mathy, discovered too late that it was now necessary to stake their whole personal influence in the struggle against radical insanity and the madness of popular agitators In person he arrested the agitator Joseph Fickler, when starting from Karlsruhe to Constance to stir up insurrection, but his bold example found few imitators. The evil was not thoroughly extirpated, as the "people's men" could not refrain from repeating meaningless promises of popular supremacy and the downfall of tyrants at every public-house and platform where they thought they could secure the applause for which they thirsted like actors

The Mad Schemes of Agitators

Hecker had maintained communications with other countries from Karlsruhe, and had been negotiating for the advance of contingents from Paris, to be paid from the resources of Ledru-Rollin After Fickler's imprisonment on April 8th he became alarmed for his own safety, and fled to Constance There, in conjunction with Struve and his subordinates, Doll, Willich, formerly a Prussian lieutenant, Mogling of Wurtemberg, and Bruhe of Holstein, he issued an appeal to all who were capable of bearing arms to concentrate at Donaueschingen on April 12th, for the purpose of founding the German republic With a republican army of fifty men he marched on the 13th from Constance, where the republic had maintained its existence for a whole day In the plains of the Rhine a junction was to be effected with the "legion of the noble Franks," led by the poet George Herwegh and his Jewish wife In vain did two deputies from the committee of fifty in Frankfort advise the Republicans to lay down their arms Their overtures were rejected with contumely The eighth federal army corps had been rapidly mobilised, and the troops of Hesse and Wurtemberg brought this insane enterprise to an end in the almost bloodless conflicts of Kandern on April 20th, and Guntersthal at Freiburg on April 23rd,

Defeat of the Republicans

The Republicans were given neither time nor opportunity for any display of their Teutonic heroism Their sole exploit was the shooting of the general Friedrich von Gagern from an ambush as he was returning to his troops from an unsuccessful conference with Hecker Herwegh's French legion was dispersed at Dossenbach on April 26th by a company of Wurtemberg troops These warriors took refuge for the time being in Switzerland with the "generals" Hecker, Struve, and Franz Siegl,



ITALY'S FRUITLESS REVOLT
AND AUSTRIA'S SUCCESS UNDER RADETZKY

AS early as January, 1848, the population of the Lombard States had begun openly to display their animosity to the Austrians The secret revolutionary committees, who took their instructions from Rome and Turin, organised demonstrations, and forbade the purchase of Austrian cigars and lottery tickets, the profits of which went to the Austrian exchequer Threats and calls for blood and vengeance upon the troops were placarded upon the walls, and cases of assassination occurred Field-Marshal Count Radetzky had felt certain that the national movement, begun in the Church States, would extend throughout Italy, and oblige Austria to defend her territory by force of arms

He was also informed of the warlike feeling in Piedmont and of the secret preparations which were in progress there This view was well founded Any dispassionate judgment of the political situation in the peninsula showed that the governments of the individual states were in a dilemma, either they must join the national yearning for liberation from the foreign rule and help their subjects in the struggle, or they would be forced to yield to the victorious advance of republicanism The Savoy family of Carignan, the only ruling house of national origin, found no difficulty in deciding the question As leaders of the patriotic party they might attain a highly important position, and at least become the leaders of a Federal Italy while they were forced to endanger their kingdom, whatever side they took

A Nation's Yearning for Liberation

Radetzky was indefatigable in his efforts to keep the Vienna government informed of the approaching danger, but his demands for reinforcements to the troops serving in the Lombard-Venetian provinces were disregarded The old War Minister, Count H Hardegg, who supported Radetzky, was harshly dismissed from his position in the exchequer, and died of vexation at the affront Not all the obtuseness and vacillation of the Vienna bureaucracy could shake the old field-marshal—on August 1st, 1847, he began his sixty-fourth year of service in the imperial army—from his conviction that the Austrian house meant to defend its Italian possessions He was well aware that the very existence of the monarchy was involved in this question of predominance in Italy A moment when every nationality united under the Hapsburg rule was making the most extravagant demands upon the state was not the moment voluntarily to abandon a position of the greatest moral value

Austria's Complicated Politics

After the outbreak of the revolt many voices recommended an Austrian retreat from Lombardy to Venice It was thought impossible that these two countries, with independent governments of their own, could be incorporated in so loosely articulated a federation as the Austrian Empire seemed likely to become Such counsels were not inconceivable in view of the zeal with which kings and ministers, professors, lawyers, and authors plunged into the elaboration of political blunders and misleading theories, but to follow them would have been to increase rather than to diminish the difficulties of Austrian politics, which grew daily more complicated

In the turmoil of national and democratic aspirations and programmes the idea of the Austrian state was forgotten, its strength and dignity depended upon the inflexibility and upon the ultimate victory of Radetzky and his army The war in Italy was a national war, more especially for the Austro-Germans, for passion, even for an ideal, cannot impress the German and arouse his admiration to the same extent as the heroic fulfilment of duty Additional influences upon the Austrians were the military assessment their delight in proved military superiority, and their military traditions

National War in Italy

Nationalism was indisputably an animating force among the Germans of the Alpine districts Never did Franz Grillparzer so faithfully represent the Austrian spirit as in the oft-repeated words which he ascribed to the old field-marshal, upholding the ancient imperial banner upon Guelf soil . " In thy camp is Austria ; we are but single fragments "

The Vanished Power of the Hapsburgs

It is not difficult to imagine that a statesman of unusual penetration and insight might even then have recognised that Austria was no longer a force in Germany, that the claim of the Hapsburgs to lead the German nation had disappeared with the Holy Roman Empire We may conceive that, granted such recognition of the facts, a just division of influence and power in Central Europe might have been brought about by the peaceful compromise with Prussia , but it was foolishness to expect the House of Hapsburg voluntarily to begin a partition of the countries which had fallen to be hers

The acquisition of Italy had been a mistake on the part of Metternich , but the mistake could not be mended by a surrender of rights at the moment when hundreds of claims would be pressed. To maintain the integrity of the empire was to preserve its internal solidarity and to uphold the monarchical power. The monarchy could produce no more convincing evidence than the victories of the army An army which had retreated before the Piedmontese and the Guelf guerrilla troops would never have gained another victory, even in Hungary

In an army order of January 15th, 1848, Radetzky announced in plain and unambiguous terms that the Emperor of Austria was resolved to defend the Lombard-Venetian kingdom against internal and external enemies, and that he himself proposed to act in accordance with the imperial will He was, however, unable to make any strategical preparations for the approaching struggle ; he had barely troops enough to occupy the most important towns, and in every case the garrisons were entirely outnumbered by the population Hence it has been asserted that the revolution took him by surprise. The fact was that he had no means of forestalling a surprise, and was obliged to modify his measures in proportion to the forces at his disposal The crowds began to gather on March 17th, when the news of the Vienna revolution reached Milan ; street fighting began on the 18th and 19th, and the marshal was forced to concentrate his scattered troops upon the gates and walls of the great city, lest he should find himself shut in by an advancing Piedmontese army

Outbreak of the Revolution

On March 21st it became certain that Charles Albert of Sardinia would cross the Ticino with his army. Radetzky left Milan and retreated beyond the Mincio to the strong fortress of Verona, which, with Mantua, Peschiera, and Legnago, formed the "Quadrilateral" which became famous in the following campaign Most of the garrisons in the Lombard towns were able to cut their way through, comparatively few surrendering However, the 61,000 infantry of the imperial army were diminished by the desertion of the twenty Italian battalions which belonged to it, amounting to 10,000 men It was necessary to abandon most of the state chests , the field-marshal could only convey from Milan to Verona half a million florins in coined money, which was saved by the division stationed in Padua, which made a rapid advance before the outbreak of the revolt Venice had thrown off the yoke The lawyer Daniel Manin, of Jewish family, and therefore not a descendant of Lodovico Manin, the last doge, had gained over the arsenal workers

The New Republic of Venice

With their help he had occupied the arsenal and overawed the field-marshal, Count Ferdinand Zichy, a brother-in-law of Metternich, who was military commander in conjunction with the civil governor, Count Pálffy of Erdod Zichy surrendered on March 22nd, on condition that the non-Italian garrison should be allowed to depart unmolested Manin became president of the new democratic Republic of Venice, which was joined by most of the towns of the former Venetian terra firma , Great Britain and France, however, declined to recognise the republic, which was soon forced to make common cause with Sardinia Mantua was preserved to the Austrians by the bold and imperturbable behaviour of the commandant-general, Von Gorczkowski

The Italian nationalist movement had also spread to the South Tyrol On March 19th the inhabitants of Trent demanded the incorporation into Lombardy of the Trentino—that is, the district

of the former prince-bishopric of Trent. The appearance of an Austrian brigade under General von Zobel to relieve the hard-pressed garrison of the citadel secured the Austrian possession of this important town, and also strengthened the only line of communication now open between Radetzky's headquarters and the Austrian government, the line through the Tyrol.

The defence of their country was now undertaken by the German Tyrolese themselves; they called out the defensive forces which their legislature had provided for centuries past, and occupied the frontiers. They were not opposed by the Italian population on the south, who in many cases volunteered to serve in the defence of their territory; hence the revolutionary towns were unable to make head against these opponents, or to maintain regular communication with the revolutionists advancing against the frontier. Wherever the latter attempted to break through they were decisively defeated by the admirable Tyrolese guards, who took up arms against the "Guelfs" with readiness and enthusiasm.



DANIEL MANIN
He became President of the Venetian republic in 1848, and after the capitulation of Venice in the following year escaped to Paris, where he died in 1857.

On March 29th, 1848, the King of Sardinia crossed the Ticino, without any formal declaration of war, ostensibly to protect his own territories. He had at his disposal three divisions, amounting to about 45,000 men, and after gaining several successes in small conflicts at Goito, Valeggio, and elsewhere, against weak Austrian divisions, he advanced to the Mincio on April 10th. Mazzini had appeared in Milan after the retreat of the Austrians; but the advance of the Piedmontese prevented the installation of a republican administration. For a moment the national movement was concentrated solely upon the struggle against the Austrian supremacy. Tumultuous public demonstrations forced the petty and central states of Italy to send their troops to the support of the Piedmontese. In this way nearly 40,000 men from Naples, Catholic Switzerland, Tuscany, Modena, and elsewhere were concentrated on the Po under the orders of General Giacomo Durando, to begin the attack on the Austrian position in conjunction with Charles Albert.

The Forces Opposed to Austria

After the despatch of the troops required to cover the Etsch valley and to garrison the fortresses, Radetzky was left with only 35,000 men; he was able, however, with nineteen Austrian battalions, sixteen squadrons, and eighty-one guns, to attack and decisively defeat the king at Santa Lucia on May 6th, as he was advancing with 41,000 men and eighty guns. The Zehner light infantry under Colonel Karl von Kopal behaved admirably; the Archduke Francis Joseph, heir presumptive, also took part in the battle. The conspicuous services of these bold warriors to the fortunes of Austria have made this obstinate struggle especially famous in the eyes of their compatriots. Radetzky's victory at Santa Lucia is the turning-point in the history of the Italian revolution.

Deciding Point in the Revolution

The Austrian troops definitely established the fact of their superiority to the Piedmontese, by far the best of the Italian contingents. Conscious of this, the little army was inspired with confidence in its own powers and in the generalship of the aged marshal, whose heroic spirit was irresistible. Many young men from the best families of Vienna and the Alpine districts took service against the Italians. The healthy-minded students were glad to escape from the aula of the University of Vienna, with its turgid orations and sham patriotism, and to shed their blood for the honour of their nation side by side with the brave "volunteers," who went into action with jest and laugh. Such events considerably abated the enthusiasm of the Italians, who began to learn that wars cannot be waged by zeal alone, and that their fiery national spirit gave them no superiority in the use of the rifle.

Radetzky was not to be tempted into a reckless advance by the brilliant success he had attained; after thus vigorously repulsing Charles Albert's main force, he remained within his quadrilateral of fortresses, awaiting the arrival of the reserves which were being concentrated in Austria; 16,000 infantry, eight squadrons of cavalry, and fifty-four guns marched from Isonzo under Laval, Count Nugent, master of the

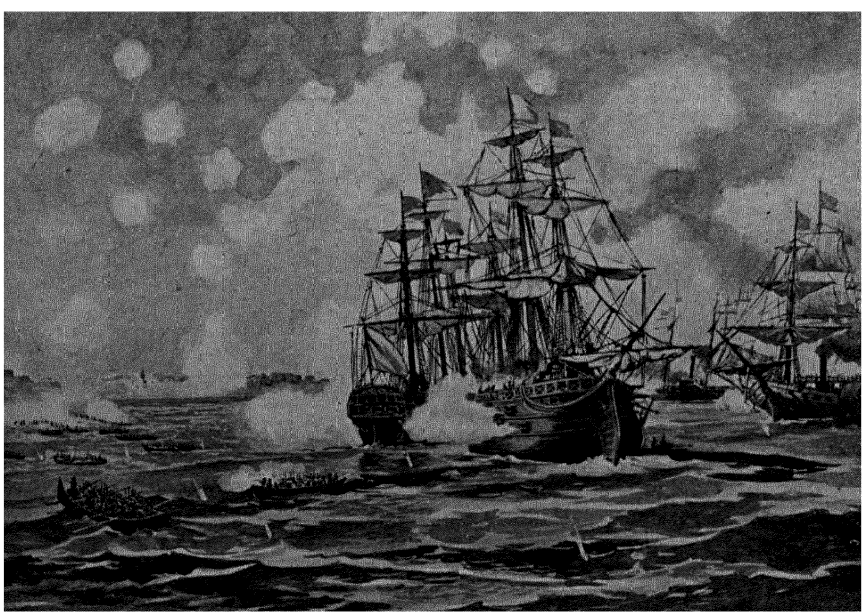
ordnance, an old comrade of Radetzky. He was an Irishman by birth, and had entered the Austrian army in 1793; in 1812 he had seen service in Spain during the War of Liberation, and in 1813 had led the revolt on the coast districts. On April 22nd Nugent captured Udine, and advanced by way of Pordenone and Conegliano to Belluno, Feltre, and Bassano, covering his flank by the mountains, as Durando's corps had gone northward from the Po to prevent his junction with Radetzky. Nugent fell sick, and after continual fighting, Count Thurn led the reserves to San Boniface at Verona, where he came into touch with the main army on May 22nd.



LEOPOLD II.

Grand Duke of Tuscany, Leopold II. granted a liberal constitution to his people, and thought he had satisfied all their demands, but a revolt broke out, and he fled to Gaeta.

Meanwhile, the monarchical government in Naples had succeeded in defeating the Republicans, and the king accordingly recalled the Neapolitan army, which had already advanced to the Po. The summons was obeyed except by 2,000 men, with whom General Pepe reinforced the Venetian contingent. This change materially diminished the danger which had threatened Radetzky's left flank; he was now able to take the offensive against the Sardinian army, and advanced against Curtatone and Goito from Mantua, whither he had arrived on May 28th with two corps and part of the reserves. He proposed to relieve Peschiera, which was invested by the Duke of Genoa; but the garrison had received no news of the advance of the main army, and were forced from lack of provisions to surrender on May 30th. However, after a fierce struggle at Monte Berico on June 10th in



THE BOMBARDMENT OF MESSINA IN SEPTEMBER, 1848

The town of Messina, which lately was the scene of a destructive earthquake, suffered severely in September, 1848, during the rising of Italy against Austria. Under the bombardment of General Filangieri, the town was exposed to a heavy fire; many houses were destroyed and burned and thousands of dead bodies lay in the streets.



In this picture there is represented the meeting of the two principals in the war between Sardinia and Austria, Victor Emmanuel II. and Count Radetzky, which took place on March 24th, 1849, at the farmstead of Vignale. An armistice was agreed to on conditions which were to serve as the basis of a peace, finally concluded in the following August.
From the painting by Aldi, in the Palace of the Signory, Siena

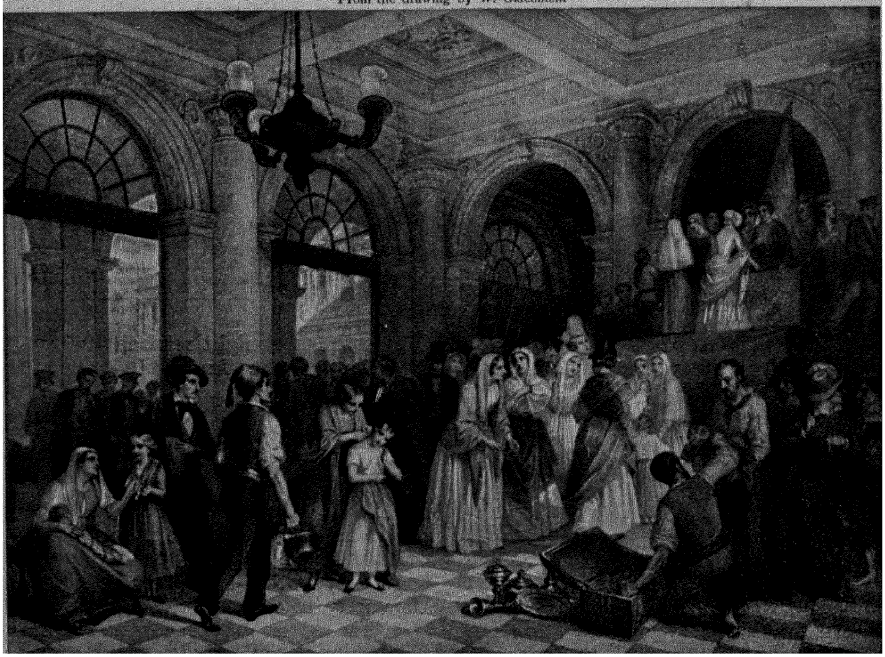
which Colonel von Kopal, the Roland of the Austrian army, was killed, Radetzky captured Vicenza, General Durando being allowed to retreat with the Roman and Tuscan troops. They were joined by the "crociati," crusaders, who had occupied Treviso. Padua was also evacuated by the revolutionaries, and almost the whole of the Venetian province was thus recovered by the Austrians. Fresh reinforcements from Austria were employed in the formation of a second reserve corps under General von Welden on the Piave; this force was to guard Venetia on the land side.

At this period the provisional government in Milan offered the Lombard-Venetian crown to the King of Sardinia. Charles Albert might reasonably hope to wear it, as the Austrian Government, which had retired to Innsbruck on the renewal of disturbances in Vienna, showed some inclination to conclude an armistice in Italy. Britain and France, however, had declared the surrender by Austria of the Italian provinces to be an indispensable preliminary to peace negotiations.

Radetzky hesitated to begin negotiations for this purpose, and remained firm in his resolve to continue the war, for which he made extensive preparations in the course of June and July, 1848. He formed a third army corps in South Tyrol, under Count Thurn, a fourth in Legnago, under General von Culoz, and was then able with the two corps already on foot to



In the hope of re-establishing her ancient form of government under the presidency of Manin, Venice rose in revolt against Austria in 1848, but after a fifteen months' siege of the city the Austrians compelled it to capitulate.
From the drawing by W. Giacomelli



The enthusiasm of the citizens of Venice in their revolt against Austria was shared by all classes, even the women and children desiring to have some part in the struggle for liberty, and bringing their jewels, as shown in the above picture, to raise money for the defence of the city against the attack of their hated enemy.

SCENES IN THE SIEGE OF VENICE BY THE AUSTRIANS IN 1848-49

attack the king in his entrenchments at Sona and Sommacampagna. Operations began here on July 23rd, and ended on the 25th with the Battle of Custozza. The king was defeated, and Radetzky secured command of the whole line of the Mincio.

Charles Albert now made proposals for an armistice. Radetzky's demands, however, were such as the king found impossible to entertain. He was forced to give up the line of the Adda, which the field-marshal crossed with three army corps on August 1st without a struggle. The Battle of Milan on the 4th so clearly demonstrated the incapacity of the Piedmontese troops that the king must have welcomed the rapidity of the Austrian advance as facilitating his escape from the raging mob with its cries of treason. Radetzky entered Milan on August 6th and was well received by some part of the population. Peschiera was evacuated on the 10th. With the exception of Venice, the kingdom of the double crown had now been restored to the emperor. An armistice was concluded between Austria and Sardinia on August 9th for six weeks; it was prolonged by both sides, though without formal stipulation, through the autumn of 1848 and the winter of 1848–1849.



MARSHAL RADETZKY
Rightly called "the saviour of the Monarchy," this great marshal led the forces of Austria to one success after another during the Italian rising and quelled the Revolution.

In Tuscany the Grand Duke Leopold II. thought he had completely satisfied the national and political desires of his people by the grant of a liberal constitution and by the junction of his troops with the Piedmont army. Since the time of the great Medici, this fair province had never been so prosperous as under the mild rule of the Hapsburg grand duke; but the Republicans gave it no rest. They seized the harbour of Livorno and also the government of Florence in February, 1849, under the leadership of Mazzini's follower, Francesco Domenico Guerrazzi, whom Leopold was forced to appoint Minister. The grand duke fled to Gaeta, where Pope Pius IX. had sought refuge at the end of November, 1848, from the Republicans, who were besieging him in the Quirinal. Mazzini and his friend Giuseppe Garibaldi, who had led a life of adventure in South America after the persecutions of the 'thirties, harassed the Austrians with the adherents who had gathered round them. They operated in the neighbourhood of Lago Maggiore, where they could easily withdraw into Swiss territory, and also stirred their associates in Piedmont to fresh activity. King Charles Albert saw that a renewal of the campaign against the Austrians was the only means of avoiding the revolution with which he also was threatened. He had, therefore, by dint of energetic preparation, succeeded in raising his army to 100,000 men. He rightly saw that a victory would bring all the patriots over to his side; but he had no faith in this possibility, and announced the termination of the armistice on March 12th, 1849, in a tone of despair. Radetzky had long expected this move, and, far from being taken unawares, had made preparations to surprise his adversary. Instead of retiring to the Adda, as the Sardinian had expected, he started from Lodi with 58,000 men and 186 guns, and made a turn to the right upon Pavia. On March 20th he crossed the Ticino and moved upon Mortara, while Charles Albert made a corresponding manœuvre at Buffalora and entered Lombard territory at Magenta. He had entrusted the command of his army to the Polish revolutionary general, Adalbert Chrzanowski, whose comrade, Ramorino, led a division formed of Lombard fugitives. Radetzky's bold flank movement had broken the connection of the Sardinian forces; Chrzanowski was forced hastily to despatch two divisions to Vigevano and Mortara to check the Austrian advance, which was directed against the Sardinian line of retreat.

Flight of the Grand Duke Leopold II.

Radetzky Ready for Emergencies

The stronghold of Mortara was captured on March 21st by the corps d'Aspre, the first division of which was led by the Archduke Albert. The Sardinian leaders were then forced to occupy Novara with 54,000 men and 122 guns, their troops available at the moment. Tactically the position was admirable, and here they awaited the decisive battle. Retreat to Vercelli was impossible, in view of the advancing Austrian columns.

On March 23rd Radetzky despatched his four corps to converge upon Novara. About 11 a m. the Archduke Albert began the attack upon the heights of Bicocca, which formed the key to the Italian position For four hours 15,000 men held out against 50,000, until the corps advancing on the road from Vercelli were able to come into action at 3 p m This movement decided the struggle In the evening the Sardinians were ejected from the heights of Novara and retired within the town, which was at once bombarded The tactical arrangement of the Italians was ruined by the disorder of their converging columns, and many soldiers were able to take to flight Further resistance was impossible, and the king demanded an armistice of Radetzky, which was refused Charles Albert now abdicated, resigning his crown to Victor Emmanuel, Duke of Savoy, his heir, who happened to be present During the night he was allowed to pass through the Austrian lines and to make his way to Tuscany

King and General in Conference

On the morning of March 24th, King Victor Emmanuel had a conversation with Radetzky in the farmstead of Vignale, and arranged an armistice on conditions which were to serve as the basis of a future peace The status quo ante in respect of territorial possession was to be restored, the field-marshal waived the right of marching into Turin, which lay open to him, but retained the Lomellina, the country between the Ticino and the Sesia, which he occupied with 21,000 men until the conclusion of the peace It was stipulated that Sardinia should withdraw her ships from the Adriatic and her troops from Tuscany, Parma, and Modena, and should forthwith disband the Hungarian, Polish, and Lombard volunteer corps serving with the army Brescia, which the Republicans had occupied after the retreat of the Austrians from Milan, was stormed on April 1st by General von Haynau, who brought up his reserve corps from Padua In the preceding battles the Italians had committed many cruelties upon Austrian prisoners and wounded soldiers For this reason the conquerors gave no quarter to the defenders of the town, all who were caught in arms were cut down, and the houses burned from which firing had proceeded. With the defeat of Sardinia the Italian nationalist movement became purposeless The restoration of constitutional government in the Church States, Tuscany, and the duchies was opposed only by the democrats Their resistance was, however, speedily broken by the Austrian troops, Bologna and Ancona alone necessitating special efforts, the former was occupied on May 15th, the latter on the 19th Under Garibaldi's leadership Rome offered a vigorous resistance to the French and Neapolitans, who were attempting to secure the restoration of the Pope at his own desire

Garibaldi Withdraws from Rome

The French general Victor Oudinot, a son of the marshal of that name under Napoleon I, was obliged to invest the Eternal City in form from June 1st to July 3rd with 20,000 men, until the population perceived the hopelessness of defence and forced Garibaldi to withdraw with 3,000 Republicans From the date of her entry into Rome until the year 1866, and again from 1867 to 1870, France maintained a garrison in the town for the protection of the Pope Venice continued to struggle longest for her independence Manin rejected the summons to surrender even after he had received information of the overthrow and abdication of Charles Albert The Austrians were compelled to drive parallels against the fortifications in the lagoons, of which Fort Malghera was the most important, and to bombard them continuously It was not until communication between the town and the neighbouring coast line was entirely cut off by a flotilla of rowing boats that the failure of provisions and supplies forced the town council to surrender

Italy's Power Crushed

Italy was thus unable to free herself by her own efforts Since the summer of 1848 the Austrian Government had been forced to find troops for service against the rebels in Hungary It was not until the autumn that the capital of Vienna had been cleared of rioters, yet Austria had been able to provide the forces necessary to crush the Italian power Her success was due to the generalship and capacity of the great marshal, who is rightly called the saviour of the monarchy, and in no less degree to the admirable spirit, fidelity, and devotion of the officers, and to the superior bravery and endurance of the German and Slav troops High as the national enthusiasm of the Italians rose, it could never compensate for their lack of discipline and military capacity



THE HUNGARIAN REBELLION

DEFEAT AND FLIGHT OF LOUIS KOSSUTH

THE struggle between Italy and Austria may be considered as inevitable; each side staked its resources upon a justifiable venture. The same cannot be said of the Hungarian campaign. Under no urgent necessity, without the proposition of any object of real national value, blood was uselessly and wantonly shed, and the most lamentable aberrations and political blunders were committed. The result was more than a decade of bitter suffering, both for the Magyars and for the other peoples of the Hapsburg monarchy.

Such evils are due to the fact that revolutions never succeed in establishing a situation in any way tolerable; they burst the bonds of oppression and avenge injustice, but interrupt the normal course of development and of constitutional progress, thereby postponing improvements perfectly attainable in themselves. Both in Vienna and in Hungary the month of March had been a time of great confusion. In the sudden excitement of the population and the vacillation of the Government, rights had been extorted and were recognised; but their exercise was impeded, if not absolutely prevented, by the continued existence of the state. In Vienna the most pressing questions were the right of the students to carry arms and to enter public life; in Hungary, the creation of a special war office and an exchequer board of unlimited power.

Confusion in Vienna and Hungary

The students were the leading spirits of political life in Vienna. There was no constitutional matter, no question of national or administrative policy, in which they had not interfered and advanced their demands in the name of the people. Movements in the capital, the seat of government, were therefore characterised by a spirit of immaturity, or, rather, of childishness. Quiet and deliberate discussion on business methods was unknown, every conclusion was rejected as soon as made, and far-sighted men of experience and knowledge of administrative work were refused a hearing. Fluent and empty-headed demagogues, acquainted with the art of theatrical rant, enjoyed the favour of the excitable middle and working classes, and unfortunately were too often allowed a determining voice and influence in government circles. Any systematic and purposeful exercise of the rights that had been gained was, under these circumstances, impossible, for no one could appreciate the value of these concessions. Like children crying for the moon, they steadily undermined constituted authority and could put nothing in its place.

Student Politicians in Vienna

The students were seduced and exploited by ignorant journalists, aggressive hot-headed Jews, inspired with all Börne's hatred of monarchical institutions; any sensible proposal was obscured by a veil of Heine-like cynicism. To the journalists must be added the grumblers and the base-born, who hoped to secure lucrative posts by overthrowing the influence of the more respectable and conscientious men. These so-called "Democrats" gained the consideration even of the prosperous classes by reason of their association with the students, who represented popular feeling.

They controlled the countless clubs and unions of the National Guard in the suburbs, and stirred up the working classes, which in Vienna were in the depths of political ignorance; they had been, moreover, already inflamed by the emissaries which the revolutionary societies sent out into France, Switzerland, and West Germany, and were inspired with the wildest dreams of the approach of a new era, bringing freedom, licence, and material enjoyment in boundless measure. Together with the Jews, the Poles also attained to great importance, especially after the disturbances in the Polish districts of Austria had been crushed by the energies of Count Franz Stadion, governor of Galicia, and of the town

Democrats Dream of a New Era

commandant of Cracow. The agitators who were there thrown out of employment received a most brilliant reception at Vienna, and their organisation of "lightning petitions" and street parades soon made them indispensable. On April 25th, 1848, was published the Constitution of Pillersdorf, a hastily constructed scheme, but not without merit; on May 9th, the election arrangements followed. Both alike were revolutionary; they disregarded the rights of the Landtag, and far from attempting to remodel existing material, created entirely new institutions in accordance with the political taste prevailing at the moment. Centralisation was a fundamental principle of these schemes; they presupposed the existence of a united territorial empire under uniform administration, from which only Hungary and the Lombard-Venetian kingdom were tacitly excluded. The Reichstag was to consist of a Senate and a Chamber of Deputies. The Senate was to include male members of the imperial house over twenty-four years of age, an undetermined number of life-members nominated by the emperor, and 150 representatives from among the great landowners; in the Chamber thirty-one towns and electoral districts of 50,000 inhabitants each were to appoint 383 deputies through their delegates.



LOUIS KOSSUTH

Leader of the Hungarian Revolution, Louis Kossuth was gifted with wonderful eloquence, and was able to impart his own enthusiasm to the people whom he led. He was appointed provisional Governor of Hungary after the National Assembly had declared the throne vacant.

From the outset the Radicals were opposed to a senate and the system of indirect election; the true spirit of freedom demanded one Chamber and direct election without reference to property or taxation burdens. Such a system was the expression of the people's rights, for the "people" consisted, naturally, of Democrats. All the moderate men, all who wished to fit the people for their responsibilities by some political education, were aristocrats, and aristocrats were enemies of the people, to be crushed, muzzled, and stripped of their rights.

Popular dissatisfaction at the constitution was increased by the dismissal of the Minister of War, Lieutenant Field-Marshal Peter Zanini, and the appointment of Count Theodor Baillet de Latour on April 28th. The former was a narrow-minded scion of the middle class, and incapable of performing his duties, for which reason he enjoyed the confidence of the Democrats. The latter was a general of distinguished theoretical and practical attainments, and popular with the army; these facts and his title made him an object of suspicion to the "people." At the beginning of May the people proceeded to display their dissatisfaction with the ministerial president, Count Karl Ficquelmont, by the howls and whistling of the students. On May 14th the students fortified themselves with inflammatory speeches in the aula and allied themselves with the working classes; on the 15th they burst into the imperial castle and surprised Pillersdorf, who gave way without a show of resistance, acting on the false theory that the chief task of the Government was to avoid any immediate conflict. Concessions were granted providing for the formation of a central committee of the democratic unions, the occupation of half the outposts by National Guards, and the convocation of a "Constituent Reichstag" with one Chamber.

The imperial family, which could no longer expect protection in its own house from the Ministry, left Vienna on May 17th and went to Innsbruck, where it was out of reach of the Democrats and their outbursts of temper, and could more easily join hands with the Italian army. It was supported, from June 3rd, by Johann von Wessenberg, Minister of

Foreign Affairs, a diplomatist of the old federal period, but of wide education and clever enough to see that in critical times success is only to be attained by boldness of decision and a certain spirit of daring After Radetzky's victory on the Mincio he speedily convinced himself that compliance with the desires of France and Britain for the cession of the Lombard-Venetian kingdom would be an absolute error—one, too, which would arouse discontent and irritation in the army, and so affect the conclusion of the domestic difficulty, he therefore decisively rejected the interposition of the Western Powers in the Italian question

Wessenberg accepted as seriously meant the emperor's repeated declarations of his desire to rule his kingdom constitutionally As long as he possessed the confidence of the court he affirmed that this resolve must be carried out at all costs, even though it should be necessary to use force against the risings and revolts of the Radical Party He was unable to secure as early a return to Vienna as he had hoped; hence he was obliged to make what use he could of the means at his disposal by entrusting the Archduke Johann with the regency during the emperor's absence. The regent's influence was of no value, at that time he was summoned to conduct the business of Germany at Frankfort-on-Main, and his action in Vienna was in consequence irregular and undertaken without full knowledge of the circumstances.

Archduke Johann as Regent

On July 18th the Archduke Johann, as representing the emperor, formed a Ministry, the president being the progressive landowner Anton von Doblhoff The advocate Dr Alexander Bach, who had previously belonged to the popular party, was one of the members. The elections to the Reichstag were begun after Prince Alfred of Windisch-Graetz, the commander of the imperial troops in Bohemia, had successfully and rapidly suppressed a revolt at Prague which was inspired by the first Slav Congress This achievement pacified Bohemia. On July 10th the deputies of the Austrian provinces met for preliminary discussion

The claims of the different nationalities to full equality caused a difficulty with respect to the language in which business should be discussed, objections were advanced against any show of preference for German, the only language suitable to the purpose However, the necessity of a rapid interchange of ideas, and dislike of the wearisome process of translation through an interpreter, soon made German the sole medium of communication, in spite of the protests raised by the numerous Polish peasants, who had been elected in Galicia against the desires of the nobility

A New State in Hungary

The most pressing task, of drafting the Austrian Constitution, was entrusted to a committee on July 31st, the yet more urgent necessity of furthering and immediately strengthening the executive power was deferred till the committee should have concluded its deliberations The Ministry was reduced to impotence in consequence, and even after the emperor's return to Schonbrunn, on August 12th, its position was as unstable as it was unimportant.

While these events were taking place in Vienna a new state had been created in Hungary, which was not only independent of Austria, but soon showed itself openly hostile to her For this, two reasons may be adduced in the first place, misconceptions as to the value and reliability of the demands advanced by the national spokesmen, and, secondly, the precipitate action of the Government, which had made concessions without properly estimating their results The Magyars were themselves unequal to the task of transforming their feudal state into a constitutional body politic of the modern type as rapidly as they desired

They had failed to observe that the application of the principle of personal freedom to their existing political institutions would necessarily bring to light national claims of a nature to imperil their paramountcy in their own land, or that, in the inevitable struggle for this paramount position, the support of Austria and of the reigning house would be of great value. With their characteristic tendency to overestimate their powers, they deemed themselves capable of founding a European power at one stroke. Their impetuosity further increased the difficulties of their position They were concerned only with the remodelling of domestic organisation, but they strove to loose, or rather to burst asunder, the political and economic ties which for centuries had united them to the German hereditary possessions of their ruling house. They demanded an independence which they had lost on the day

The Magyars Demand Independence

of the Battle of Mohacs. They deprived their king of rights which had been the indisputable possession of every one of his crowned ancestors. Such were, the supreme command of his army, to which Hungary contributed a number of men, though sending no individual contingents; the supreme right over the coinage and currency, which was a part of the royal prerogative, and had been personally and therefore uniformly employed by the representatives of the different sovereignties composing the Hapsburg power.

The legal code confirmed by the emperor and King Ferdinand at the dissolution of the old Reichstag, on April 10th, 1848, not only recognised the existing rights of the Kingdom of Hungary, but contained concessions from the emperor which endangered and indeed destroyed the old personal union with Austria. Of these the chief was the grant of an independent Ministry, and the union of Hungary and Transylvania without any obligation of service to the Crown, without the recognition of any community of interests, without any stipulation for such co-operation as might be needed to secure the existence of the joint monarchy.

In Croatia, Slavonia, in the Banat, and in the district of Bacska inhabited by the Servians, the Slavonic nationalist movement broke into open revolt against Magyar self-aggrandisement; the Hungarian Ministry then demanded the recall of all Hungarian troops from the Italian army, from Moravia and Galicia, in order to quell the "anarchy" prevailing at home. The Imperial Government now discovered that in conceding an "independent" war ministry to Hungary they had surrendered the unity of the army, and so lost the main prop of the monarchical power. The difficulty was incapable of solution by peaceful methods; a struggle could only be avoided by the voluntary renunciation on the part of Hungary of a right she had extorted but a moment before. No less intolerable was the independent attitude of Hungary on the financial question, wherein she showed no inclination to consider the needs of the whole community. She owed her political existence to German victories over the Turks, but in her selfishness would not save Austria from bankruptcy by accepting a quarter of the national debt and making a yearly payment of one million pounds to meet the interest. The majority of the Ministry of Batthyány, to which the loyalist Franz von Deák belonged, were by no means anxious to bring about a final separation between Hungary and Austria; they were even ready to grant troops to the court for service in the Italian war, if the Imperial Government would support Hungarian action against the malcontent Croatians.

Hungary's Debt to German Victories

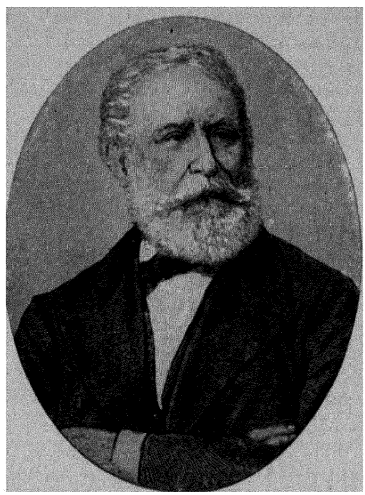
In May, Count Batthyány hastened to the Imperial Court at Innsbruck and succeeded in allaying the prevailing apprehensions. The court was inclined to purchase Hungarian adherence to the dynasty and the empire by compliance in all questions affecting the domestic affairs of Hungary. But it soon became clear that Batthyány and his associates did not represent public feeling, which was entirely led by the fanatical agitator Kossuth, who was not to be appeased by the offer of the portfolio of finance in Batthyány's Ministry.



FRANCIS JOSEPH I.
Born in 1830, he became Emperor of Austria in 1848, succeeding his uncle Ferdinand I., who had been compelled to abdicate. The above portrait was taken about the year 1850.

Louis Kossuth was a man of extravagant enthusiasm, endowed with great histrionic powers, a rhetorician who was apt to be carried away by the torrent of his own eloquence, a type of the revolutionary apostle and martyr. He was undoubtedly lacking in sobriety of political judgment, and his powers were never exerted with full effect except under the stress of high excitement; he seems, indeed, to have been one of those who realise themselves only at the moment when they feel that the will of great masses of men has fallen completely under the sway of their own passion of eloquence. The ambitions of such men can never be satisfied in any

arena less than that in which national destinies are staked. Kossuth did not enter on his political career from motives of personal aggrandisement, with a deliberate intention of overthrowing the Hapsburg rule in order that he might become the presiding genius and authoritative chief of a Hungarian Republic; but it can hardly be questioned that this would have been the outcome of the movement which he originated, had it been carried to a successful issue with Kossuth at its head.



KOSSUTH IN LATER LIFE
For some years Kossuth resided in England, the above portrait showing him during his stay in this country. He died in the year 1894.

For such national rights as the Magyars could claim for themselves full provision was made by the Constitution, which they had devised on liberal principles, abolishing the existing privileges of the nobility and corporations; every freedom was thus provided for the development of their strength and individuality. On July 2nd, 1848, the Reichstag elected under the new Constitution met together. The great task before it was the satisfaction of the other nationalities, the Slavs, Roumanians, and Saxons, living on Hungarian soil; their acquiescence in the Magyar predominance was to be secured without endangering the unity of the kingdom, by means of laws for national defence, and of other innovations making for prosperity.

Some clear definition of the connection between Hungary and Austria was also necessary if their common sovereign was to retain his prestige in Europe; and it was of the first importance to allay the apprehensions of the court with regard to the fidelity, the subordination, and devotion of the Magyars. Kossuth, however, brought before the Reichstag a series of proposals calculated to shatter the confidence which Batthyány had exerted himself to restore during his repeated visits to Innsbruck. The Austrian national bank had offered to advance one and a quarter million pounds in notes for the purposes of the Hungarian Government. This proposal Kossuth declined, and issued Hungarian paper for the same amount; he then demanded further credit to the extent of 4,200,000 pounds, to equip a national army of 200,000 men. He even attempted to determine the foreign policy of the emperor-king. Austria was to cede all Italian territory as far as the Etsch, and, as regarded her German provinces, to bow to the decisions of the central power in Frankfort. In case of dispute with this power she was not to look to Hungary for support. Such a point of view was wholly incompatible with the traditions and the European prestige of the House of Hapsburg; to yield would have been to resign the position of permanency and to begin the disruption of the monarchy.

Kossuth's Demands at the Reichstag

It was to be feared that Hungarian aggression could be met only by force. The federal allies, who had already prepared for what they saw would be a hard struggle, were now appreciated at their true value. They included the Servians and Croatians, who were already in open revolt against the Magyars, and had been organised into a military force by Georg Stratimirovt. The Banace of Croatia was a dignity in the gift of the king, though his nominee was responsible to Hungary. Since the outbreak of the revolution the position had been held by an Austrian general upon the military frontier—Jellacic.

Though no professional diplomatist, he performed a master-stroke of policy in securing to the support of the dynasty the southern Slav movement fostered by the "Great Illyrian" party. He supported the majority of the Agram Landtag in their efforts to secure a separation from Hungary, thereby exposing himself to the violent denunciations of Batthyány's Ministry, which demanded his deposition. These outcries he disregarded, and pacified the court by exhorting the frontier regiments serving under Radetzky to remain true to their colours and to give their lives for the glory of Austria. The approbation of his comrades

in the imperial army strengthened him in the conviction that it was his destiny to save the army and the Imperial house. He formed a Croatian army of 40,000 men, which was of no great military value, though its numbers, its impetuosity, and its extraordinary armament made it formidable. The victories of the Italian army and the reconquest of Milan raised the spirit of the Imperial Court. On August 12th the emperor returned to the summer palace of Schonbrunn, near Vienna, and proceeded to direct his policy in the conviction that he had an armed force on which he could rely, as it was now possible to reconcentrate troops by degrees in different parts of the empire On August 31st, 1848, an Imperial decree was issued to the palatine Archduke Stephen, who had hitherto enjoyed full powers as the royal representative in Hungary and Transylvania, the contents of the decree referred to the necessity of enforcing the Pragmatic Sanction Such was the answer to the preparations begun by Kossuth.

The Emperor's Answer to Kossuth

This decree, together with a note from the Austrian Ministry upon the constitutional relations between Austria and Hungary, was at once accepted by Kossuth as a declaration of war, and was made the occasion of measures equivalent to open revolt. On September 11th the Minister of Finance in a fiery speech, which roused his auditors to a frenzied excitement, declared himself ready to assume the dictatorship on the retirement of Batthyány's Ministry On the same day the Croatian army crossed the Drave and advanced upon Lake Platten

The Vienna Democrats, who might consider themselves masters of the capital, had been won over to federal alliance with Hungary. The most pressing necessity was the restoration of a strong government which would secure respect for established authority, freedom of deliberation to the Reichstag, and power to carry out its conclusions. The Reichstag, however, preferred to discuss a superficial and ill-conceived motion brought forward by Hans Kudlich, the youthful deputy from Silesia, for releasing peasant holdings from the burdens imposed on them by the overlords The work of this Reichstag, which contained a large number of illiterate deputies from Galicia, may be estimated from the fact that it showed a strong inclination to put the question of compensation on one side. Dr Alexander Bach was obliged to exert all his influence and that of the Ministry to secure a recognition of the fundamental principle, that the relief of peasant holdings should be carried out in legal form The "people" of Vienna took little part in these negotiations, their attention was concentrated upon the noisy outcries of the Democrats, who were in connection not only with the radical element of the Frankfort Parliament, but also with Heckei and his associates

Illiterate Deputies in the Reichstag

As early as the middle of September a beginning was made with the task of fomenting disturbances among the working classes, and the retirement of the Ministry was demanded. Great excitement was created by the arrival of a large deputation from the Hungarian Reichstag, with which the riotous Viennese formed the tie of brotherhood in a festive celebration on September 16th. The Hungarians were able to count upon the friendship of the Austrian revolutionaries after their manifestations of open hostility to the court The Hungarian difficulty weakened the impression made by Radetzky's victories, and radical minds again conceived hopes of overthrowing the Imperial house and forming a Federal Danube Republic At the request of the archduke palatine, Count Louis Batthyány made another attempt to form a constitutional Ministry on September 17th, with the object of abolishing Kossuth's dictatorship, however, no practical result was achieved

Radical Hopes of a Republic

The die had been already cast, and the military party had established the necessity of restoring the imperial authority in Hungary by force of arms The Archduke Stephen attempted to bring about a meeting with Jellacic, to induce him to evacuate Hungarian territory, but the banus excused himself, at the same time the palatine was informed that Field-Marshal Lamberg had been appointed commander-in-chief of the imperial troops in Hungary, and that the banus was under his orders This was a measure entirely incompatible with the then existing Constitution. The archduke recognised that he would be forced to violate his constitutional obligations as a member of the Imperial house; he therefore secretly abandoned the country and betook himself to his possessions in Schaumberg without making any stay in Vienna.

When Count Lamberg attempted to take up his post in the Hungarian capital he fell into the hands of Kossuth's most desperate adherents, and was cruelly murdered on September 28th, 1848, at the new suspension bridge which unites Pesth and Ofen An irreparable breach with the dynasty was thus made, and the civil war began At the end of September the Hungarian national troops under General Moga, a force chiefly composed of battalions of the line, defeated Jellacic and advanced into Lower Austria They were speedily followed by a Hungarian army which proposed to co-operate with the revolted Viennese, who were also fighting against the public authorities

It was on October 6th, 1848, that the Viennese mob burst into open revolt, the occasion being the march of a grenadier battalion of the northern railway station for service against the Hungarians The democratic conspirators had been stirred up in behalf of republicanism by Johannes Ronge, Julius Frobel, and Karl Tausenau, they had done their best to inflame the masses, had unhinged the minds of the populace to the point of rebellion, and made the maintenance of public order impossible The uproar spread throughout the city, and the Minister of War, Count Latour, was murdered The Radical deputies, Lohner, Borrosch, Fischhof, Schuselka, and others now perceived that they had been playing with fire and had burnt their fingers They were responsible for the murder, in so far as they were unable to check the atrocities of the mob, which they had armed

The Minister of War Assassinated

Once again the Imperial family abandoned the faithless capital and took refuge in the archbishop's castle at Olmutz The immediate task before the Government was to overpower the republican and anarchist movement in Vienna In Olmutz the Government was represented by Wessenberg, and was also vigorously supported by Prince Felix Schwarzenberg, who had hastened to the court from Radetzky's camp He had been employed not only on military service, but also in diplomatic duties in Turin and Naples

He declared for the maintenance of the constitutional monarchy, and supported the decree drafted by Wessenberg, to the effect that full support and unlimited power of action should be accorded to the Reichstag summoned to Kremsier for discussion with the Imperial advisers upon some mutually acceptable form of constitution for the empire There was strong feeling in favour of placing all power in the hands of Prince Alfred Windisch-Graetz, and establishing a military dictatorship in his person, with the abolition of all representative bodies, but for the moment this idea was not realised. Windisch-Graetz was appointed field-marshal and commander-in-chief of all the imperial forces outside Italy, and undertook the task of crushing the revolt in Vienna and Hungary The subjugation of Vienna was an easy task

Crushing the Revolt in Vienna

The garrison, consisting of troops of the line under Auersperg, had withdrawn into a secure position outside the city on October 7th, where they joined hands with the troops of the banus Jellacic on the Leitha These forces gradually penetrated the suburbs of Vienna On October 21st the army of Prince Windisch-Graetz, marching from Moravia, arrived at the Danube, crossed the river at Nussdorf, and advanced with Auersperg and Jellacic upon the walls which enclosed Vienna

The Democrats in power at Vienna, who had secured the subservience of the members of the Reichstag remaining in the city, showed the courage of bigotry They rejected the demands of Windisch-Graetz, who required their submission, the surrender of the War Minister's murderers, and the dissolution of the students' committees and of the democratic unions, they determined to defend Vienna until Hungary came to their help Robert Blum, who, with Julius Frobel, had brought an address from the Frankfort Democrats to Vienna, was a leading figure in the movement for resistance Wenzel Messenhauser, the commander of the National Guard, undertook the conduct of the defence, and headed a division of combatants in person The general assault was delivered on October 28th Only in the Praterstern and in the Jagerzeile was any serious resistance encountered By evening almost all the barricades in the suburbs had been carried, and the troops were in possession of the streets leading over the glacis to the bastions of the inner city

Vienna on the Point of Surrender

On the next day there was a general feeling in favour of surrender Messenhauser himself declared the hopelessness of continuing the struggle, and advised a

general surrender. However, on the morning of October 30th he was on the Tower of Stephan watching the struggle of Jellacic against the Hungarians at Schwechat, and was unfortunately induced to proclaim the news of the Hungarian advance with an army of relief, thereby reviving the martial ardour of the desperadoes who had already begun a reign of terror in Vienna He certainly opposed the fanatics who clamoured for a resumption of the conflict, but he quailed before the intimidation of the democratic ruffians, and resigned his command without any attempt to secure the due observance of the armistice which had been already concluded with Windisch-Graetz On the 31st the field-marshal threw a few shells into the town to intimidate the furious proletariat, but it was not until the afternoon that the imperial troops were able to make their way into the town They arrived just in time to save the Imperial library and the museum of natural history from destruction by fire

Vienna's Reign of Terror

Vienna was conquered on November 1st, 1848, those honourable and distinguished patriots who had spent the month of October in oppression and constant fear of death were liberated The revolution in Austria could now be considered at an end The capture of Vienna cost the army sixty officers and 1,000 men killed and wounded The number of the inhabitants, combatants and non-combatants, who were killed in the last days of October can only be stated approximately Dr Anton Schutte, an eye-witness, estimated the number at 5,000

The next problem was the conduct of the war with Hungary, which had already raised an army of 100,000 men, and was in possession of every fortress of importance in the country, with the exception of Arad and Temesvar The Battle of Schwechat, on October 30th, 1848, had ended with the retreat of the 30,000 men brought up by General Moga The energy of the Hungarians had not been equal to the importance of the occasion A Hungarian victory at that time would have implied the relief of Vienna, and the question of the separation of the Crown of Stephen from the House of Hapsburg would certainly have become of European importance.

Abdication of the Emperor Ferdinand

Upon the abdication of the Emperor Ferdinand and the renunciation of his brother, the Archduke Francis Charles, the Archduke Francis Joseph ascended the throne on December 2nd, 1848 On the same day Prince Windisch-Graetz advanced upon the Danube with 43,000 men and 216 guns, while General Count Franz Schlick started from Galicia with 8,000 men, and General Balthasar von Simunich moved upon Neutra from the Waag with 4,000 men After a series of conflicts—at Pressburg on the 17th, at Raab on the 27th, at Moor on the 30th December, 1848, and after the victory of Schlick at Kaschau on December 11th, the provisional Government under Kossuth was forced to abandon Pesth and to retire to Debreczin, the banate was speedily evacuated by the national troops, as soon as Jellacic, who now commanded an army corps under Windisch-Graetz, was able to act with the armed Servians

However, the field-marshal under-estimated the resisting power of the nation, which, as Kossuth represented, was threatened with the loss of its political existence, and displayed extraordinary capacities of self-sacrifice and devotion in those dangerous days He was induced to advance into the district of the Upper Theiss with too weak a force, and divided his troops, instead of halting in strong positions at Ofen and Waitzen on the Danube and waiting for the necessary reinforcements. The Battle of Kapolna, on February 26th and 27th, 1849, enabled Schlick to effect the desired junction, and could be regarded as a tactical victory Strategically, however, it implied a turn of the scale in favour of the Hungarians, they gradually concentrated under the Polish general Henryk Dembinski and the Hungarian Arthur Gorgey, and were able to take the offensive at the end of March, 1849, under the general command of Gorgey, who won a victory at Isaszégh, Godollo, on April 6th.

The Tide Turns for Hungary

Ludwig von Melden, the representative of Windisch-Graetz, who had been recalled to Olmutz, was forced to retire to the Raab on April 27th to avoid being surrounded The town of Komorn had offered a bold resistance to the Austrian besiegers, who had hitherto failed to secure this base, which was of importance for the further operations of the imperial army General Moritz Perezel made a victorious advance into the banate General Joseph Bem fought with varying success against the weak Austrian divisions in Transylvania under Puchner

The remnants of these were driven into Wallachia on February 20th. By April, 1849, the fortresses of Ofen, Arad, and Temesvar alone remained in the occupation of the Austrians.

The promulgation of a new constitution for the whole of Austria, dated March 4th, 1849, was answered by Kossuth in a proclamation from Debreczin on April 14th, dethroning the House of Hapsburg. In spite of the armistice with Victor Emmanuel, Italy was as yet too disturbed to permit the transference of Radetzky's army to Hungary. Accordingly, on May 1st the Emperor Francis Joseph concluded a convention with Russia, who placed her forces at his disposal for the subjugation of Hungary, as the existence of a Hungarian



THE HISTORIC ARCHBISHOP'S CASTLE, NEAR OLMUTZ, IN MORAVIA

Republic threatened a rebellion in Poland. It was now possible to raise an overwhelming force for the subjection of the brave Hungarian army. General Haynau was recalled from the Italian campaign to lead the Imperial army in Hungary. He advanced from Pressburg with 60,000 Austrians, 12,000 Russians, and 250 guns.

The Imperial Army in Hungary

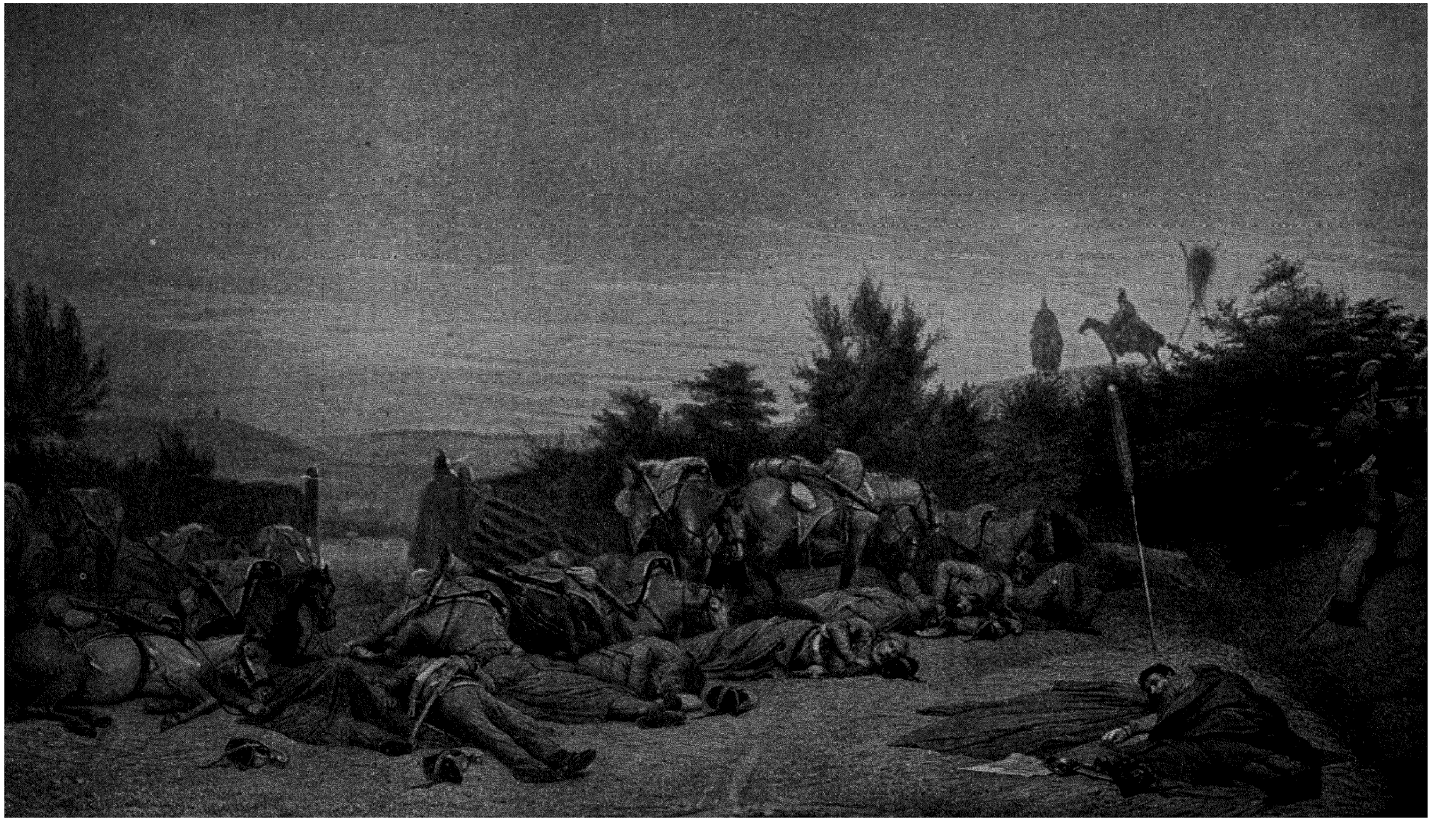
Jellacic led 44,000 men and 168 guns into South Hungary, while the Russian field-marshal Prince Paskevitch marched on North Hungary by the Dukla Pass with 130,000 men and 460 guns. Görgey repulsed an attack delivered by Haynau at Komorn on July 2nd; on the 11th he was removed from the command in favour of Dembinski, and defeated on the same battlefield, then making a masterly retreat through Upper Hungary with three corps to Arad without coming into collision with the Russian contingents.

On August 5th Dembinski was driven back from Szoray to the neighbourhood of Szegedin, and the Hungarian leaders could no longer avoid the conviction that their cause was lost. On August 11th, Kossuth

Kossuth's Flight to Turkey

fled from Arad to Turkey. On the 13th, Görgey, who had been appointed dictator two days previously, surrendered with 31,000 men, 18,000 horse, 144 guns, and sixty standards, at Vilagos, to the Russian general Count Rüdiger. Further surrenders were made at Lugos, Boros-Jenö, Mehadia, and elsewhere. On October 5th, Klapka marched out of Komorn under the honourable capitulation of September 27th.

Hungary was thus conquered by Austria with Russian help. For an exaggeration of her national claims, which was both historically and politically unjustifiable, she paid with the loss of all her constitutional rights, and brought down grievous misfortune upon herself. The Magyar nationalists had expected the Western Powers to approve their struggles for independence and to support the new Magyar state against Austria and Russia; they calculated particularly upon help from England. They were now to learn that the Hungarian question is not one of European importance, and that no one saw the necessity of an independent Hungarian army and Ministry of Foreign Affairs except those Hungarian politicians whose motive was not patriotism but self-seeking in its worst form.



AN EPISODE IN THE CAMPAIGN OF 1848: THE TROOPS RESTING BEFORE THE BATTLE OF SCHLESWIG
From the painting by I. Senne

THE RE-MAKING OF EUROPE



EUROPE IN REVOLUTION IV

STRUGGLES OF GERMAN DUCHIES
AND THE RISINGS OF THE SLAVS AND POLES

AN entirely strong and healthy national feeling came to expression in those "sea-girt" duchies, the masters of which had also been kings of Denmark since the fifteenth century. During the bitter period of the struggle for the supremacy of the Baltic they had but rarely been able to assert their vested right to separate administration. They, however, had remained German, whereas the royal branch of the House of Holstein-Oldenburg, one of the oldest ruling families in Germany, had preferred to become Danish. The members of the ducal House of Holstein, which had undergone repeated bifurcations, largely contributed to maintain German feeling in Schleswig and Holstein, and asserted their independence with reference to their Danish cousins by preserving their relations with the empire and with their German neighbours. In the eighteenth century the consciousness of their independence was so strong among the estates of the two duchies that the "royal law" of 1660, abolishing the assembly of the estates and establishing the paramountcy of the Danish branch of the House of Oldenburg, could not be executed in Schleswig and Holstein.

Results of the Vienna Congress

The result of the Vienna Congress had been to secure the rights of the German districts and to separate them definitely from Napoleon's adherent. Metternich's policy had bungled this question, like so many other national problems, by handing over Schleswig to the Danes, while including Holstein in the German Federation. Unity was, however, the thought that inspired the population of either country. This feeling increased in strength and became immediately operative when Denmark was so impolitic as to defraud the Germans by regulations which bore unjustly upon the imperial bank, founded in 1813.

The disadvantages of Danish supremacy then became manifest to the lowest peasant. Danish paper and copper were forced upon the duchies, while their good silver streamed away to Copenhagen. The struggle against this injustice was taken up by the German patriot leaders, who were able to make the dissension turn on a constitutional point after the publication of the "open letter" of King Christian VIII. On July 8th, 1848, he announced the intention of the Danish Government, in the event of a failure of male heirs, to secure the succession to the undivided "general monarchy" to the female line, in accordance with the Danish royal law. Christian's only son, Frederic, was an invalid and childless, and the duchies had begun to speculate upon the demise of the Crown and the consequent liberation from a foreign rule.

Disadvantages of Danish Supremacy

Their constitution recognised only succession in the male line, a principle which would place the power in the hands of the ducal House of Holstein-Sonderburg-Augustenburg, while in Denmark the successor would be Prince Christian of Holstein-Sonderburg-Glücksburg, who had married Louise of Hesse-Cassel, a niece of Christian VIII. Schleswig had the prospect of complete separation from Denmark, and this object was approved in numerous public meetings and adopted as a guiding principle by the Assembly of these estates. Schleswig objected to separation from Holstein, and to any successor other than one in the male line of descent.

Christian VIII. died on January 20th, 1848, and was succeeded by his son, Frederic VII. This change and the impression created by the revolutions in Paris, Vienna, and Berlin confirmed the duchies in their resolve to grasp their rights and assert their national independence. Had the king met these desires with a full recognition of the provincial constitutions and the grant of a separate national position and administration, he would probably have been able to retain

The Duchies Demand Independence

possession of the two countries under some form of personal federation without appealing to force of arms, and perhaps to secure their adherence for the future He yielded, however, to the arguments of the "Eider Danes," who demanded the abandonment of Holstein and the incorporation of Schleswig with Denmark, regarding the Eider as the historical frontier of the Danish power This party required a joint constitutional form of government, and induced the king to elect a Ministry from their number and to announce the incorporation of Schleswig in the Danish monarchy to the deputation from the Schleswig-Holstein provinces in Copenhagen, on March 22nd, 1848

A New Government at Kiel

Meanwhile, the Assembly of the estates at Rendsburg had determined to declare war upon the Eider Danes On March 24th a provisional government for the two duchies was formed at Kiel, which was to be carried on in the name of Duke Christian of Augustenburg, at that time apparently a prisoner in the hands of the Danes, until he secured liberty to govern his German territories in person

The new Government was recognised both by the population at large and by the garrisons of the most important centres It was unable, however, immediately to mobilise a force equivalent to the Danish army, and accordingly turned to Prussia for help This step, which appeared highly politic at the moment, proved unfortunate in the result The fate of the duchies was henceforward bound up with the indecisive and vacillating policy of Frederic William IV, whose weakness became daily more obvious, he was incapable of fulfilling any single one of the many national duties of which he talked so glibly

His first steps in the Schleswig-Holstein complication displayed extraordinary vigour On April 3rd, 1848, two Prussian regiments of the Guard marched into Rendsburg, and their commander, General Eduard von Bonin, sent an ultimatum on the 16th to the Danish troops, ordering them to evacuate the duchy and the town of Schleswig, which they had seized after a victory at Bau on April 9th over the untrained Schleswig-Holstein troops On April 12th the Federal Council at Frankfort recognised the provisional government at Kiel, and mobilised the tenth federal army corps, Hanover, Mecklenburg, and Brunswick, for the protection of the federal frontier The Prussian general Von Wrangel united this corps with his own troops, and fought the Battle of Schleswig on the 23rd, obliging the Danes to retreat to Alsen and Jutland

Prussian Regiments in Rendsburg

Throughout Germany the struggle of the duchies for liberation met with enthusiastic support, and was regarded as a matter which affected the whole German race There and in the duchies themselves Prussia's prompt action might well be considered as a token that Frederic William was ready to accomplish the national will as regarded the north frontier Soon, however, it became plain that British and Russian influence was able to check the energy of Prussia, and to confine her action to the conclusion of a peace providing protection for the interests of the German duchies

The king was tormented with fears that he might be supporting some revolutionary movement He doubted the morality of his action, and was induced by the threats of Nicholas I, his Russian brother-in-law, to begin negotiations with Denmark These ended in the conclusion of a seven months' armistice at Malmo on August 26th, 1848, Prussia agreeing to evacuate the duchy of Schleswig The government of the duchies was to be undertaken by a commission of five members, nominated jointly by Denmark and Prussia The Frankfort Parliament attempted to secure the rejection of the conditions, to which Prussia had assented without consulting the imperial commissioner, Max von Gagern, who had been despatched to the seat of war, these conditions being entirely opposed to German feeling But the resolutions on the question were carried only by small majorities, the Parliament was unable to ensure their realisation, and was eventually forced to acquiesce in the armistice

Prussia's Evacuation of Schleswig

Meanwhile the Assembly of the estates of Schleswig-Holstein hastily passed a law declaring the universal liability of the population to military service, and retired in favour of a "Constituent Provincial Assembly," which passed a new constitutional law on September 15th The connection of the duchies with the Danish Crown was thereby affirmed to depend exclusively upon the person of the common ruler The Danish members of the government commission declined to recognise the new constitution, and also demurred to the

election of deputies from Schleswig to the Frankfort Parliament Shortly afterwards Denmark further withdrew her recognition of the government commission The armistice expired without any success resulting from the attempts of Prussia to secure unanimity on the Schleswig-Holstein question among the Great Powers War consequently broke out again in February, 1849 Victories were gained by Prussian and federal troops and by a Schleswig-Holstein corps, in which were many Prussian officers on furlough from the king at Eckernforde on April 5th, and Kolding on April 23rd, 1849 On the other hand, the Schleswig-Holstein corps was defeated while besieging the Danish fortress of Fridericia, and forced to retreat beyond the Eider On July 10th, 1849, Prussia concluded a further armistice with Denmark The administration of the duchies was entrusted to a commission composed of a Dane, a Prussian, and an Englishman

At the same time the government of Schleswig-Holstein was continued in Kiel in the name of the Provincial Assembly by Count Friedrich Reventlow and Wilhelm Hartwig Beseler, a solicitor They tried to conclude some arrangement with the king-duke on the one hand, and on the other to stir up a fresh rising of the people against Danish oppression, which was continually increasing in severity in Schleswig The devotion of the German population and the enthusiastic support of numerous volunteers from every part of Germany raised the available forces to 30,000 men and even made it possible to equip a Schleswig-Holstein fleet In the summer of 1850, Prussia gave way to the representations of the Powers, and concluded the "Simple Peace" with Denmark on July 2nd Schleswig-Holstein then began the struggle for independence on their own resources

Discontent Under Danish Oppression

They would have had some hope of success with a better general than Wilhelm von Willisen, and if Prussia had not recalled her officers on furlough Willisen retired from the battle of Idstedt, July 24th, before the issue had been decided, and began a premature retreat He failed to prosecute the advantage gained at Missunde on September 12th, and retired from Friedrichstadt without making any impression, after sacrificing 400 men in a useless attempt to storm the place The German Federation, which had been again convoked at Frankfort, revoked its previous decisions, in which it had recognised the rights of the duchies to determine their own existence, and assented to the peace concluded by Prussia An Austrian army corps set out for the disarmament of the duchies Though the Provincial Assembly still possessed an unbeaten army of 38,000 men fully equipped, it was forced on January 11th, 1851, to submit to the demands of Austria and Prussia to disband the army, and acknowledge the Danish occupation of the two duchies From 1852 Denmark did her utmost to undermine the prosperity of her German subjects and to crush their national aspirations

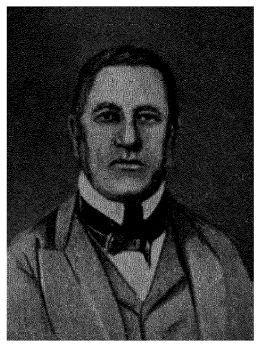
The Ignoble Methods of Denmark

Such ignoble methods failed to produce the desired result Neither the faithlessness of the Prussian Government nor the arbitrary oppression of the Danes could break the national spirit of the North German marches On the death of Frederic VII , on November 15th, 1863, they again asserted their national rights Prussia had become convinced of their power and of the strength of their national feeling, and took the opportunity of atoning for her previous injustice

Of the many quixotic enterprises called into life by the "nation's spring" of 1848, one of the wildest was certainly the Slav Congress opened in Prague on June 2nd Here the catchword of Slav solidarity was proclaimed and the idea of "Panslavism" discovered, which even now can raise forebodings in anxious hearts, although half a century has in no way contributed to the realisation of the idea At a time when the nations of Europe were called upon to determine their different destinies, it was only natural that the Slavs should be anxious to assert their demands There were Slav peoples which had long been deprived of their national rights, and others, such as the Slovaks and part of the southern Slavs, who had never enjoyed the exercise of their rights For these a period of severe trial had begun, it was for them to show whether they were capable of any internal development and able to rise to the level of national independence, or whether not even the gift of political freedom would help them to carry out that measure of social subordination which is indispensable to the uniform development of culture The first attempts in this direction were

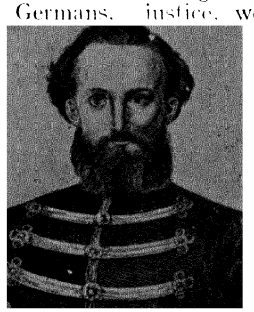
Rising of the Slavs

somewhat of a failure; they proved to contemporaries and to posterity that the Slavs were still in the primary stages of political training, that the attainment of practical result was hindered by the extravagance of their demands, their overweening and almost comical self-conceit, and that for the creation of states they possessed little or no capacity. The differences existing in their relations with other peoples, the lack of uniformity in the economic conditions under which they lived, the want of political training and experience—these were facts which they overlooked. They forgot the need of prestige and importance acquired by and within their own body, and considered of chief importance preparations on a large scale, which could never lead to any lasting political success.



THE HISTORIAN PALACKY
The Czech historian and politician, Franz Palacky, became influential at the imperial court in Olmütz. He was born in 1798 and died in 1876.

Had their action been limited to forwarding the common interests of the Austrian Slavs it might have been possible to produce a political programme dealing with this question, to demand a central Parliament, and, through opposition to the Hungarian supremacy, to assert the rights of the Slav majority as against the Germans, Magyars, and Italians. But the participation of the Poles in the movement, the appearance of the Russian radical democrat Michael Bakunin, and of Turkish subjects, infinitely extended the range of the questions in dispute, and led to propositions of the most arbitrary nature, the accomplishment of which was entirely beyond the sphere of practical politics. Panslavism, as a movement, was from the outset deprived of all importance by the inveterate failing of the Slav politicians, which was to set no limit to the measure of their claims, and to represent themselves as stronger than they were.



LOUIS MIEROSLAWSKI
A learned visionary who believed in the triumph of Democracy, he began his revolutionary work in Posen in 1848, and fought at the head of the rebels at Xions.

Greatly to the disgust of its organisers, among whom were several Austrian conservative nobles, the Slav Congress became an arena for the promulgation of democratic theories, while it waited for a congress of European nations to found Pan-Slavonic states. These states were to include Czechia—Bohemia and Moravia—a Galician-Silesian state, Posen under Prussian supremacy, until the fragments of Poland could be united into an independent Polish kingdom, and a kingdom of Slovenia which was to unite the Slav population of Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, and the seaboard. The Slav states hitherto under Hapsburg supremacy were to form a federal state; the German hereditary domains were to be graciously accorded the option of entering the federation, or of joining the state which the Frankfort Parliament was to create. The attitude of the Slovaks, Croatians, and Servians would be determined by the readiness of the Magyars to grant them full independence. Should the grant be refused, it would be necessary to form a Slovak and a Croatian state. All these achievements the members of the congress considered practicable, though they were forced to admit that the Slavs, whom they assumed to be inspired by the strongest aspirations for freedom and justice, were continually attempting to aggrandise themselves at one another's expense; the Poles, the Ruthenians, and the Croatians respectively, considered their most dangerous enemies to be the Russians, the Poles, and the Servians.

The Czech students in Prague had armed and organised a guard of honour for the congress. They made not the smallest attempt to conceal their hatred of the Germans; Germanism to them was anathema, and they yearned for the chance of displaying their heroism in an anti-German struggle, as the Poles had done against Russia. They were supported by the middle-class citizens, and the working classes were easily induced to join in a noisy demonstration on June 12th, 1848, against Prince Alfred Windisch-Graetz, the general commanding in Prague, as he had refused the students a grant of

sixty thousand cartridges and a battery of horse artillery The demonstration developed into a revolt, which the Czech leaders used as evidence for their cause, though it was to be referred rather to the disorderly character of the Czech mob than to any degree of national enthusiasm The members of the congress were very disagreeably surprised, and decamped with the utmost rapidity when they found themselves reputed to favour the scheme for advancing Slav solidarity by street fights

The Vienna government, then thoroughly cowed and trembling before the mob, made a wholly unnecessary attempt at intervention Prince Windisch-Graetz, however, remained master of the situation, overpowered the rebels by force of arms, and secured the unconditional submission of Prague He was speedily master of all Bohemia The party of Franz Palacky, the Czech historian and politician, at once dropped the programme of the congress in its entirety, abandoned the ideal of Panslavism, and placed themselves at the disposal of the Austrian Government Czech democratism was an exploded idea, the conservative Czechs who survived its downfall readily co-operated in the campaign against the German democrats, and attempted to bring their national ideas into harmony with the continuance of Austria as dominant power Palacky became influential at the imperial court in Olmutz and proposed the transference of the Reichstag to Kremsier, where his subordinate, Ladislaus Rieger, took an important share in the disruption of popular representation by the derision which he cast upon the German Democrats

The Exploded Idea of Czech Democratism

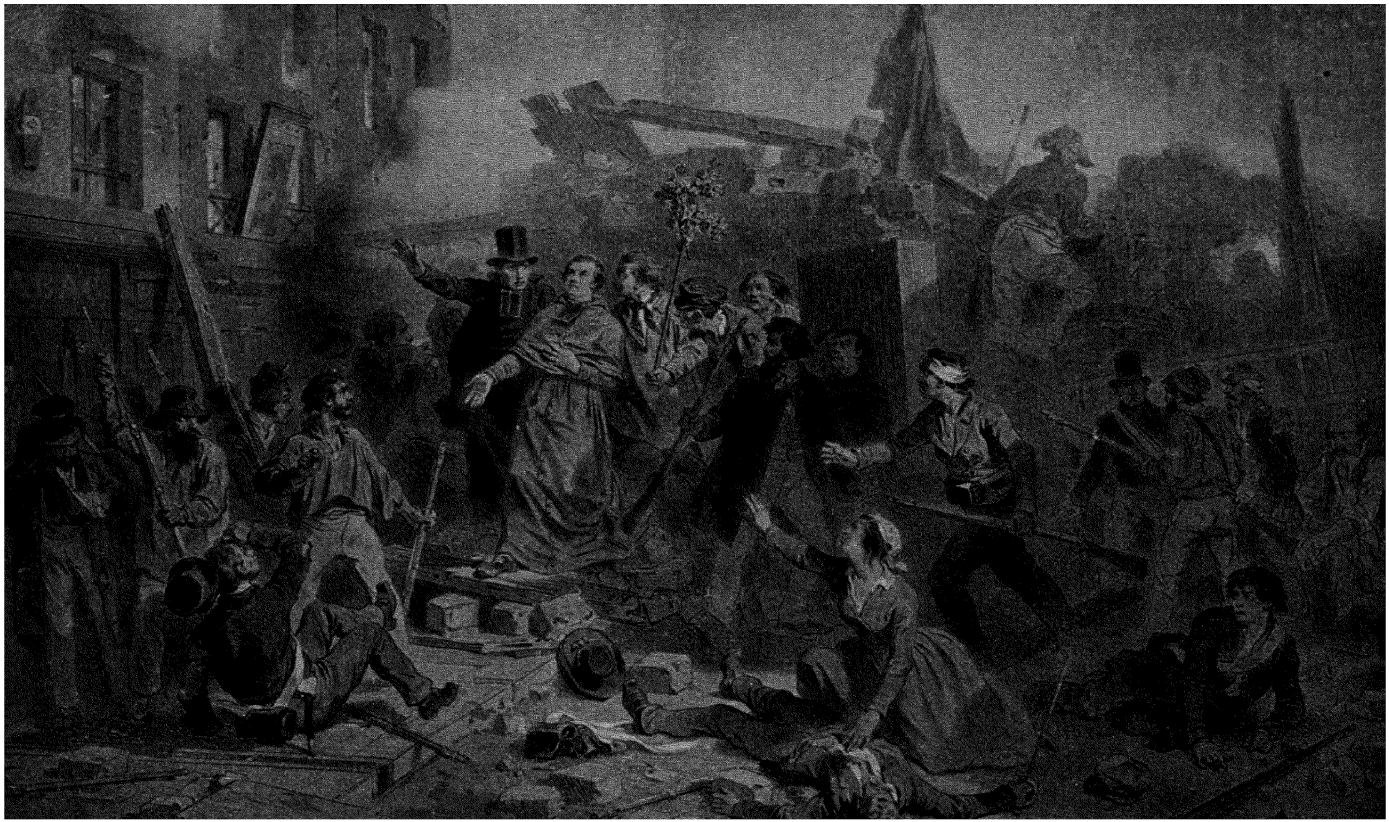
The Austrian Slavs had acquired a highly favourable position by their victory over the revolutionary Magyars, an achievement in which the Croatians had a very considerable share They might the more easily have become paramount, as the Germans had injured their cause by their senseless radicalism. Their fruitless attempt to secure a paramount position in Bohemia gave them a share in the conduct of the state, this they could claim by reason of the strength and productive force of their race and of their undeniable capacity for administrative detail, had they conceded to the Germans the position to which these latter were entitled by the development of the Hapsburg monarchy and its destiny in the system of European states The year 1848 might perhaps have afforded an opportunity for the restoration of Polish independence had the leaders of the national policy been able to find the only path which could guide them to success Any attempt in this direction ought to have been confined to the territory occupied by Russia, any force that might have been raised for the cause of patriotism could have been best employed upon Russian soil Russia was entirely isolated, it was inconceivable that any European Power could have come to her help, as Prussia had come in 1831, if she had been at war with the Polish nation.

Revolt of the Poles

Austria was unable to prevent Galicia from participation in a Polish revolt. Prussia had been won over as far as possible to the Polish side, for her possessions in Posen had been secured from any amalgamation with an independent Polish state The approval of the German Parliament was as firmly guaranteed to the Polish nationalists as was the support of the French Republic, provided that German interests were not endangered

Exactly the opposite course was pursued the movement began with a rising in Posen, with threats against Prussia, with fire and slaughter in German communities, with the rejection of German culture, which could not have been more disastrous to Polish civilisation than the arbitrary and cruel domination of Russian officials and police Louis of Mieroslawski, a learned visionary but no politician, calculated upon a victory of European democracy, and thought it advisable to forward the movement in Prussia, where the conservative power seemed most strongly rooted He therefore began his revolutionary work in Posen, after the movement of March had set him free to act On April 29th, 1848, he fought an unsuccessful battle at the head of 16,000 rebels against Colonel Heinrich von Brandt at Xions, on the 30th he drove back a Prussian corps at Miloslaw However, he gained no support from the Russian Poles, and democratic intrigue was unable to destroy the discipline of the Prussian army, so that the campaign in Posen was hopeless, by the close of May it had come to an end, the armed bands were dispersed, and Mieroslawski driven into exile.

Failure of Polish Rising



BARRICADE FIGHTING IN THE PARIS REVOLUTION: THE ARCHBISHOP OF PARIS MORTALLY WOUNDED ON SUNDAY, JUNE 25TH, 1848

THE RE-MAKING OF EUROPE



EUROPE IN REVOLUTION V

THE SECOND REPUBLIC IN FRANCE

LOUIS NAPOLEON, PRESIDENT AND DICTATOR

THE European spirit of democracy which was desirous of overthrowing existing states, planting its banner upon the ruins, and founding in its shadow new bodies politic of the nature of which no Democrat had the remotest idea, had been utterly defeated in France at a time when Italy, Germany, and Austria were the scene of wild enthusiasm and bloody self-sacrifice. Democratic hopes ran the course of all political ideals. The process of realisation suddenly discloses the fact that every mind has its own conception of any ideal, which may assume the most varied forms when translated into practice.

A nation desirous of asserting its supremacy may appear a unity while struggling against an incompetent government; but as soon as the question of establishing the national supremacy arises, numbers of different interests become prominent, which cannot be adequately satisfied by any one constitutional form.

France Declared a Republic

The simultaneous fulfilment of the hopes which are common to all is rendered impossible, not only by inequality of material wealth, but also by the contest for power, the exercise of which necessarily implies the accumulation of privileges on one side with a corresponding limitation on the other.

When the 900 representatives of the French nation declared France a republic on May 4th, 1848, the majority of the electors considered the revolution concluded, and demanded a public administration capable of maintaining peace and order and removing the burdens which oppressed the taxpayer. The executive committee chosen on May 10th, the president's chair being occupied by the great physicist Dominique François Arago, fully recognised the importance of the duty with which the country had entrusted it, and was resolved honourably to carry out the task. But in the first days of its existence the committee found itself confronted by an organised opposition, which, though excluded from the Government, claimed the right of performing its functions. Each party was composed of Democrats, government and opposition alike; each entered the lists in the name of the sovereign people, those elected by the moneyed classes as well as the leaders of the idle or unemployed, who for two months had been in receipt of pay for worthless labour in the "national factories" of France.

Leaders of the Radicals

On May 15th the attack on the dominant party was begun by the Radicals, who were pursuing ideals of communism or political socialism, or were anxious merely for the possession of power which they might use to their own advantage. They found their excuse in the general sympathy for Poland. The leaders were Louis Blanc, L. A. Blanqui, P. J. Proudhon, Etienne Cabet, and François Vincent Raspail. Ledru-Rollin declined to join the party. They had no sooner gained possession of the Hôtel de Ville than a few battalions of the National Guard arrived opportunely and dispersed the masses.

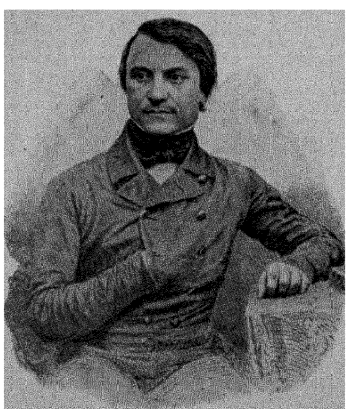
The leaders of the conspiracy were arraigned before the court of Bourges, which proceeded against them with great severity, while the national factories were closed. They had cost France £10,000 daily, and were nothing more than a meeting-ground for malcontents and sedition. This measure, coupled with an order to the workmen to report themselves for service in the provinces, produced the June revolt, a period of street fighting, in which the radical Democrats, who gathered round the red flag, carried on a life and death struggle with the republican Democrats, whose watchword was the "République sans phrase." The monarchists naturally sided with the republican Government, to which the line troops and the National Guard were also faithful. The Minister of War, General Louis Eugène

The Struggle Round the Red Flag

Cavaignac, who had won distinction in Algiers, supported by the generals Lamoricière and Damesne, on June 23rd successfully conducted the resistance to the bands advancing from the suburbs to the centre of Paris. The "Reds," however, declined to yield, and on June 24th the National Assembly gave Cavaignac the dictatorship. He declared Paris in a state of siege, and pursued the rebels to the suburb of Sainte-Antoine, where a fearful massacre on June 27th made an end of the revolt. The victory had been gained at heavy cost; thousands of wounded lay in the hospitals of Paris and its environs. The number of lives lost has never been determined, but it equalled the carnage of many a great battle, and included nine generals and several deputies. An important reaction in public feeling had set in; the people's favour was now given to the conservative parties, and any compromise with the Radicals was opposed. The democratic republic was based on the co-operation of the former "constitutionalists." Thiers, Montalembert, and Odilon Barrot again became prominent figures. Cavaignac was certainly installed at the head of the executive committee; his popularity paled apace, however, as he did not possess the art of conciliating the bourgeois by brilliant speeches or promises of relief from taxation. The constitution, which was ratified after two months' discussion by the National Assembly, preserved the fundamental principle of the people's sovereignty. The choice of a president of the republic was not left to the deputies, but was to be decided by a plebiscite. This provision opened the way to agitators capable of influencing the masses and prepared the path to supremacy for an ambitious member of the Bonaparte family, who had been repeatedly elected as a popular representative, and had held a seat in the National Assembly since September 26th, 1848. From the date of his flight from Ham Louis Napoleon had lived in England in close retirement. The outbreak of the February revolution inspired him with great hopes for his future; he had, however, learned too much from Strassburg and Boulogne to act as precipitately as his supporters in France desired. He remained strong in the conviction that his time would come, a thought which relieved the tedium of waiting for the moment when he might venture to act. He tendered his thanks to the republic for permission to return to his native land after so many years of proscription and banishment; he assured the deputies who were his colleagues of the zeal and devotion which he would bring to their labours, which had hitherto been known to him only "by reading and meditation." His candidature for the president's chair was then accepted not only by his personal friends and by the adherents of the Bonapartist empire, but also by numerous members of conservative tendencies, who saw in uncompromising Republicans like Cavaignac no hope of salvation from the terrors of anarchy. They were followed by ultramontanes, Orleanists, legitimists, and socialists, who objected to the republican doctrinaires, and used their influence in the election which took place on December 10th, 1848. Against the one and a half millions who supported

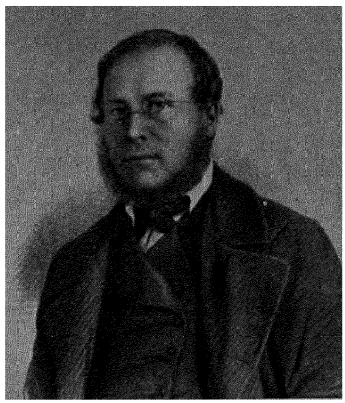


DOMINIQUE FRANÇOIS ARAGO
After France had been declared a republic, on May 4th, 1848, a capable public administration was demanded, and an executive committee was formed with Arago, the great astronomer and physicist, who had taken part in the Revolution of 1830, as a member.

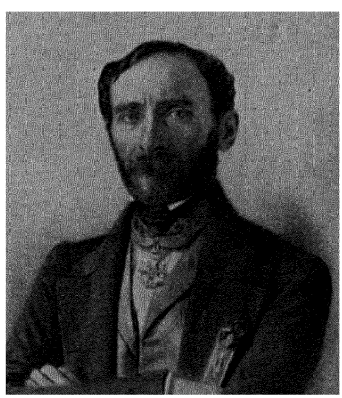


LOUIS BLANC
Socialist and historian, he was appointed a member of the Provisional Government in 1848; escaping to London on being unjustly accused of complicity in the disturbances of that year, he there completed his "Histoire de la Révolution," returning later to France.

Cavaignac, an unexpectedly large majority of five and a half millions voted for the son of Louis Bonaparte and Hortense Beauharnais. As a politician no one considered him of any account, but every party hoped to be able to use him for their own purposes or for the special objects of their ambitious or office-seeking leaders. The behaviour of the National Assembly was not very flattering when the result of the voting was announced on December 20th. "Some, who were near Louis Bonaparte's seat," says Victor Hugo, "expressed approval; the rest of the Assembly preserved a cold silence. Marrast, the president, invited the chosen candidate to take the oath. Louis Bonaparte, buttoned up in a black coat, the cross of the Legion of Honour on his breast, passed through the door on the right, ascended the tribune, and calmly repeated the words after Marrast; he then read a speech, with the unpleasant accent peculiar to him, interrupted by a few cries of assent. He pleased his hearers by his unstinted praise of Cavaignac. In a few moments he had finished, and left the tribune amid a general shout of 'Long live the republic!' but with none of the cheers which had accompanied Cavaignac." Thus "the new man" was received with much discontent and indifference, with scanty respect, and with no single spark of enthusiasm. He was, indeed, without genius or fire and of very moderate capacity; but he understood the effect of commonplaces and the baser motives of his political instruments, and was therefore able to attract both the interest of France and the general attention of the whole of Europe. The president of the citizen republic was thus a member of the family of that great conqueror and subduer of the world whose remembrance aroused feelings of pride in every Frenchman, if his patriotism were not choked by legitimism; it was a problem difficult of explanation. No one knew whether the president was to be addressed as Prince, Highness, Sir, Monseigneur, or Citizen. To something greater he was bound to grow, or a revolution would forthwith hurl him back into the obscurity whence he had so suddenly emerged. But of revolution France had had more than enough. "Gain and the enjoyment of it" was the watchword, and Louis Napoleon accepted it. Victor Hugo claims to have shown him the fundamental principles of the art of government at the first dinner in the Elysée. Ignorance of the people's desires, disregard of the national pride, had led to the downfall of Louis Philippe; the most important thing was to raise the standard of peace. "And how?" asked the prince. "By the triumphs of industry and progress, by great artistic, literary, and scientific efforts. The labour of the nation can create marvels. France is a nation of conquerors; if she does not conquer with the sword, she will conquer by her genius and talent. Keep that fact in view and you will advance; forget it, and you are lost." Louis did not possess this power of expression, but with the idea he had long been familiar. He now increased his grasp of it. He knew that men get tired of great movements, political convulsion, hypocritical posing. Most people are out of breath after they have puffed themselves

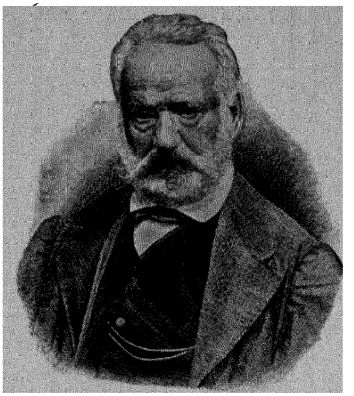


PIERRE JOSEPH PROUDHON
An advanced Socialist, Proudhon published works asserting that "Property is theft." In 1849 he was sentenced to three years' imprisonment for the violence of his utterances, and in 1858 received a similar sentence.



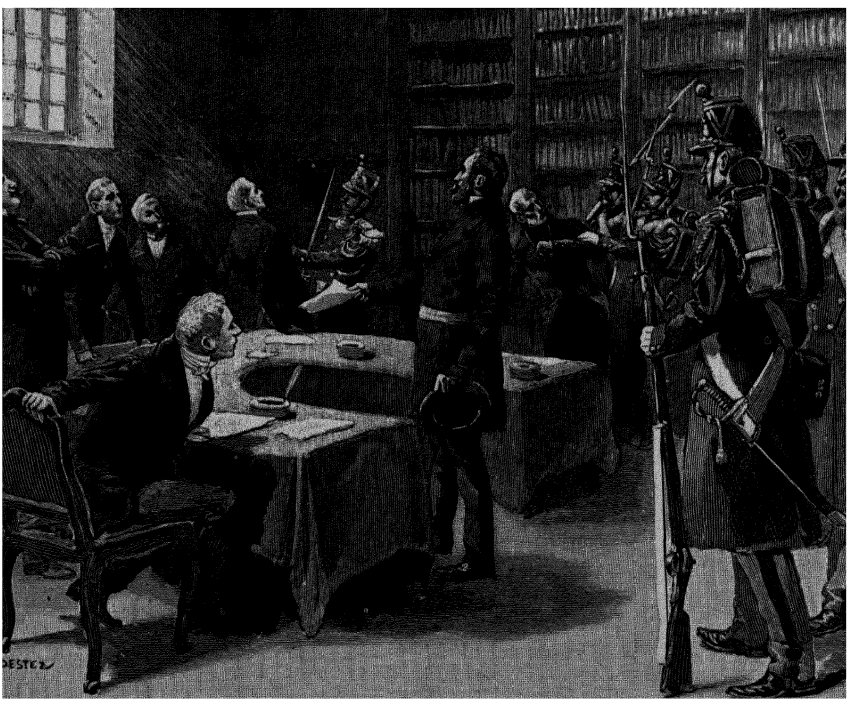
LOUIS EUGÈNE CAVAIGNAC
In 1848 this distinguished general became Minister of War, and carried his success on the field into his office of military dictator, promptly quelling the June insurrection. He was a candidate for the presidency of the republic when Louis Napoleon was elected.

like the frog in the fable, and need a rest to recover their wind. As long as this desire for quietude prevailed, Napoleon the citoyen was secure of the favour of France. The moment he appealed to "great feelings" his art had reached its limits and he became childish and insignificant. His political leanings favoured the Liberalism for which the society of Paris had created the July kingdom. This tendency was shown in his appointment of Odilon Barrot as head of his Ministry, and of Edouard Drouyn de l'Huys, one of his personal adherents, as First Minister of Foreign Affairs. Desire to secure the constituted authority against further attacks of the "Reds" was the dominant feeling which influenced the elections to the National Assembly. By the election law, which formed part of the constitution, these were held in May, 1849. The majority were former Royalists and Constitutionalists, who began of express purpose a reactionary policy after the revolt of the Communists in June, 1848. Fearful of the Italian democracy, into the arms of which Piedmont had rushed, France let slip the favourable opportunity of fostering the Italian movement for unity and of taking Austria's place



VICTOR HUGO

Greatest among the poets of France, Victor Hugo claimed to have shown Louis Napoleon the fundamental principles of the art of government, advising him at the first dinner in the Elysée to raise the standard of peace.



OVERTHROWING THE CONSTITUTION: THE COUP D'ETAT OF LOUIS NAPOLEON

Returning to France in 1848, after a few years of quiet seclusion in England, Louis Napoleon was elected deputy for Paris in the Constituent Assembly of June, and in December was elected president. But it was not long before he quarrelled with the Chambers, carrying out a coup d'état on December 1st, 1851, by overthrowing the constitution.



The son of Louis Bonaparte, brother of the great Napoleon, Louis Napoleon had engaged in various schemes to recover the throne of France before his coup d'état in 1851 prepared the way for his election to the throne of his illustrious uncle. On December 2nd, 1852, the Empire was proclaimed with Louis Napoleon as Napoleon III. On January 29th, 1853, he married Eugénie de Montijo, a Spanish countess, and twenty years later, on January 9th, 1873, died in England.

in the peninsula. Had she listened to Charles Albert's appeal for help, the defeat of Novara could have been avoided, and the Austrian Government would not have gained strength enough to become the centre of a reactionary movement which speedily interfered both with the revolutionary desires of the Radicals and the more modest demands of the moderate-minded friends of freedom.

Louis Bonaparte fully appreciated the fact that the sentiments of the population at large were favourable to a revival of governmental energy throughout almost the whole of Europe. He saw that the excesses of the mob, which were as passionately excited as they were morally degraded, had restored confidence, among the moneyed classes and those who desired peace, in the power of religious guidance and education. For these reasons he acquiesced in the restoration of the temporal supremacy of the Pope, which the democracy had abolished, thereby rendering the greatest of all possible services to the ultramontanes.

The Pope's Supremacy Restored

In March, 1848, Pius IX., the "National Pope," had assented to the introduction within the states of the Church of a constitutional form of government. At the same time he had publicly condemned the war of Piedmont and the share taken in it by the Roman troops, which he had been unable to prevent. This step had considerably damped public enthusiasm in his behalf. Roman feeling also declared against him when he refused his assent to the liberal legislation of the Chambers and transferred the government to the hands of Count Pellegrino de Rossi. The count's murder, on November 15th, 1848, marked the beginning of a revolution in Rome which ended with the imprisonment of the Pope in the Quirinal, his flight to the Neapolitan fortress of Gaeta on November 27th, and the establishment of a provisional government.

The Pope was now inclined to avail himself of the services offered by Piedmont for the recovery of his power. However, the constituent National Assembly at Rome, which was opened on February 5th, 1849, voted for the restoration of the Roman republic by 120 votes against 23, and challenged the Pope to request the armed interference of the Catholic Powers in his favour. The Roman republic became the central point of the movement for Italian unity, and was

[redacted]ed by Venice, Tuscany, and Sicily. Mazzini was the head of the triumvirate which held the executive power; Giuseppe Garibaldi directed the forces for national defence, of which Rome was now made the headquarters. The "democratic republic" which was being organised in France would have no dealings with the descendants of the Carbonari, or with the chiefs of the revolutionary party in Europe. It considered alliance with the clericals absolutely indispensable to its own preservation. Hence came the agreement to co-operate with Austria, Spain, and Naples for the purpose of restoring the Pope to his temporal power. Twenty thousand men were at once despatched under Marshal Oudinot, and occupied the harbour town of Civita Vecchia on April 25th, 1849.



THE POPE PIUS IX.

Succeeding Gregory XVI. in 1846, Pope Pius IX. introduced a series of reforms and won the affections of the populace. During the revolutionary fever of 1848, however, he opposed the public desire for a war with Austria, and the mob became so menacing that he found it expedient to make his escape from the Quirinal in disguise.

The president, however, had no intention of reimposing upon the Romans papal absolutism, with all the scandals of such a government. He sent out his trusty agent, Ferdinand de Lesseps, to effect some compromise between the Pope and the Romans which should result in the establishment of a moderate Liberal government. Oudinot, however, made a premature appeal to force of arms. He suffered a reverse before the walls of Rome on April 30th, and the military honour of France, which a descendant of Napoleon could not afford to disregard, demanded the conquest of the Eternal City. Republican soldiers thus found themselves co-operating with the reactionary Austrians, who entered Boulogne on May 19th, and reduced half of Ancona to ashes. On June 20th, the bombardment of Rome began, in the course of which many of the most splendid monuments of artistic skill were destroyed. The city was forced to surrender on July 3rd, 1849, after Garibaldi had marched away with 3,000 volunteers. By its attitude upon the Roman question, and by its refusal of support to the German Democrats, who were making their last efforts in the autumn of 1849 for the establishment of Republicanism in Germany, the French Republic gradually lost touch with the democratic principles on which it was based. Its internal disruption was expedited by the clumsiness of its constitution. A Chamber provided with full legislative power and indissoluble for three years confronted a president elected by the votes of a nation to an office tenable for only four years, on the expiration of which he was at once eligible for re-election.

Honest Republicans had foreseen that election by the nation would give the president a superfluous prestige and a dangerous amount of power; but the majority of the Constituent Assembly had been "inspired with hatred of the republic. They were anxious to have an independent power side by side with the Assembly, perhaps with the object of afterwards restoring the monarchy." This object Louis Bonaparte was busily prosecuting. On October 31st, 1849, he issued a message to the country, in which he gave himself out to be the representative of the Napoleonic system, and explained the maintenance of peace and social order to be dependent upon his own position. Under pressure from public opinion, the Chamber passed a new electoral law on May 31st, 1850, which abolished about three millions out of ten million votes, chiefly those of

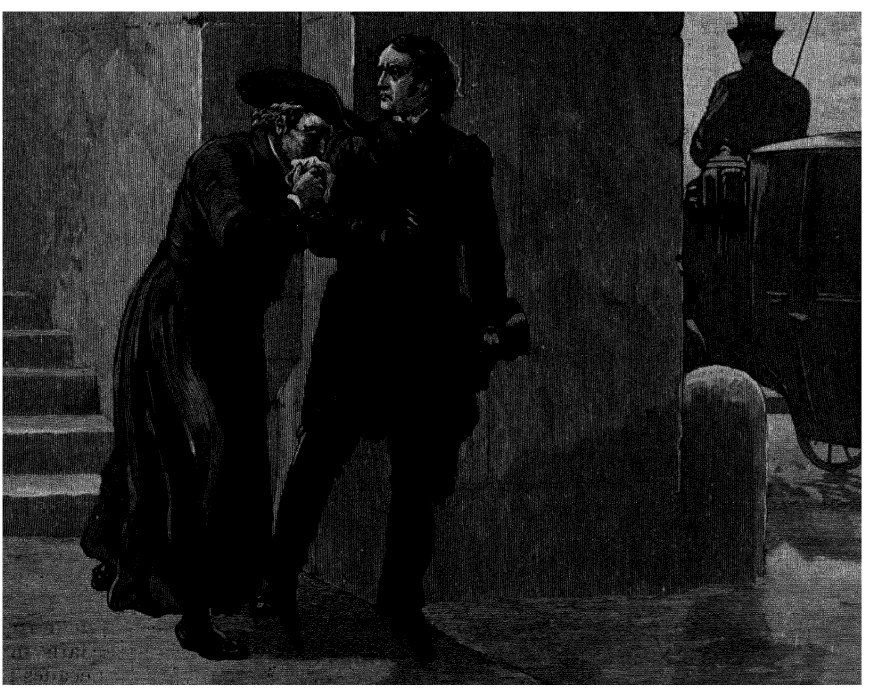
Napoleon's Message to the Nation

town electors, and required the presence of a quarter of the electorate to form a quorum. The Radicals were deeply incensed at this measure, and the Conservatives by no means satisfied. The president attempted to impress his personality on the people by making numerous tours through the country, and to conciliate the original electorate, to whose decision alone he was ready to bow.

The Waiting Policy of Napoleon

A whole year passed before he ventured upon any definite steps; at one time the Chamber showed its power, at another it would display compliance. However, he could not secure the three-quarters majority necessary for determining a revision of the constitution, although seventy-nine out of eighty-five general councillors supported the proposal. There could be no doubt that the presidential election of May, 1852, would have forced on the revision, for the reason that Louis Napoleon would have been elected by an enormous majority, though the constitution did not permit immediate re-election. A revolt of this nature on the part of the whole population against the law would hardly have contributed to strengthen the social order which rests upon constitutionally established rights; the excitement of the elections might have produced a fresh outbreak of radicalism, which was especially strong in the south of France, at Marseilles and Bordeaux. The fear of some such movement was felt in cottage and palace alike, and was only to be obviated by a monarchical government.

No hope of material improvement in the conditions of life could be drawn from the speeches delivered in the Chamber, with their vain acrimony, their bombastic self-laudation, and their desire for immediate advantage. The childlike belief in the capacity and zeal of a national representative assembly was destroyed for ever by the experience of twenty years. The Parliament was utterly incompetent to avert a coup d'état, a danger which had been forced upon its notice in the autumn of 1851. It had declined a proposal to secure its command of the army by legislation, although the growing popularity of the new Cæsar with the



THE FLIGHT OF A POPE: PIUS IX. LEAVING THE QUIRINAL IN DISGUISE

army was perfectly obvious, and though General Saint-Arnaud had engaged to leave North Africa, and conduct the armed interference which was the first step to a revision of the constitution without consulting the views of the Parliament After long and serious deliberation the president had determined upon the coup d'état, the preparations were made by Napoleon's half-brother, his mother's son Count de Morny, and by Count Flahault He was supported by the faithful Persigny, while the management of the army was in the hands of Saint-Arnaud On December 2nd, 1851, the day of Austerlitz and of the coronation of his great uncle, it was determined to make the nephew supreme over France General Bernard Pierre Magnan, commander of the garrison at Paris won over twenty generals to the cause of Bonaparte in the event of conflict Louis himself, when his resolve had been taken, watched the course of events with great coolness Morny, a prominent stock-exchange speculator, bought up as much state paper as he could get, in the conviction that the coup d'état would cause a general rise of stock

Preparing for the Coup d'état

The movement was begun by the Director of Police, Charlemagne Emile de Maupas, who surprised in their beds and took prisoner every member of importance in the Chamber, about sixty captures being thus made, including the generals Cavaignac, Changarnier, and Lamoricière; at the same time the points of strategic importance round the meeting hall of the National Assembly were occupied by the troops, which had been reinforced from the barracks of Paris. The city awoke to find placards posted at the street corners containing three short appeals to the nation, the population of the capital, and the army, and a decree dissolving the National Assembly, restoring the right of universal suffrage, and declaring Paris and the eleven adjacent departments in a state of siege In the week, December 14th to 21st, 10,000,000 Frenchmen were summoned to the ballot-box to vote for or against the constitution proposed by the president This constitution provided a responsible head of the state, elected for ten years, and threefold representation of the people through a state council, a legislative body, and a senate, the executive power being placed under the control of the sovereign people On his appearance the president was warmly greeted by both people and troops, and no opposition was offered to the expulsion of the deputies who attempted to protest against the breach of the constitution

Paris in a State of Siege

It was not until December 3rd that the revolt of the Radicals and Socialists broke out, numerous barricades were erected in the heart of Paris and were furiously contested But the movement was not generally supported, and the majority of the citizens remained in their houses The troops won a complete victory, which was stated to have secured the establishment of the "democratic republic," though unnecessary acts of cruelty made it appear an occasion of revenge upon the Democrats The exponents of barricade warfare were destroyed as a class for a long time to come, not only in Paris, but in the other great towns of France, where the last struggles of the Revolution were fought out The impression caused by this success, by the great promises which Louis Napoleon made to his adherents, and by the rewards which he had begun to pay them, decided the result of the national vote upon the change in the constitution, or, more correctly, upon the elevation of Louis Napoleon to the dictatorship By December 20th, 1851, 7,439,246 votes were given in his favour, against 640,737 Bonapartism in its new form became the governmental system of France

Napoleon Becomes Dictator

"The severest absolutism that the nineteenth century has seen was founded by the general demonstrations of a democracy The new ruler, in the early years of his government, was opposed by all the best intellects in the nation, the most brilliant names in art and science, in politics and war, were united against him, and united with a unanimity almost unparalleled in the course of history A time began in which wearied brains could find rest in the nirvana of mental vacuity and in which nobler natures lost nearly all of the best that life could give. For a few years, however, the masses were undeniably prosperous and contented, so small is the significance of mental power in an age of democracy and popular administration" It is the popular will which must bear the responsibility for the fate of France during the next two decades; the nation had voluntarily humbled itself and bowed its neck to an adroit adventurer

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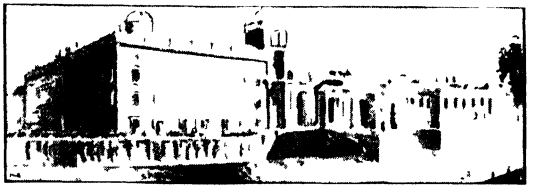
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THE RE-MAKING OF EUROPE



EUROPE IN REVOLUTION VI

THE PROBLEM OF THE GERMAN STATES AND THE VAIN SEARCH AFTER FEDERATION

ON May 18th, 1848, 586 representatives of every German race met in the Church of St Paul at Frankfort-on-Main to create a constitution corresponding to the national needs and desires The great majority of the deputies belonging to the National Assembly, in whose number were included many distinguished men, scholars, manufacturers, officials, lawyers, property owners of education and experience, were firmly convinced that the problem was capable of solution, and were honourably and openly determined to devote their best energies to the task In the days of "the dawn of the new freedom," which illumined the countenances of politicians in the childhood of their experience, flushed with yearning and expectation, the power of conviction, the blessing that would be produced by immovable principles were believed as gospel It was thought that the power of the Government was broken,

In "the Dawn of the New Freedom"

that the Government, willing or unwilling, was in the people's hands, and could accommodate itself to the conclusions of the German constituents Only a few were found to doubt the reliability of parliamentary institutions, and the possibility of discovering what the people wanted and of carrying out their wishes.

No one suspected that the experience of half a century would show the futility of seeking for popular unanimity, the division of the nation into classes at variance with one another, the disregard of right and reason by parliamentary, political, social, religious, and national parties as well as by princes, and the inevitability of solving every question which man is called upon to decide by the victory of the strong will over the weak

A characteristic feature of all theoretical political systems is very prominent in Liberalism, which was evolved from theory and not developed in practice This feature is the tendency to stigmatise all institutions which cannot find a place within the theoretical system as untenable, useless, and to be abolished in consequence , hence the first demand of the Liberal politician is the destruction of all existing organisation, in order that no obstacle may impede the erection of the theoretical structure

The Ideals of the Radicals

Liberals, like socialists and anarchists, argue that states are formed by establishing a ready-made system, for which the ground must be cleared as it is required They are invariably the pioneers to open the way for the Radicals, those impatient levellers who are ready to taste the sweets of destruction even before they have formed any plans for reconstruction, who are carried away by the glamour of idealism, though utterly incapable of realising any ideal, who at best are impelled only by a strong desire of "change," when they are not inspired by the greed which most usually appears as the leading motive of human action

Thus it was that the calculations of the German Liberals neglected the existence of the Federal Assembly, of the federation of the states, and of their respective governments They took no account of those forms in which German political life had found expression for centuries, and their speeches harked back by preference to a tribal organisation which the nation had long ago outgrown, and which even the educated had never correctly appreciated

They fixed their choice upon a constitutional committee, which was to discover the form on which the future German state would be modelled , they created

Obstacles to the Formation of a Constitution

a central power for a state as yet non-existent, without clearly and intelligibly defining its relations to the ruling governments who were in actual possession of every road to power Discussion upon the "central power" speedily brought to light the insurmountable obstacles to the formation of a constitution acceptable to every party, and this

without any interference on the part of the governments. The Democrats declined to recognise anything but an executive committee of the sovereign National Assembly, the Liberals made various proposals for a triple committee in connection with the governments. The bold mind of the president, Heinrich von Gagern, eventually soothed the uproar. He invited the Parliament to appoint, in virtue of its plenary powers, an Imperial Administrator who should undertake the business of the Federal Council, then on the point of dissolution, and act in concert with an imperial Ministry

The Popular Archduke John of Austria

The Archduke John of Austria was elected on June 24th, 1848, by 436 out of 548 votes, and the law regarding the central power was passed on the 28th Had the office of Imperial Administrator been regarded merely as a temporary expedient until the permanent forms were settled, the choice of the archduke would have been entirely happy, he was popular, entirely the man for the post, and ready to further progress in every department of intellectual and material life But it was a grievous mistake to expect him to create substance out of shadow, to direct the development of the German state by a further use of the "bold grasp," and to contribute materially to the realisation of its being

The Archduke John was a good-hearted man and a fine speaker, full of confidence in the "excellent fellows," and ever inclined to hold up the "bluff" inhabitants of the Alpine districts as examples to the other Germans, intellectually stimulating within his limits, and with a keen eye to economic advantage, but Nature had not intended him for a politician His political ideas were too intangible, he used words with no ideas behind them, and though his own experience had not always been of the pleasantest, it had not taught him the feeling then prevalent in Austrian court circles For the moment his election promised an escape from all manner of embarrassments. The governments could recognise his position without committing themselves to the approval of any revolutionary measure; they might even allow that his election was the beginning of an understanding with the reigning German houses. This, however, was not the opinion of the leading party in the National Assembly. The Conservatives, the Right, or the Right Centre, as they preferred to be called, were alone in their adherence to the sound principle that only by way of mutual agreement between the Parliament and the governments could a constitutional German body politic be established Every other party was agreed that the people must itself formulate its own constitution, as only so would it obtain complete recognition of its rights

Germany's Imperial Administrator

This fact alone excluded the possibility of success The decision of the question was indefinitely deferred, the favourable period in which the governments were inclined to consider the necessity of making concessions to the popular desires was wasted in discussion, and opportunity was given to particularism to recover its strength There was no desire for a federal union endowed with vital force and offering a strong front to other nations Patriots were anxious only to invest doctrinaire Liberalism and its extravagant claims with legal form, and to make the governments feel the weight of a vigorous national sentiment. The lessons of the French Revolution and its sad history were lost upon the Germans Those who held the fate of Germany in their hands, many of them professional politicians, were unable to conceive that their constituents were justified in expecting avoidance on their part of the worst of all political errors

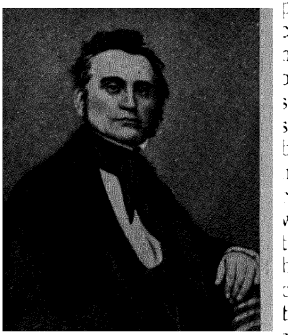
Hereditary Curse of the German

The great majority by which the central power had been constituted soon broke up into groups, too insignificant to be called political parties and divided upon wholly immaterial points The hereditary curse of the German, dogmatism and personal vanity, with a consequent distaste for voluntary subordination, positively devastated Monarchists and Republicans alike The inns were scarcely adequate in number to provide headquarters for a score of societies which considered the promulgation of political programmes as their bounden duty

On July 14th, 1848, the Archduke John made his entry into Frankfort, and the Federal Council was dissolved the same day. The Imperial Administrator established a provisional Ministry to conduct the business of the central power till he had completed the work at Vienna which his imperial nephew had entrusted to his care. At the beginning of August, 1848,

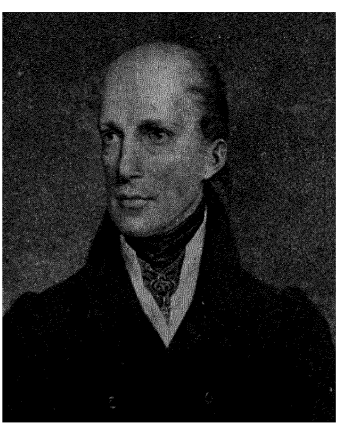
he established himself in Frankfort, and appointed Prince Friedrich Karl von Leiningen as the head of the Ministry, which also included the Austrian, Anton von Schmerling; the Hamburg lawyer, Moritz Heckscher; the Prussians, Hermann von Beckerath and General Eduard von Peucker; the Bremen senator, Arnold Duckwitz; and the Würtemberger, Robert von Mohl, professor of political science at Heidelberg.

To ensure the prestige of the central power, the Minister of War, Von Peucker, had given orders on August 6th for a general review of contingents furnished by the German states, who were to give three cheers to the Archduke John as imperial administrator. The mode in which this order was carried out plainly showed that the governments did not regard it as obligatory, and respected it only so far as they thought good. It was obeyed only in Saxony, Würtemberg, and the smaller states. Prussia allowed only her garrisons in the federal fortresses to participate in the parade; Bavaria ordered her troops to cheer the king before the imperial administrator. In Austria no notice was taken of the order, except in Vienna, as it affected the archduke; the Italian army did not trouble itself about the imperial Minister of War in the least.



HEINRICH VON GAGERN
This German statesman was president of the Frankfort Parliament in the year 1849, and it was mainly on his suggestion that an Imperial Administrator was appointed.

At the same time, the relations of the governments and the central power were by no means unfriendly. The King of Prussia did not hide his high personal esteem of the Imperial Administrator, and showed him special tokens of regard at the festivities held at Cologne on August 14th, 1848, in celebration of the six hundredth anniversary of the foundation of the cathedral. Most of the federal princes honoured him as a member of the Austrian House, and continued confidential relations with him for a considerable time. The German governments further appointed plenipotentiaries to represent their interests with the central power; these would have been ready to form a kind of Monarchical Council side by side with the National Assembly, and would thus have been highly serviceable to the imperial administrator as a channel of communication with the governments. But the democratic pride of the body which met in the Church of St. Paul had risen too high to tolerate so opportune a step towards a "system of mutual accommodation." On August 30th the central power was obliged to declare that the plenipotentiaries of the individual states possessed no competence to influence the decisions of the central power, or to conduct any systematic business. The new European power had notified its existence by special embassies to various foreign states, and received recognition in full from the Netherlands, Belgium, Sweden, Switzerland, and the United States of North America; Russia ignored it, while the attitude of France and Britain was marked by distrust and doubt. Austria was in the throes of internal convulsion during the summer of 1848 and unable seriously to consider the German question; possessing a confidential agent of pre-eminent position in the person of the Archduke John, she was able to reserve her decision. With Prussia, however, serious complications speedily arose from the war in Schleswig-Holstein. Parliament was aroused to great excitement by the armistice of Malmö, which Prussia concluded on August 26th, without consulting Max von Gagern, the imperial state secretary commissioned to



ARCHDUKE JOHN OF AUSTRIA
A "good-hearted man and a fine speaker," he was elected Imperial Administrator; he entered Frankfort on July 14th, 1848, and on the same day the Federal Council was dissolved, whereupon he established a provisional Ministry.

the duchies by the central power. The central power had declared the Schleswig-Holstein question a matter of national importance, and in virtue of the right which had formerly belonged to the Federal Council demanded a share in the settlement On September 5th, Dahlmann proposed to set on foot the necessary measures for carrying out the armistice, the proposal, when sent up by the Ministry for confirmation, was rejected by 244 to 230 votes Dahlmann, who was now entrusted by the Imperial Administrator with the formation of a new Ministry, was obliged to abandon the proposal after many days of fruitless effort Ignoring the imperial Ministry, the Assembly proceeded to discuss the steps to be taken with reference to the armistice which was already in process of fulfilment Meanwhile the democratic Left lost their majority in the Assembly, and the proposal of the committee to refuse acceptance of the armistice and to declare war on Denmark through the provisional central power was lost by 258 votes to 237

Revolution in Frankfort

This result led to a revolt in Frankfort, begun by the members of the Extreme Left under the leadership of Zitz of Mainz and their adherents in the town and in the neighbouring states of Hesse and Baden The town senate was forced to apply to the garrison of Mainz for military protection and to guard the meeting of the National Assembly on September 18th 1848, with an Austrian and a Prussian battalion of the line The revolutionaries, here as in Paris, terrified the Parliament by the invasion of an armed mob, and sought to intimidate the members to the passing of resolutions which would have brought on a civil war

Barricades were erected, and two deputies of the Right, Prince Felix Lichnowsky and Erdmann of Auerswald were cruelly murdered Even the long-suffering archducal administrator of the empire was forced to renounce the hope of a pacific termination of the quarrel. The troops were ordered to attack the barricades, and the disturbance was put down in a few hours with no great loss of life The citizens of Frankfort had not fallen into the trap of the "Reds," or given any support to the desperadoes with whose help the German republic was to be founded A few days later the professional revolutionary, Gustav Struve, met the fate he deserved, after invading Baden with an armed force from France, "to help the great cause of freedom to victory," he was captured at Lorrach on September 25th, 1848, and thrown into prison

Frankfort's Revolt Suppressed

The German National Assembly was now able to resume its meetings, but the public confidence in its lofty position and powers had been greatly shaken Had the radical attempt at intimidation proved successful, the Assembly would speedily have ceased to exist It was now able to turn its attention to the question of "fundamental rights," while the governments in Vienna and Berlin were fighting for the right of the executive power The suppression of the Vienna revolt by Windisch-Graetz had produced a marked impression in Prussia The conviction was expressed that the claims of the democracy to a share in the executive power by the subjects of the state and their interference in government affairs, were to be unconditionally rejected Any attempt to coerce the executive authorities was to be crushed by the sternest measures, by force of arms, if need be, otherwise the maintenance of order was impossible and without this there could be no peaceful enjoyment of constitutional rights It was clear that compliance on the part of the government with the demands of the revolutionary leaders would endanger the freedom of the vast majority of the population, the latter were ready to secure peace and the stability of the existing order of things by renouncing in favour of a strong government some part of those rights which Liberal theorists had assigned to them In view of the abnormal excitement then prevailing, such a programme necessitated severity and self-assertion on the part of the government This would be obvious in time of peace, but at the moment the fact was not likely to be appreciated

The Severe Measures of the Government

The refusal to fire a salute upon the occasion of a popular demonstration in Schweidnitz on July 31st, 1848, induced the Prussian National Assembly to take steps which were calculated to diminish the consideration and the respect of armed force, which was a highly beneficial influence in those troublous times The result was the retirement on September 7th of the Auerswald-Hansemann Ministry, which had been in office since June 25th; it was followed on September 21st by a

bureaucratic Ministry under the presidency of General Pfuel, which was without influence either with the king or the National Assembly The Left now obtained the upper hand As president they chose a moderate, the railway engineer, Hans Victor von Unruh, and as vice-president the leader of the Extreme Left, the doctrinaire lawyer, Leo Waldeck During the deliberations on the constitution they erased the phrase " By the grace of God " from the king's titles, and resolved on October 31st, 1848, to request the Imperial Government in Frankfort to send help to the revolted Viennese This step led to long continued communications between the Assembly and the unemployed classes, who were collected by the democratic agitators, and surrounded the royal theatre where the deputies held their sessions

On November 1st, 1848, news arrived of the fall of Vienna, and Frederic William IV determined to intervene in support of his kingdom He dismissed Pfuel and placed Count William of Brandenburg, son of his grandfather Frederic William II and of the Countess Sophia Juliana Friederika of Donhoff, at the head of a new Ministry He then despatched 15,000 troops, under General Friedrich von Wrangel, to Berlin, the city being shortly afterwards punished by the declaration of martial law The National Assembly was transferred from Berlin to Brandenburg The Left, for the purpose of " undisturbed " deliberation, repeatedly met in the Berlin coffee-houses, despite the prohibition of the president of the Ministry, but eventually gave way and followed the Conservatives to Brandenburg, after being twice dispersed by the troops Berlin and the Marks gave no support to the democracy

Martial Law in Berlin

The majority of the population dreaded a reign of terror by the " Reds " and were delighted with the timely opposition They also manifested their satisfaction at the dissolution of the National Assembly, which had given few appreciable signs of legislative activity in Brandenburg, at the publication on December 5th, 1848, of a constitutional scheme drafted by the Government, and the issue of writs for the election of a Prussian Landtag which was to revise the law of suffrage Some opposition was noticeable in the provinces, but was for the moment of a moderate nature. The interference of the Frankfort Parliament in the question of the Prussian constitution produced no effect whatever The centres of the Right and Left had there united and taken the lead, then proceeding to pass resolutions which would not hinder the Prussian Government in asserting its right to determine its own affairs Public opinion in Germany had thus changed, there was a feeling in favour of limiting the demands that might arise during the constitutional definition of the national rights, moreover, the majority of the nation had declined adherence to the tenets of radicalism It seemed that these facts were producing a highly desirable change of direction in the energies of the German National Assembly, the provisional central power was even able to pride itself upon a reserve of force, for the Prussian Government had placed its united forces, 326 000 men, at its disposal, as was announced by Schmerling, the imperial Minister, on October 23rd, 1848

Germany's Rejection of Radicalism

None the less an extraordinary degree of statesmanship and political capacity was required to cope with the obstacles which lay before the creation of a national federation organised as a state, with adequate power to deal with domestic and foreign policy But not only was this supreme political insight required of the national representatives, theirs, too, must be the task of securing the support of the Great Powers, without which the desired federation was unattainable

This condition did not apply for the moment in the case of Austria, whose decision was of the highest importance Here an instance recurred of the law constantly exemplified in the lives both of individuals and of nations, that a recovery of power stimulates to aggression instead of leading to discretion True wisdom would have concentrated the national aims upon a clearly recognisable and attainable object—namely, the transformation of the old dynastic power of the Hapsburgs into a modern state Such a change would of itself have determined the form of the federation with the new German state, which could well have been left to develop in its own way

Suppressing the Hungarian Revolution

Russian help for the suppression of the Hungarian revolt would have been unnecessary, it would have been enthusiastically given by the allied Prussian otate under Frederic William IV The

only tasks of Austria-Hungary for the immediate future would have been the fostering of her civilisation, the improvement of domestic prosperity, and the extension of her influence in the Balkan peninsula. Even her Italian paramountcy, had it been worth retaining, could hardly have been wrested from her. No thinking member of the House of Hapsburg could deny these facts at the present day. Possibly even certain representatives of that ecclesiastical power which has endeavoured for three centuries to make the Hapsburg dynasty the champion of its interests might be brought to admit that the efforts devoted to preserving the hereditary position of the Catholic dynasty in Germany led to a very injudicious expenditure of energy.

The Catholic Dynasty in Germany

But such a degree of political foresight was sadly to seek in the winter of 1848–1849. The only man who had almost reached that standpoint, the old Wessenberg, was deprived of his influence at the critical moment of decision. His place was taken by one whose morality was even lower than his capacity or previous training, and whose task was nothing less than the direction of a newly developed state and the invention of some modus vivendi between the outraged and insulted dynasty and the agitators, devoid alike of sense and conscience, who had plied the nationalities of the Austrian Empire with evil counsel. Prince Windisch-Graetz was quite able to overpower street rioters or to crush the "legions" of Vienna; but his vocation was not that of a general or a statesman.

However, his word was all-powerful at the court in Olmütz. On November 21st, 1848, Prince Felix Schwarzenberg became head of the Austrian Government. His political views were those of Windisch-Graetz, whose intellectual superior he was, though his decisions were in consequence the more hasty and ill-considered.



FREDERIC WILLIAM IV.
King of Prussia, he declined the imperial crown offered him by the Frankfort Diet in 1849. His reign was, on the whole, a disappointing one.

His policy upon German questions was modelled on that of Metternich. The only mode of action which commended itself to the Emperor Francis Joseph I., now eighteen years of age, was one promising a position of dignity, combining all the "splendour" of the throne of Charles the Great with the inherent force of a modern Great Power. A prince of chivalrous disposition, who had witnessed the heroic deeds of his army under Radetzky, with the courage to defend his fortunes and those of his state at the point of the sword, would never have voluntarily yielded his rights, his honourable position, and the family traditions of centuries, even if the defence of these had not been represented by his advisers as a ruler's inevitable task and as absolutely incumbent upon him.

The Frankfort Parliament had already discussed the "fundamental rights." It had determined by a large majority that personal union was the only possible form of alliance between any part of Germany and foreign countries; it had decided upon the use of the two-chamber system in the Reichstag, and had secured representation in the "Chamber of the States" to the governments even of the smallest states; it had made provision for the customs union until May 18th, 1849, at latest. Among the leaders of the Centre the opinion then gained ground that union with Austria would be impossible in as close a sense as it was possible with the other German states, and that the only means of assuring the strength and unity of the pure German states was to confer the dignity of emperor upon the King of Prussia. The promulgation of this idea resulted in a new cleavage of parties. The majority of the moderate Liberal Austrians seceded from their associates and joined the Radicals, Ultramontanes, and Particularists, with the object of preventing the introduction of Prussia as

Secessions Among the Liberals

an empire into the imperial constitution Schmerling resigned the presidency of the imperial Ministry The Imperial Administrator was forced to replace him by Heinrich von Gagern, the first president of the Parliament His programme was announced on December 16th, and proposed the foundation of a close federal alliance of the German states under Prussian leadership, while a looser federal connection was to exist with Austria, as arranged by the settlement of the Vienna Congress

After three days' discussion, on January 11th-14th, 1849, this programme was accepted by 261 members of the German National Assembly as against 224 Sixty Austrian deputies entered a protest against this resolution, denying the right of the Parliament to exclude the German Austrians from the German Federal State The Austrian Government was greatly disturbed at the promulgation of the Gagern programme and objected to the legislative powers of the Frankfort Assembly in general terms on February 7th, declaring her readiness to co-operate in a union of the German states and protesting against the "remodelling" of existing conditions Thus, she adopted a position corresponding to that of the federation of 1815. The decision now remained with the king. Frederic William IV , he accepted the imperial constitution of March 28th, 1849, and was forthwith elected Emperor of the Germans by 290 of the 538 deputies present

Frederic William Emperor of the Germans

The constitution in document form was signed by only 366 deputies, as the majority of the Austrians and the ultramontanes declined to acknowledge the supremacy of a Protestant Prussia The 290 electors who had voted for the king constituted however, a respectable majority Still, it was as representatives of the nation that they offered him the imperial Crown and they made their offer conditional upon his recognition of the imperial constitution which had been resolved upon in Frankfort It was therein provided that in all questions of legislation the decision should rest with the popular House in the Reichstag

The imperial veto was no longer unconditional, but could only defer discussion over three sittings. This the King of Prussia was unable to accept, if only for the reason that he was already involved in a warm discussion with Austria, Bavaria, and Wurtemberg upon the form of a German federal constitution which was to be laid before the Parliament by the princes

The despatch of a parliamentary deputation to Berlin was premature, in view of the impossibility of that unconditional acceptance of the imperial title desired and expected by Dahlmann and the professor of Konigsberg, Martin Eduard Simson, at that time president of the National Assembly The only answer that Frederic William could give on April 3rd, 1849, was a reply postponing his decision This the delegation construed as a refusal, as it indicated hesitation on the king's part to recognise the Frankfort constitution in its entirety The king erred in believing that an arrangement with Austria still lay within the bounds of possibility, he failed to see that Schwarzenberg only desired to restore the old Federal Assembly, while securing greater power in it to Austria than she had had under Metternich

Where the King Blundered

The royal statesman considered Hungary as already subjugated, and conceived as in existence a united state to be formed of the Austrian and Hungarian territories, together with Galicia and Dalmatia, he desired to secure the entrance of this state within the federation, which he intended to be not German but a Central European federation under Austrian leadership

On the return of the parliamentary deputation to Frankfort with the refusal of the King of Prussia, the work of constitution-building was brought to a standstill The most important resolutions, those touching the head of the empire, had proved impracticable The more farsighted members of the Parliament recognised this fact, and also saw that to remodel the constitution would be to play into the hands of the Republicans. However, their eyes were blinded to the fact that twenty-four petty states of different sizes had accepted the constitution, and they ventured to hope for an improvement in the situation The Liberals were uncertain as to the extent of the power which could be assigned to the nation. in contradistinction to the governments, without endangering the social fabric and the existence of civic society. To this lack of definite views is chiefly to be ascribed the fact that the German National Assembly allowed the Democrats to lead it into revolutionary tendencies, until it ended

The National Assembly Led by Democrats

its existence in pitiable disruption The Liberals, moreover, cannot be acquitted from the charge of playing the dangerous game of inciting national revolt with the object of carrying through the constitution which they had devised and drafted—a constitution, too, which meant a breach with the continuity of German historical development They fomented popular excitement and brought about armed risings of the illiterate mobs of Saxony, the Palatinate, and Baden The royal family were expelled from Dresden by a revolt on May 3rd, and Prussian troops were obliged to reconquer the capital at the cost of severe fighting on May 7th and 8th It was necessary to send two Prussian corps to reinforce the imperial army drawn from Hesse, Mecklenburg, Nassau, and Wurtemberg, for the overthrow of the republican troops which had concentrated at Rastadt

Royal Family Expelled From Dresden

Heinrich von Gagern and his friends regarded the advance of the Prussians as a breach of the peace in the empire The Gagern Ministry resigned, as the Archduke John could not be persuaded to oppose the Prussians The Imperial Administrator had already hinted at his retirement after the imperial election, but the Austrian Government had insisted upon his retention of his office, lest the King of Prussia should step into his place He formed a conservative Ministry under the presidency of the Prussian councillor of justice, Gravell, which was received with scorn and derision by the Radicals, who were now the dominant party in the Parliament More than a hundred deputies of the centres then withdrew with Gagern, Dahlmann, Welcker, Simson, and Mathy from May 12th to 26th, 1849

The Austrian Government had recalled the Austrian deputies on April 4th from the National Assembly, an example followed by Prussia on the 14th On May 30th, 71 of 135 voters who took part in the discussion supported Karl Vogt's proposal to transfer the Parliament from Frankfort to Stuttgart, where a victory for Suabian republicanism was expected In the end 105 representatives of German stupidity and political ignorance, including, unfortunately, Lewis Uhland, gave the world the ridiculous spectacle of the opening of the so-called Rump Parliament at Stuttgart on June 6th, 1849, which reached the crowning folly in the election of five "imperial regents" The arrogance of this company, which even presumed to direct the movements of the Wurtemberg troops, proved inconvenient to the government, which accordingly closed the meeting hall The first German Parliament then expired after a few gatherings in the Hôtel Marquardt

German "Stupidity and Ignorance"

The Imperial Government, the Administrator and his Ministry, retained their offices until December, 1849, notwithstanding repeated demands for their resignation A committee of four members, appointed as a provisional central power by Austria and Prussia, then took over all business, documentary and financial As an epilogue to the Frankfort Parliament, mention may be made of the gathering of 160 former deputies of the first German Reichstag, which had belonged to the "imperial party," The meeting was held in Gotha on June 26th Heinrich von Gagern designated the meeting as a private conference, however, he secured the assent of those present to a programme drawn up by himself which asserted the desirability of a narrower, "little German," federation under the headship of Prussia, or of another central power in association with Prussia

Proclamation of the Prussian Government

Upon the recall of the Prussian deputies from the Frankfort Parliament the Prussian Government issued a proclamation to the German people on May 5th, 1849, declaring itself henceforward responsible for the work of securing the unity which was justly demanded for the vigorous representation of German interests abroad, and for common legislation in constitutional form, that is, with the co-operation of a national house of representatives

In the conferences of the ambassadors of the German states, which were opened at Berlin on May 17th, the Prussian programme was explained to be the formation of a close federation exclusive of Austria, and the creation of a wider federation which should include the Hapsburg state Thus in theory had been discovered the form which the transformation of Germany should take. On her side Prussia did not entirely appreciate the fact that this programme could not be realised by means of ministerial promises alone, and that the whole power of the Prussian state would be required to secure its acceptance The nation, or rather the men to whom the nation had entrusted its future, also failed

to perceive that this form was the only kind of unity practically attainable, and that to it must be sacrificed those "guarantees of freedom" which liberal doctrinaires declared indispensable

It now became a question of deciding between a radical democracy and a moderate constitutional monarchy, and German Liberalism was precluded from coming to any honourable conclusion Regardless of consequences, it exchanged amorous glances with the opposition in non-Prussian countries, it considered agreement with the Government as treason to the cause of freedom and saw reaction where nothing of the kind was to be found It refused to give public support to aggressive Republicanism, fearing lest the people when in arms, should prove a menace to private property, and lose that respect for the growing wealth of individual enterprise which ought to limit their aspirations, at the same time, it declined to abate its pride, and continued to press wholly immoderate demands upon the authorities, to whom alone it owed the maintenance of the existing social order

The Prussians Hailed as Deliverers

The Baden revolt had been suppressed by the Prussian troops under the command of Prince William, afterwards emperor, who invaded the land which the Radicals had thrown into confusion, dispersed the Republican army led by Mieroslawski and Hecker in a series of engagements, and reduced, on July 23rd 1849, the fortress of Rastadt which had fallen into the hands of the Republicans The Liberals at first hailed the Prussians as deliverers, the latter however, proceeded by court-martial against the leaders, whose crimes had brought misery upon thousands and had reduced a flourishing province to desolation Seventeen death sentences were passed, and prosecutions were instituted against the mutinous officers and soldiers of Baden

The "free-thinking" party, which had recovered from its fear of the "Reds," could then find no more pressing occupation than to rouse public feeling throughout South Germany against Prussia and "militarism," and to level unjustifiable reproaches against the prince in command, whose clever generalship merited the gratitude not only of Baden but of every German patriot Even then a solution of the German problem might have been possible had the Democrats in South Germany laid aside their fear of Prussian "predominance," and considered their secret struggle against an energetic administration as less important than the establishment of a federal state, commanding the respect of other nations. But the success of the Prussian programme could have been secured only by the joint action of the whole nation Unanimity of this kind was a very remote possibility Fearful of the Prussian "reaction,' the nation abandoned the idea of German unity, to be driven into closer relations with the sovereign powers of the smaller and the petty states, and ultimately to fall under the heavier burden of a provincial reaction

Germany's Idea of Union Abandoned

Austria had recalled her ambassador, Anton, Count of Prokesch-Osten, from the Berlin Conference, declining all negotiation for the reconstitution of German interests upon the basis of the Prussian proposals, but she could not have despatched an army against Prussia in the summer of 1849 Even with the aid of her ally Bavaria she was unable to cope with the 300,000 troops which Prussia alone could place in the field at that time, in Hungary, she had been obliged to call in the help of Russia United action by Germany would probably have met with no opposition whatever But Germany was not united, the people as little as the princes, consequently when Prussia, after the ignominious failure of the Parliament and its high promise, intervened to secure at least some definite result from the national movement, her well-meaning proposals met with a rebuff as humiliating as it was undeserved.

The result of the Berlin Conferences was the "alliance of the three kings" of Prussia, Hanover, and Saxony on May 26th, 1849 Bavaria and Wurtemberg declined to join the alliance on account of the claims to leadership advanced by Prussia, but the majority of the other German states gave in their adherence in the course of the summer A federal council of administration met on June 18th, and made arrangements for the convocation of a Reichstag, to which was to be submitted the federal constitution when the agreement of the Cabinets thereon had been secured Hanover and Saxony then raised objections and recalled their representatives on the administrative council on October 20th. However, Prussia was able

Results of the Berlin Conferences

to fix the meeting of the Reichstag for March 20th, 1850, at Erfurt. Austria now advanced claims in support of the old federal constitution, and suddenly demanded that it should continue in full force. This action was supported by Bavaria, which advocated the formation of a federation of the smaller states,

Proposed Federation of States

which was to prepare another constitution as a rival to the "union" for which Prussia was working. The Saxon Minister, Beust, afterwards of mournful fame in Germany and Austria, who fought against the Saxon particularism, which almost surpassed that prevalent in Bavaria, and was guided by personal animosity to Prussia, became at that moment the most zealous supporter of the statesmanlike plans of his former colleague, Pfordten, who had been appointed Bavarian Minister of Foreign Affairs in April, 1849.

Hanover was speedily won over, as Austria proposed to increase her territory with Oldenburg, in order to create a second North German power as a counterpoise to Prussia, while Wurtemberg declared her adherence to the "alliance of the four kings" with startling precipitancy. The chief attraction was the possibility of sharing on equal terms in a directory of seven members with Austria, Prussia, and the two Hesses, which were to have a vote in common. The directory was not to exercise the functions of a central power, but was to have merely powers of "superintendence," even in questions of taxation and commerce. The claims of the Chambers were to be met by the creation of a "Reichstag," to which they were to send deputies.

Upon the secession of the kingdoms from Prussia, disinclination to the work of unification was also manifested by the electorate of Hesse, where the elector had again found a Minister to his liking in the person of Daniel von Hassenpflug. It would, however, have been quite

The King's Desire for Peace

possible to make Prussia the centre of a considerable power by the conjunction of all the remaining federal provinces had the Erfurt Parliament been entrusted with the task of rapidly concluding the work of unification. In the meantime Frederic William, under the influence of friends who favoured feudalism, Ernst Ludwig of Gerlach and Professor Stahl, had abandoned his design of forming a restricted federation, and was inspired with the invincible conviction that it was his duty as a Christian king to preserve peace with Austria at any price; for Austria, after her victorious struggle with the revolution, had become the prop and stay of all states where unlimited monarchy protected by the divine right of kings held sway.

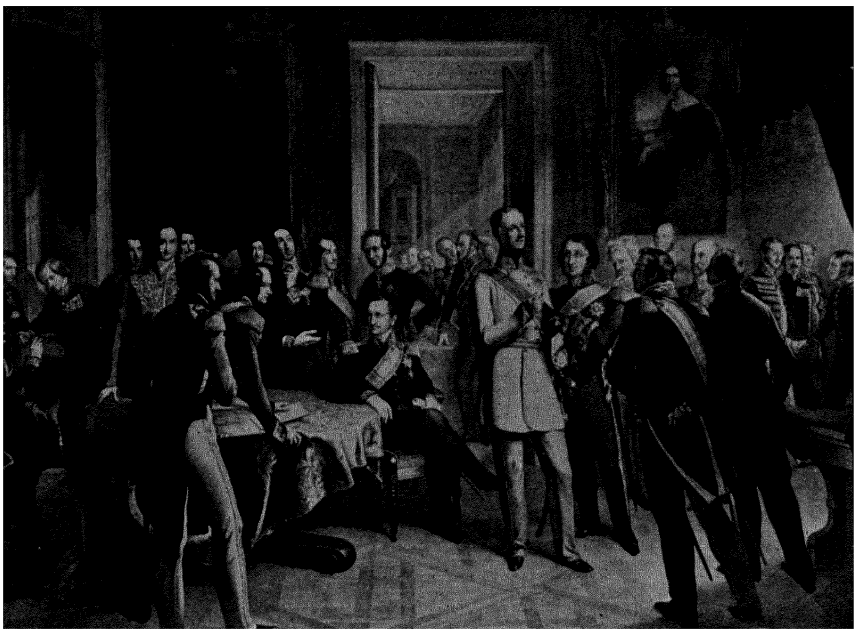
To guard this institution against Liberal onslaughts remained the ideal of his life, Prussian theories of politics and the paroxysms of German patriotism notwithstanding. He therefore rejected the valuable help now readily offered to him in Erfurt by the old imperial party of Frankfort, and clung to the utterly vain and unsupported hope that he could carry out the wider form of federation with Austria in some manner compatible with German interests. His hopes were forthwith shattered by Schwarzenberg's convocation of a congress of the German federal states at Frankfort, and Prussia's position became daily more unfavourable, although a meeting of the princes desirous of union was held in Berlin in May, 1850, and accepted the temporary continuance until July 15th, 1850, of the restricted federation under Prussian leadership.

Conditions of the Tsar's Neutrality

The Tsar Nicholas I was urgently demanding the conclusion of the Schleswig-Holstein complication, which he considered as due to nothing but the intrigues of malevolent revolutionaries in Copenhagen and the duchies. In a meeting with Prince William of Prussia, which took place at Warsaw towards the end of May, 1850, the Tsar clearly stated that, in the event of the German question resulting in war between Prussia and Austria, his neutrality would be conditional upon the restoration of Danish supremacy over the rebels in Schleswig-Holstein.

Henceforward Russia stands between Austria and Prussia as arbitrator. Her intervention was not as unprejudiced as Berlin would have been glad to suppose, she was beforehand determined to support Austria, to protect the old federal constitution, the Danish supremacy over Schleswig-Holstein, and the Elector of Hesse, Frederic William I, who had at that moment decided on a scandalous breach of faith with his people. This unhappy prince had already inflicted serious damage upon his country and its admirable population, he now proceeded to commit a crime against Germany by stirring up a fratricidal war, which was

fed by a spirit of pettifogging selfishness and despicable jealousy. A Liberal reaction had begun, and the spirit of national self-assertion was fading; no sooner had the elector perceived these facts than he proceeded to utilise them for the achievement of his desires. He dismissed the constitutional Ministry, restored Hassenpflug to favour on February 22nd, 1850, and permitted him to raise taxes unauthorised by the Chamber for the space of six months. The Chamber raised objections to this proceeding, and thereby gave



STRIVING FOR GERMAN UNITY: THE DRESDEN CONFERENCES OF 1850
In the search after federation, which occupied the attention of the German states, the differences between Austria and Prussia created a serious difficulty. The question of federal reform was discussed in free conferences at Dresden, one of these assemblies, with the delegates from the various states concerned, being represented in the above picture.

Hassenpflug a handle which enabled him to derange the whole constitution of the electorate of Hesse. On September 7th the country was declared subject to martial law. For this step there was not the smallest excuse; peace everywhere prevailed.

The officials who had taken the oaths of obedience to the constitution declined to act in accordance with the declaration, and their refusal was construed as rebellion. On October 9th the officers of the Hessian army resigned, almost to a man, to avoid the necessity of turning their arms upon their fellow-citizens, who were entirely within their rights. The long-desired opportunity of calling in foreign help was thus provided; but the appeal was not made to the board of arbitration of the union, to which the electorate of Hesse properly belonged, but to the Federal Council, which Austria had reopened in Frankfort on October 15th, 1850.

With the utmost readiness Count Schwarzenberg accepted the unexpected support of Hassenpflug, whose theories coincided with his own. The rump of the Federal Parliament, which was entirely under his influence, was summoned not only without the consent of Prussia but without any intimation to the Prusians Cabinet. This body at once determined to employ the federal power for the restoration of the elector to Hesse, though he had left Cassel of his own will and under no compulsion, fleeing to Wilhelmsbad with his Ministers at the beginning of September. Schwarzenberg was well aware that his action would place the King of Prussia

in a most embarrassing situation Federation and union were now in mutual opposition On the one side was Austria, with the kingdoms and the two Hesses, on the other was Prussia, with the united petty states, which were little better than worthless for military purposes Austria had no need to seek occasion to revenge herself for the result of the imperial election, which was ascribed to Prussian machinations, her opportunity was at hand in the appeal of a most valuable member of the federation, the worthy Elector of Hesse, to his brother monarchs for protection against democratic presumption, against the insanities of constitutionalism, against a forsworn and mutinous army Should Prussia now oppose the enforcement of the federal will in Hesse, she would be making common cause with rebels

Austria's Great Power in Germany

The Tsar would be forced to oppose the democratic tendencies of his degenerate brother-in-law, and to take the field with the Conservative German states, and with Austria, who was crowding on full sail for the haven of absolutism To have created this situation, and to have drawn the fullest advantage from it, was the masterstroke of Prince Felix Schwarzenberg's policy. Austria thereby reached the zenith of her power in Germany

The fate of Frederic William IV. now becomes tragical The heavy punishment meted out to the overweening self-confidence of this ruler, the fearful disillusionment which he was forced to experience from one whom he had treated with full confidence and respect, cannot but evoke the sympathy of every spectator. He had himself declined that imperial crown which Austria so bitterly grudged him He had rejected the overtures of the imperial party from dislike to their democratic theories He had begun the work of overthrowing the constitutional principles of the constitution of the union He had surrendered Schleswig-Holstein because his conscience would not allow him to support national against monarchical rights, and because he feared to expose Prussia to the anger of his brother-in-law He had opposed the exclusion of Austria from the wider federation of the German states He had always been prepared to act in conjunction with Austria in the solution of questions affecting Germany at large, while claiming for Prussia a right which was provided in the federal constitution—the right of forming a close federation, the right which, far from diminishing, would strengthen the power of the whole organism And now the sword was placed at his throat, equality of rights was denied to him, and he was requested to submit to the action of Austria as paramount in Germany, to submit to a federal executive, which had removed an imperial administrator, though he was an Austrian duke, which could only be reconstituted with the assent of every German government, and not by eleven votes out of seventeen!

The Sword at the King's Throat

For two months the king strove hard, amid the fiercest excitement, to maintain his position At the beginning of October, 1850 he sent assurances to Vienna of his readiness "to settle all points of difference with the Emperor of Austria from the standpoint of an old friend" He quietly swallowed the arrogant threats of Bavaria, and was not to be provoked by the warlike speeches delivered at Bregenz on the occasion of the meeting of the Emperor Francis Joseph with the kings of South Germany, on October 11th He continued to rely upon the insight of the Tsar, with whose ideas he was in full agreement, and sent Count Brandenburg to Warsaw to assure him of his pacific intentions, and to gain a promise that he would not allow the action of the federation in Hesse and Holstein to pass unnoticed Prince Schwarzenberg also appeared in Warsaw, and it seemed that there might be some possibility of an understanding between Austria and Prussia upon the German question Schwarzenberg admitted that the Federal Council might be replaced by free conferences of the German Powers, as in 1819, he did not, however, explain whether these conferences were to be summoned for the purpose of appointing the new central power, or whether the Federal Council was to be convoked for that object

War on the Horizon

He insisted unconditionally upon the execution of the federal decision in Hesse, which implied the occupation of the whole electorate by German and Bavarian troops This Prussia could not allow, for military reasons The ruler of Prussia was therefore forced to occupy the main roads to the Rhine province, and had already sent forward several thousand

men under Count Charles from the Groben to the neighbourhood of Fulda for this purpose The advance of the Bavarians in this direction would inevitably result in a collision with the Prussian troops, unless these latter were first withdrawn. Count Brandenburg returned to Berlin resolved to prevent a war which offered no prospect of success in view of the Tsar's attitude Radowitz, who had been Minister of Foreign Affairs since September 27th, 1850, called for the mobilisation of the army, and was inclined to accept the challenge to combat, he considered the Austrian preparations comparatively innocuous, and was convinced that Russia would be unable to concentrate any considerable body of troops on the Prussian frontier before the summer

On November 2nd, 1850, the king also declared for the mobilisation though with the intention of continuing negotiations with Austria, if possible, he was ready, however, to adopt Brandenburg's view of the situation, if a majority in the ministerial council could be found to support this policy Brandenburg succumbed to a sudden attack of brain fever on November 6th, not, as was long supposed, to vexation at the rejection of his policy of resistance, his work was taken up and completed by Manteuffel, after Radowitz had left the Ministry

Prussia's Failure in Germany

After the first shots had been exchanged between the Prussian and Bavarian troops at Bronzell, to the south of Fulda on November 8th he entirely abandoned the constitution of the union, allowed the Bavarians to advance upon the condition that Austria permitted the simultaneous occupation of the high roads by Prussian troops, and started with an autograph letter from the king and Queen Elizabeth to meet the Emperor Francis Joseph and his mother, the Archduchess Sophie, sister of the Queen of Prussia, in order to discuss conditions of peace with the Austrian Prime Minister Prince Schwarzenberg was anxious to proceed to extremities, but the young emperor had no intention of beginning a war with his relatives, and obliged Schwarzenberg to yield At the emperor's command he signed the stipulation of Olmutz on November 29th, 1850 under which Prussia fully satisfied the Austrian demands, receiving one sole concession in return—that the question of federal reform should be discussed in free conferences at Dresden Thus Prussia's German policy had ended in total failure She was forced to abandon all hope of realising the Gagern programme by forming a narrower federation under her own leadership, exclusive of popular representation direct or indirect Prussia lost greatly in prestige, the enthusiasm aroused throughout the provinces by the prospect of war gave place to bitter condemnation of the vacillation imputed to the king after the "capitulation of Olmutz" Even his brother, Prince William, burst into righteous indignation during the Cabinet Council of December 2nd, 1850, at the stain on the white shield of Prussian honour

The Reproach of Frederic William

Until his death, Frederic William IV was reproached with humiliating Prussia and reducing her to a position among the German states which was wholly unworthy of her Yet it is possible that the resolution which gave Austria a temporary victory was the most unselfish offering which the king could then have made to the German nation He resisted the temptation of founding a North German federation with the help and alliance of France, which was offered by Persigny, the confidential agent of Louis Napoleon Fifty thousand French troops had been concentrated at Strassburg for the realisation of this project They would have invaded South Germany and devastated Swabia and Bavaria in the cause of Prussia But it was not by such methods that German unity was to be attained, or a German Empire to be founded Renunciation for the moment was a guarantee of success hereafter

In his "Reflections and Recollections" Prince Bismarck asserts that Stockhausen, the Minister of War, considered the Prussian forces in November, 1850 inadequate to check the advance upon Berlin of the Austrian army concentrated in Bohemia He had received this information from Stockhausen, and had defended the king's attitude in the Chamber He also thinks he has established the fact that Prince William, afterwards his king and emperor, was convinced of the incapacity of Prussia to deal a decisive blow at that period He made no mention of his conviction that such a blow must one day be delivered, but this assurance seems to have grown upon him from that date

Problem of Germany's Future

THE RE-MAKING OF EUROPE



EUROPE IN REVOLUTION VII

REACTION IN CENTRAL EUROPE
AN ERA OF GENERAL STAGNATION

THE victory of Schwarzenberg in Olmütz gave a predominating influence in Central Europe to the spirit of the Tsar Nicholas I., the narrowness and bigotry of which is not to be paralleled in any of those periods of stagnation which have interrupted the social development of Europe. Rarely has a greater want of common sense been shown in the government of any Western civilised nation than was displayed during the years subsequent to 1850—a period which has attained in this respect a well-deserved notoriety. It is true that the preceding movement had found the nations immature, and therefore incapable of solving the problems with which they were confronted. The spirit was willing, but the flesh was unprepared.

Hindrances to Europe's Development

The miserable delusion that construction is a process as easy and rapid as destruction ; that a few months can accomplish what centuries have failed to perfect ; that an honest attempt to improve political institutions must of necessity effect the desired improvement ; the severance of the theoretical from the practical, which was the ruin of every politician—these were the obstacles which prevented the national leaders from making timely use of that tremendous power which was placed in their hands in the month of March, 1848. Precious time was squandered in the harangues of rival orators, in the formation of parties and clubs, in over-ambitious programmes and complacent self-laudation thereon, in displays of arrogance and malevolent onslaughts. Liberalism was forced to resign its claims ; it was unable to effect a complete and unwavering severance from radicalism ; it was unable to appreciate the fact that its mission was not to govern, but to secure recognition from the Government.

The Mission of Liberalism

The peoples were unable to gain legal confirmation of their rights, because they had no clear ideas upon the extent of those rights, and had not been taught that self-restraint which was the only road to success. Thus far all is sufficiently intelligible, and, upon a retrospect, one is almost inclined to think of stagnation as the result of a conflict of counterbalancing forces.

But one phenomenon there is, which becomes the more astonishing in proportion as it is elucidated by that pure light of impartial criticism which the non-contemporary historian can throw upon it—it is the fact that mental confusion was followed by a cessation of mental energy, that imperative vigour and interest were succeeded by blatant stupidity, that the excesses committed by nations in their struggle for the right of self-determination were expiated by yet more brutal exhibitions of the misuse of power, the blame of which rests upon the governments, who were the nominal guardians of right and morality in their higher forms. In truth a very moderate degree of wisdom in a few leading statesmen would have drawn the proper conclusions from the facts of the case, and have discovered the formulæ expressing the relation between executive power and national strength.

The Nations Suffering from Depression

But the thinkers who would have been satisfied with moderate claims were not to be found ; it seemed as if the very intensity of political action had exhausted the capacity for government, as if the conquerors had forgotten that they too had been struggling to preserve the state and to secure its internal consolidation and reconstitution, that the revolution had been caused simply by the fact that the corrupt and degenerate state was unable to perform what its subjects had the right to demand.

The nations were so utterly depressed by the sad experiences which they had brought upon themselves as to show themselves immediately sensible to the smallest advances of kindness and confidence. Irritated by a surfeit of democratic theory, the

political organism had lost its tone. A moderate allowance of rights and freedom would have acted as a stimulant, but the constitution had been too far lowered for hunger to act as a cure. Education and amelioration, not punishment, were now the mission of the governments which had recovered their unlimited power; but they were themselves both uninformed and unsympathetic. The punishment which they meted out was inflicted not from a sense of duty, but in revenge for the blows which they had been compelled to endure in the course of the revolution.



PROGRESSIVE AUSTRIAN MINISTERS

Count Leo Thun and A. von Bach, whose portraits are given above, were among the men of note who, after the storms of the revolutionary years, supported the enlightened policy of Joseph II. As Minister of Education, the former introduced compulsory education, put the national schools under state control, and assisted the universities.

Most fatal to Austria was the lack of creative power, of experienced statesmen with education and serious moral purpose. In this country an enlightened government could have attained its every desire. Opportunity was provided for effecting a fundamental change in the constitution; all opposition had been broken down, and the strong vitality of the state had been brilliantly demonstrated in one of the hardest struggles for existence in which the country had been engaged for three centuries. There was a new ruler, strong, bold, and well informed, full of noble ambition and tender sentiment, too young to be hidebound by preconceived opinion and yet old enough to feel enthusiasm for his lofty mission; such a man would have been the strongest conceivable guarantee of success to a Ministry of wisdom and experience capable of leading him in the path of steady progress and of respect for the national rights. The clumsy and disjointed Reichstag of Kremsier was dissolved on March 7th, and on March 4th, 1849, a constitution had been voluntarily promulgated, in which the Government had reserved to itself full scope for exercising an independent influence upon the development of the state. In this arrangement the kingdom of Hungary had been included after its subordinate provinces had severed their connection with the Crown of Stephen, obtaining special provincial rights of their own. The best administrative officials in the empire, Von Schmerling, Bach, Count Thun, and Bruck, were at the disposition of the Prime Minister for the work of revivifying the economic and intellectual life of the monarchy. No objection would have been raised to a plan for dividing the non-Hungarian districts into bodies analogous to the English county, and thus laying the impregnable foundations of a centralised government which would develop as the education of the smaller national entities advanced. The fate of Austria was delivered into the hands of the emperor's advisers; but no personality of Radetzky's stamp was to be found among them. The leading figure was a haughty nobleman, whose object and pleasure were to sow discord between Austria and the Prussian king and people, Austria's most faithful allies since 1815. It was in Frankfort, and not in Vienna or Budapest, that the Hapsburg state should have sought strength and protection against future periods of storm. Even at the present day the veil has not been wholly parted which then shrouded the change of political theory in the leading circles at the Vienna court. Certain, however, it is that this change was not the work of men anxious for progress, but was due to the machinations of political parasites who plunged one



GEORGE V. OF HANOVER

Succeeding his father on the throne of Hanover in 1851, the blind King George V. engaged in a long struggle with his people in defence of absolutism, and died an exile in Paris in 1878.

of the best-intentioned of rulers into a series of entanglements which a life of sorrow and cruel disappointments was unable to unravel The precious months of 1850, when the nation would thankfully have welcomed any cessation of the prevalent disturbance and terrorism, or any sign of confidence in its capacities, were allowed to pass by without an effort. In the following year the national enemies gained the upper hand, it was resolved to break with constitutionalism, and to reject the claims of the citizens to a share in the legislature and the administration In September, 1851, the Governments of Prussia and Sardinia were ordered to annul the existing constitutions.

The Great Tide of Reaction

This was a step which surpassed even Metternich's zeal for absolutism Schmerling and Bruck resigned their posts in the Ministry on January 5th and May 23rd, 1851, feeling their inability to make head against the reactionary movement. On August 20th, 1851, the imperial council for which provision had been made in the constitution of March 4th, 1849, was deprived of its faculty of national representation As the council had not yet been called into existence, the only interpretation to be laid upon this step was that the Ministry desired to re-examine the desirability of ratifying the constitution

On December 31st, 1851, the constitution was annulled, and the personal security of the citizens thereby endangered, known as they were to be in favour of constitutional measures The police and a body of gendarmes, who were accorded an unprecedented degree of licence, undertook the struggle, not against exaggerated and impracticable demands, but against Liberalism as such, while the authorities plumed themselves in the fond delusion that this senseless struggle was a successful stroke of statesmanship Enlightened centralisation would have found thousands of devoted coadjutors and have awakened many dormant forces, but the centralisation of the reactionary foes of freedom was bound to remain fruitless and to destroy the pure impulse which urged the people to national activity

The Dresden Conferences at Olmutz

The successes in foreign policy, by which presumption had been fostered, now ceased During the Dresden conferences, which had been held in Olmutz, Schwarzenberg found that he had been bitterly deceived in his federal allies among the smaller states, and that he had affronted Prussia to no purpose as far as Austria was concerned. His object had been to introduce such modifications in the Act of Federation as would enable Austria and the countries dependent on her to enter the German Federation, which would then be forced to secure the inviolability of the whole Hapsburg power. Britain and France declined to accept these proposals The German governments showed no desire to enter upon a struggle with two Great Powers to gain a federal reform which could only benefit Austria. Prussia was able calmly to await the collapse of Schwarzenberg's schemes

After wearisome negotiations, lasting from December, 1850, to May, 1851, it became clear that all attempts at reform were futile as long as Austria declined to grant Prussia the equality which she desired in the presidency and in the formation of the proposed "directory" Schwarzenberg declined to yield, and all that could be done was to return to the old federal system, and thereby to make the discreditable avowal that the collective governments were as powerless as the disjointed parliament to amend the unsatisfactory political situation In the federal palace at Frankfort-on-Main, where the sovereignty of that German National Assembly had been organised a short time before, the opinion again prevailed, from 1851, that there could be no more dangerous enemy to the state and to society than the popular representative The unfortunate Liberals, humiliated and depressed by their own incompetency, now paid the penalty for their democratic tendencies, they were branded as "destructive forces," and punished by imprisonment which should properly have fallen upon republican inconstancy

Severe Punishment of Liberals

The majority of the liberal constitutions which the revolution of 1848 had brought into existence were annulled, this step was quickly carried out in Saxony, Mecklenburg-Schwerin, and Wurtemberg, in June, September, and November, 1850, though the Chamber continued an obstinate resistance until August, 1855, in Hanover, where the blind King George V. had ascended the throne on November 18th, 1851 The favour of the federation restored her detested ruler to the electorate of Hesse. He positively revelled in the

cruelty and oppression practised upon his subjects by the troops of occupation His satellite, Hassenpflug, known as "Hessen-Fluch," the curse of Hesse, zealously contributed to increase the severity of this despotism by his ferocity against the recalcitrant officials, who considered themselves bound by their obligations to the constitution

In Prussia the reactionary party would very gladly have made an end of constitutionalism once and for all, but though the king entertained a deep-rooted objection to the modern theories of popular participation in the government, he declined to be a party to any breach of the oath which he had taken Bunsen and Prince William supported his objections to a coup d'état, which seemed the more unnecessary as a constitutional change in the direction of conservatism had been successfully carried through on February 6th, 1850

The system of three classes of direct representation was introduced at the end of April, 1849, taxation thus becoming the measure of the political rights exercised by the second Chamber The possibility of a labour majority in this Chamber was thus obviated The Upper Chamber was entirely remodelled Members were no longer elected, but were nominated by the Crown, seats were made hereditary in the different noble families, and the preponderance of the nobility was thus secured The institution of a full house of lords on October 12th, 1854, was not so severe a blow to the state as the dissolution of the parish councils and the reinstitution of the provincial Landtags in 1851

Prussia's House of Lords

Schleswig-Holstein was handed over to the Danes, the constitution of September 15th, 1848, and German "proprietary rights" were declared null and void by a supreme authority composed of Austrian, Prussian, and Danish commissioners By the London protocol of May 8th, 1852, the Great Powers recognised the succession of Prince Christian of Holstein-Glucksburg, who had married Princess Louise, a daughter of the Countess of Hesse, Louise Charlotte, sister of Christian VIII However, the German Federation did not favour this solution, the estates of the duchies, who had the best right to decide the question, were never even asked their opinion On December 30th, 1852, Duke Christian of Holstein-Augustenburg sold his Schleswig estates to the reigning house of Denmark for £337,500, renouncing his hereditary rights at the same time, though the other members of the family declined to accept the renunciation as binding upon themselves Thus the Danes gained but a temporary victory It was even then clear that after the death of King Frederic VII the struggle would be renewed for the separation of the German districts from the "Danish United States" A legacy of the national movement, the "German fleet," was put up to auction at this date The German Federation had no maritime interests to represent

The "German Fleet" Exposed to Auction

It declined the trouble of extorting a recognition of the German flag from the maritime Powers Of the four frigates, five corvettes, and six gunboats, which had been fitted out at a cost of £540,000, Prussia bought the larger part, after Hanoverian machinations had induced the Federal Council to determine the dissolution of the fleet on April 2nd, 1852 Prussia acquired from Oldenburg a strip of territory on the Jade Bay, and in course of time constructed a naval arsenal and harbour, Wilhelmshaven, which enabled her to appear as a maritime power in the Baltic

These facts were the more important as Prussia, in spite of violent opposition, had maintained her position as head of that economic unity which was now known as the "Zollverein" The convention expired on December 31st, 1853 From 1849, Austria had been working to secure the position, and at the tariff conference held in Wiesbaden in June, 1851, had secured the support of every state of importance within the Zollverein with the exception of Prussia Prussia was in consequence forced to renounce the preference for protective duties which she had evinced in the last few years, and, on September 7th, 1851, to join the free trade "Steuerverein," which Hanover had formed with Oldenburg and Lippe in 1834 and 1836 The danger of a separation between the eastern and western territorial groups was thus obviated, the Zollverein of Austria and the smaller German states were cut off from the sea and deprived of all the advantages which the original Prussian Zollverein had offered Austria now thought it advisable to conclude a commercial treaty with Prussia on favourable terms on February 19th, 1853, and to

Austria's Treaty with Prussia

leave the smaller states to their fate. In any case their continual demands for compensation and damages had become wearisome Nothing remained for them except to join Prussia Thus on April 4th, 1853, the Zollverein was renewed, to last until December 31st, 1865 It was an association embracing an area containing 35,000,000 inhabitants As after the fall of Napoleon I, so now the lion's share of the plunder acquired in the struggle against the revolution fell to the Church Liberalism had indeed rendered an important service to Catholicism by incorporating in its creed the phrase, "the Free Church in the Free State"

The Church's Large Share of Plunder

The Jesuits were well able to turn this freedom to the best account They demanded for the German bishops unlimited powers of communication with Rome and with the parochial clergy, together with full disciplinary powers over all priests without the necessity of an appeal to the state Nothing was simpler than to construe ecclesiastical freedom as implying that right of supremacy for which the Church had yearned during the past eight centuries

The Archbishop of Freiburg pushed the theory with such brazen effrontery that even the reactionary government was forced to imprison him However, in Darmstadt and Stuttgart the governments submitted to the demands of Rome Parties in the Prussian Chamber were increased by the addition of a new Catholic party, led by the brothers Reichensperger, to which high favour was shown by the "Catholic Contingent" in the ministry of ecclesiastical affairs—a party created by the ecclesiastical minister, Eichhorn, in 1841

There was no actual collision in Prussia between ultramontanism and the temporal power. The Government favoured the reaction in the Protestant Church, which took the form of an unmistakable rapprochement to Catholicism The Powers were committed to a policy of mutual counsel and support Stahl, Hengstenberg, and Gerlach, who had gained complete ascendancy over Frederic William IV. since the revolution, were undermining the foundations of the Protestant creed, especially the respect accorded to inward conviction, on which the whole of Protestantism was based In the "regulations" of October, 1854, the schools were placed under Church supervision, and in the "Church Councils" reaction was made supreme When Bunsen advanced to champion the cause of spiritual freedom, he gained only the honourable title of "devastator of the Church"

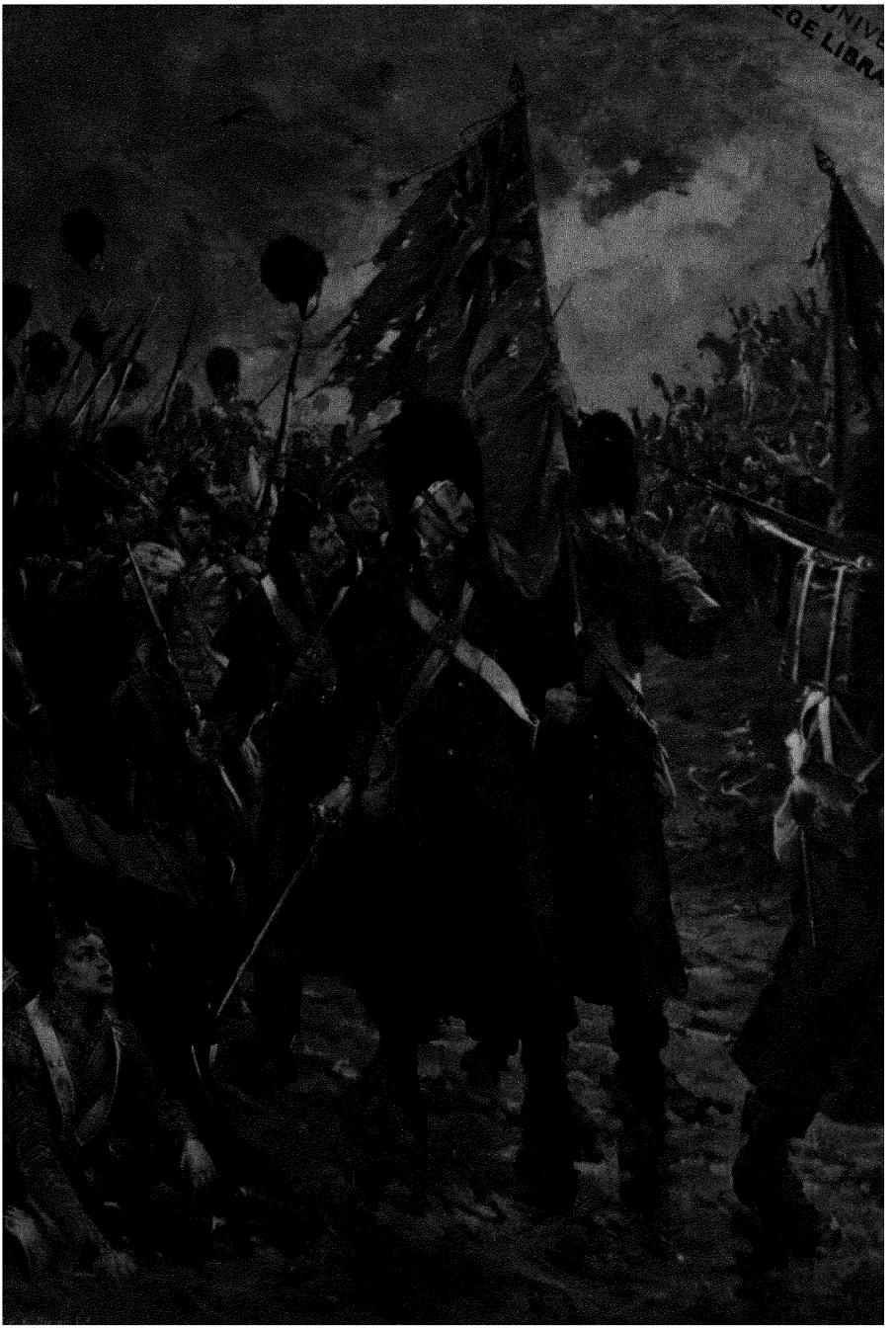
Reaction in Protestant Church

In Austria the rights of the liberal rationalists were flouted even more completely than in Russia by the conclusion of the notorious concordat of August 18th, 1855 This agreement was the expression of an alliance between ultramontanism and the new centralising absolutism The hierarchy undertook for a short period to oppose the national parties and to commend the refusal of constitutional rights In return the absolutist state placed the whole of its administration at the disposal of the Church, and gave the bishops unconditional supremacy over the clergy, who had hitherto used the position assigned to them by Joseph II for the benefit of the people, and certainly not for the injury of the Church The Church thus gained a spiritual preponderance which was used to secure her paramountcy The example of Austria was imitated in the Italian states, which owed their existence to her Piedmont alone gathered the opponents of the Roman hierarchy under her banner, for this government at least was determined that no patriot should be led astray by the great fiction of a national Pope In Spain the Jesuits joined the Carlists, and helped them to carry on a hopeless campaign, marked by a series of defeats In Belgium, on the other hand, they secured an almost impregnable position in 1855, and fought the Liberals with their own weapons Only Portugal, whence they had first been expelled in the eighteenth century, kept herself free from their influence in the nineteenth, and showed that even a Catholic government had no need to fear the threats of the Jesuits

The Strong Hand of Rome

Rome had set great hopes upon France, since Louis Napoleon's "plebiscites" had been successfully carried out with the help of the clergy But the Curia found France a prudent friend, not to be caught off her guard The diplomatic skill of Napoleon III was never seen to better advantage than in his delimitation of the spheres respectively assigned to the temporal and the spiritual Powers. Even the Jesuits were unable to fathom his intentions.

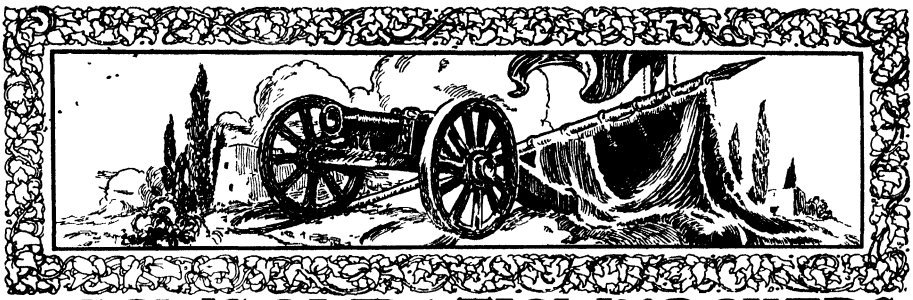
HANS VON ZWIEDINECK-SUDENHORST



SAVING THE COLOURS: THE GUARDS AT THE BATTLE OF INKERMAN IN 1854

From the painting by Robert Gibb, R.S.A., by permission of Mr. E. Bruce-Low

TO FACE PAGE 4074



The CONSOLIDATION of the POWERS

THE UNITED KINGDOM IN THE MID-VICTORIAN ERA

By Arthur D. Innes, M.A.

THE fall of Sir Robert Peel, in 1846, had been effected almost at the moment when the Duke of Wellington was persuading the House of Lords to swallow the repeal of the Corn Laws, the crowning accomplishment of Peel's career. It was achieved by a combination of angry Protectionists and angry Irishmen, who united to throw out a government measure for coercion in Ireland. The potato famine had definitely completed the conversion of both Peel and the Whigs to the doctrines of the Anti-Corn Law League, and was followed by earnest efforts for the relief of distress.

But distress itself had, as usual, intensified discontent, generating agrarian outrages, and relief and coercion were proffered simultaneously. The unconverted chiefs of what had been Peel's party saw their opportunity, and the adverse vote brought about Peel's resignation. Lord John Russell formed a Whig Ministry, with Palmerston as Foreign Secretary—which position he had occupied in Melbourne's time—and the Peelites, regarding the question of Free Trade as of primary importance, gave the Government a support which secured its continuity. The improvement in the condition of the working classes, coupled with the British inclination to distrust the political efficacy of syllogisms expressed in terms of physical force, made Great Britain almost the only European country where nothing revolutionary took place in the year of revolutions, 1848. The monster petition of the Chartists was its most alarming event.

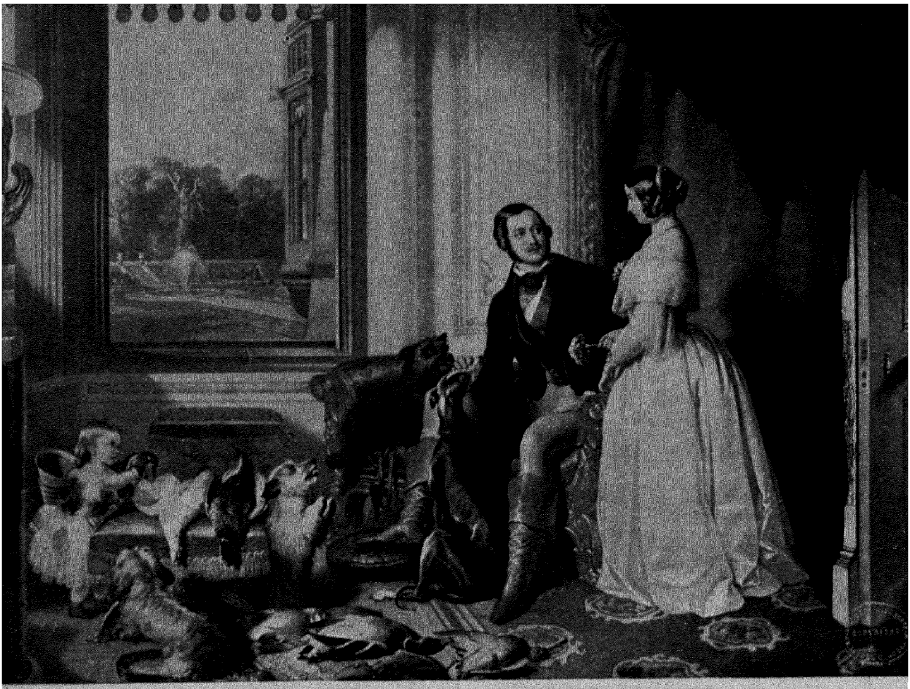
Great Britain in the Year of Revolutions

The death of O'Connell, however, in the previous year had deprived the Irish of a leader who had always set his face against the methods of violence, and Ireland did not escape without an abortive insurrection headed by Smith O'Brien. The leaders were taken, condemned to death for high treason, had their sentences commuted to transportation, and were subsequently pardoned—more than one of those associated with the movement achieved distinction in later years in the political service of the British Empire.

Lord Palmerston at the Foreign Office

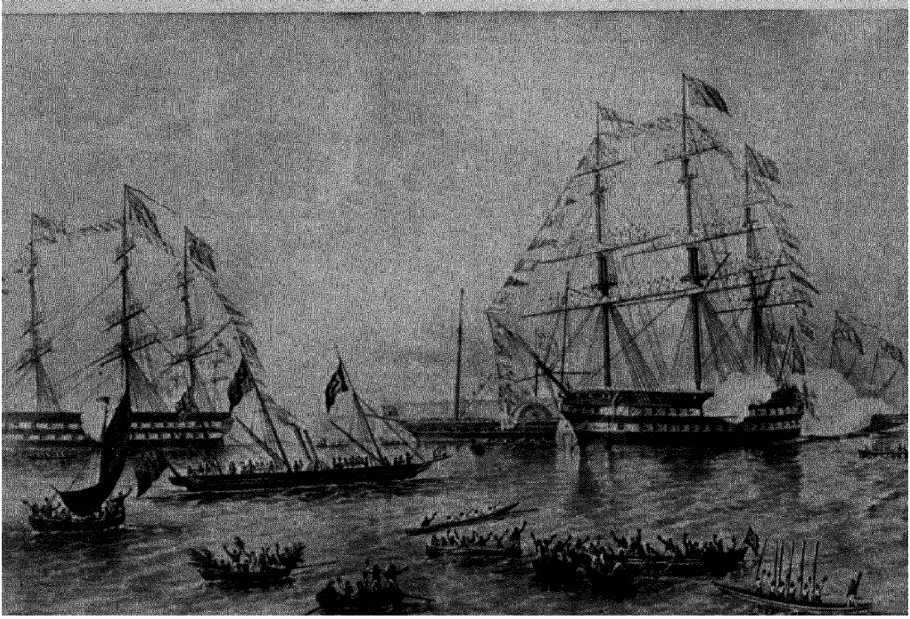
Palmerston's activities at the Foreign Office, however, were a source of considerable disquietude at this period. Forty years of parliamentary life, many of them passed in office first as a Tory, later as a Canningite, and finally as a Whig, had not produced in that persistently youthful statesman any inclination in favour of the further democratisation of the British Constitution, or of what in his younger days would have been called Jacobinism abroad, but he was a convinced advocate of freedom as he understood it and as Canning had understood it. He saw in revolutionary movements a disease engendered by despotic systems of government, and being alive to the European ferment, he took upon himself to warn the despotic governments that they would do well to apply the remedy of constitutionalism before the disease became dangerous.

The despotic governments, recognising no difference between the disease itself and the remedy, held him guilty not only of officiousness in tendering advice which



QUEEN VICTORIA AND THE PRINCE CONSORT

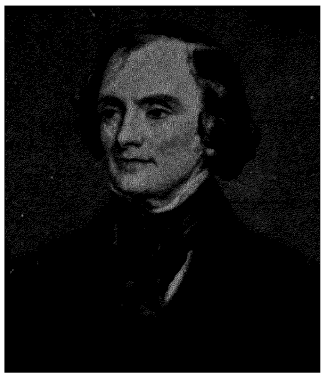
From the painting by Sir Edwin Landseer, R.A.



THE ROYAL VISIT TO IRELAND IN 1849: THE FLEET IN CORK HARBOUR

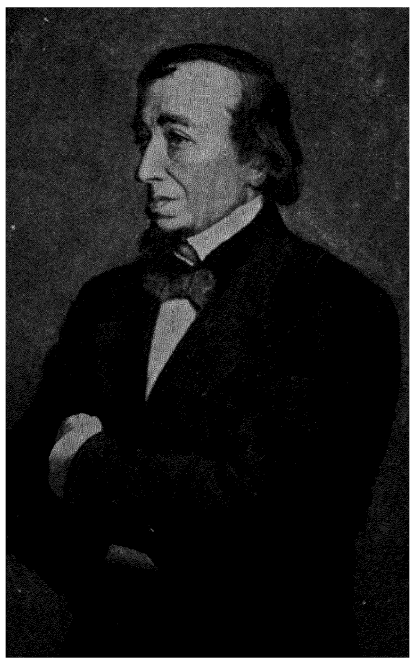
was unasked, but of fomenting revolution in their dominions, and were not unnaturally resentful, although, as a matter of fact, they would have profited greatly by paying heed to his well-meant warnings.

The attacks in Parliament on his "meddling" policy were successfully met in 1849, and public opinion endorsed his view that Britain ought to make her opinions felt in foreign countries — that, in fact, she would not be adequately discharging the responsibilities of her great position in the world unless she did so. Nevertheless, his methods were irritating not only to foreign potentates, but to his own sovereign, who frequently found that her Foreign Minister was committing the Government without her knowledge to declarations which she could only endorse because it would have been impossible to retract them with dignity, his colleagues being consulted as little as herself.



LORD JOHN RUSSELL
He was twice Prime Minister, first in 1846 on the formation of a Whig Ministry following the defeat of Peel, and again in 1865, on the death of Lord Palmerston. He was created Earl Russell in 1861, and he died in 1878.

In 1850 the queen sent a memorandum to Russell, requiring that she should be kept adequately informed before, not after, the event, of any steps which the Foreign Minister intended to take. The immediate cause of the memorandum was connected with Palmerston's attitude on the Schleswig-Holstein question, regarding which she and her husband, Prince Albert, favoured the German view, to which Palmerston was opposed. Another incident illustrative of the Foreign Minister's high-handed methods was the "Don Pacifico" affair. Don Pacifico was a Jew from Gibraltar, a British subject, residing in Greece, whose house and property were damaged in a riot. Palmerston took up his claim for compensation as an international instead of a personal affair, sent the fleet to the Piræus, the harbour of Athens, and seized Greek merchant vessels. Russia adopted a threatening attitude, to which Palmerston had no disposition to yield. The French Republic, under the presidency of Louis Napoleon, was indignant at the action of Great Britain, but still more indignant at being ignored by Russia. Palmerston accepted French mediation — not arbitration; there were further complications, in which the French thought that Albion was showing her historic perfidy; but the whole affair was too trivial to involve two great nations in a war over mere diplomatic proprieties, and the quarrel was patched up. This incident was the inciting cause of a formal attack on Palmerston's foreign policy, which resulted in a vote of censure in the Upper Chamber, in consequence of which a resolution of confidence was introduced in the Commons. Peel himself was on the side of the Opposition, but Palmerston vindicated his principles in a wonderful speech— the "civis Romanus



THE EARL OF BEACONSFIELD
Eminent as statesman and novelist, Benjamin Disraeli, afterwards Lord Beaconsfield, made a great reputation in the political world, though his maiden speech in the House of Commons was greeted with derisive laughter. He twice held the high office of Prime Minister.



THE GREAT EXHIBITION OF 1851: QUEEN VICTORIA AND THE PRINCE CONSORT AT THE OPENING CEREMONY IN HYDE PARK

The Exhibition of the Industry of all Nations, which owed its inception to the enterprise and energy of the Prince Consort, did much to extend a knowledge of the world's manufactures, and gave an impetus to commercial activity. Held in Hyde Park in a building which covered nineteen acres of ground, it remained open for twenty-three weeks, and during that time was visited by upwards of six million persons. The above picture shows the inauguration of the Exhibition on May 1st, by Queen Victoria and the Prince Consort.

From the painting by H. C. Selous in the South Kensington Museum

sum" speech—which carried the House and the country triumphantly with him. The year also witnessed one of those "No Popery" waves of excitement which periodically break upon England. The Tractarian movement had produced in the mind of Cardinal Wiseman the notion that the heretical island stood in need of conversion. The Pope issued a Bull setting up a Roman hierarchy in England, with territorial titles, an assumption of authority contravening the constitutional principle of the royal supremacy. In response to the popular excitement created, the Government introduced the "Ecclesiastical Titles" Bill, which was naturally opposed by the Roman Catholics and also by all who saw in it an interference with the principle of religious liberty. The Government, feeling its position to be somewhat precarious, took advantage of its own defeat on a snap vote—a symptom of the now growing demand for further electoral reform—to resign, and thereby to demonstrate the impossibility of any other working administration being constructed. It resumed office in February, 1851, and carried the Bill in a modified form, but the Act remained practically a dead letter till its repeal twenty years later. The queen's memorandum in the previous November, somewhat to the public surprise, had not been followed by Palmerston's resignation; apparently he had accepted the rebuke in good part, and promised to consult the queen's wishes. But his practice remained unaltered. The arrival in England of the Hungarian leader, Kossuth, was the occasion of a display of sympathy which was at best a breach of international etiquette, Kossuth being technically a rebel. At the moment when Palmerston was being taken to task for neglect of his promise to pay proper attention to the queen's wishes in this affair, Louis Napoleon in France carried out the coup d'état which he had been preparing, and established himself as a dictator. Palmerston persuaded himself that the British Foreign Minister could express his personal approval in a conversation with the French ambassador without committing the Cabinet, the Crown, or the country. The other parties concerned did not accept that view, and Palmerston's resignation was demanded. But he had hardly been dismissed when he got his "tit-for-tat with John Russell," as he

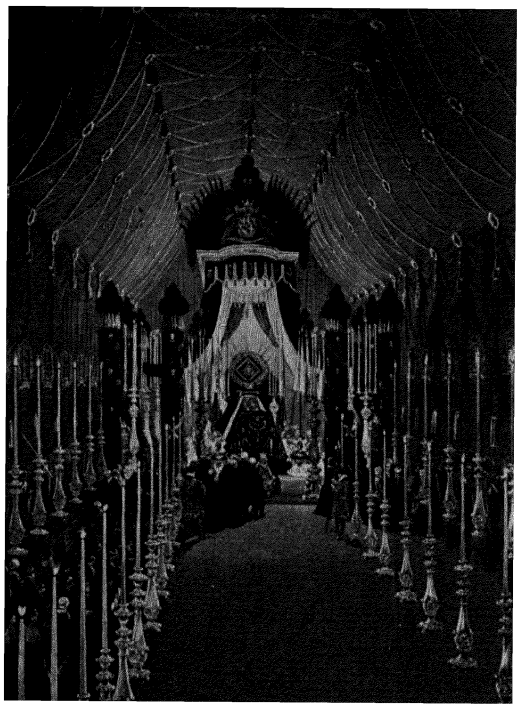


LORD ABERDEEN'S FAMOUS COALITION MINISTRY

On the defeat of the Derby government in December, 1852, Lord Aberdeen formed a coalition Ministry of Whigs and Peelites with Gladstone as Chancellor of the Exchequer, Russell at the Foreign and Palmerston at the Home Office.

From the painting by Sir John Gilbert, R.A. Photo by Walker

expressed it. Napoleon's coup d'état had its alarming side for Great Britain, as a probable prelude to an aggressive French policy, of which the Napoleonic tradition would make England the primary object of hostility. A Bill was accordingly introduced for the reorganisation of the militia. The scheme proposed was not felt to be satisfactory; Palmerston headed the attack, the Ministry were defeated, and the Government was undertaken by the Conservative chief, Lord Derby, with Disraeli as his Chancellor of the Exchequer and Leader of the House of Commons, in February, 1852. The most notable of the actual achievements of the Russell administration had been the application in Australia, by an Act of 1850, of those principles of colonial government which had been inaugurated by the Canadian Act of Reunion. The new Ministry carried a new Militia Bill and then dissolved, apparently with a view to taking the sense of the country on the Free Trade policy which had brought the Liberals into office.



THE DEATH OF THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON
The long and illustrious life of the Duke of Wellington came to an end in 1852, the hero of Waterloo passing peacefully away on September 14th, in his arm-chair at Walmer. In the above picture the body of the distinguished general, who was laid to rest with great pomp in St. Paul's Cathedral, is seen lying in state at Chelsea Hospital.

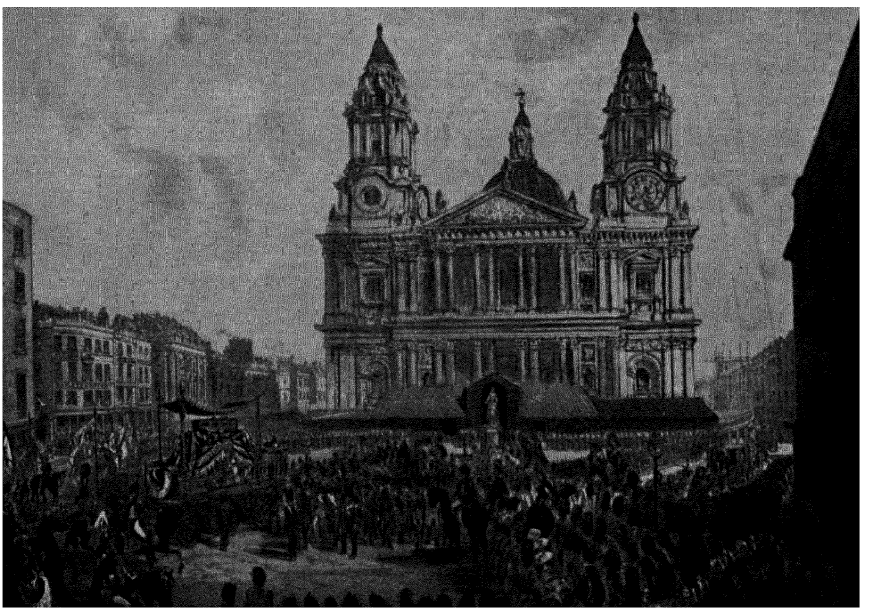
The Ministerialists, however, did not definitely commit themselves to a Protectionist programme, and the question was brought to a direct issue in the Commons by a resolution affirming the principle of Free Trade, which, in amended form, was accepted and carried by an overwhelming majority. Fifty years were to pass before the discovery that the revolutionary economic doctrine of 1846 to which the country declared itself definitely converted in 1852 was an exploded antediluvian fallacy. In the interval, the scanty handful of its opponents were but feeble voices crying in the wilderness. The theory of Protection being so effectively scotched as to be apparently killed, the ex-Protectionists—who had maintained the old doctrine not from the manufacturing, but from the agrarian point of view—fell back on the principle that the landed interest, which the old system had protected, required relief now that the protection was withdrawn; and to this end Disraeli constructed his Budget. But his extremely ingenious redistribution of the burden of taxation failed to attract the approval of economists of other schools, or of those interests which did not desire the land to be relieved at their expense. The Budget debate marked conspicuously the opening of the long personal rivalry between its proposer, Disraeli, and its strongest critic, William Ewart Gladstone. The Government was defeated, and resigned in December, 1852. The Ecclesiastical Titles Bill, which had been a barrier between Whigs and Peelites, had already vanished into limbo, and the Ministry which now took office was formed by a coalition of those two parties. The Peelite, Lord Aberdeen, was its head, Gladstone its Chancellor of the Exchequer, Russell was at the Foreign Office, and Palmerston Home Secretary.

Before the fall of the Conservatives, a great figure had passed from the stage. A little more than two years after his

closest political associate, Sir Robert Peel, the "Iron Duke" died in September, at the age of eighty-three. Forty years before, he had proved himself the greatest captain in Europe save one; and his, in the eyes of Europe, had been the triumph of vanquishing that one. To him more than to anyone else France owed it that she had been generously treated when the war was ended; his was probably the most decisively moderating influence among the statesmen whose task it was to restore order in Europe. But while he possessed high qualities of statesmanship, they were not those adapted to parliamentary government. As a Minister he was a failure; as a counsellor his judgment always carried very great weight. His unqualified patriotism, his complete subordination of personal interests to what he conceived to be the welfare of the state, his perfect sincerity, his transparent honesty, and his conspicuous moral courage, made him a unique figure, and fully justified the universal popularity which came to him tardily enough, and the genuine passion of mourning with which the whole nation received the tidings of his death. Wellington had overthrown the first Napoleon. Eleven weeks after he had breathed his last, "the nephew of his uncle" was proclaimed Emperor of the French with the title of Napoleon III. The famous coalition Ministry opened its career with the first of the brilliant series of Gladstone Budgets, introduced in a speech which revealed the hitherto unsuspected fact that figures can be made fascinating. But even the charm of the Budget was soon to be overshadowed by the war clouds in the East. So far as the preliminaries of the Crimean war are concerned with French and Russian rivalries



THE DEFENDER OF SEBASTOPOL General Todleben, a distinguished Russian soldier and military engineer, held Sebastopol against the British, displaying great resource and energy until he was severely wounded.



BURIAL OF THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON · THE FUNERAL CAR ARRIVING AT ST. PAUL'S

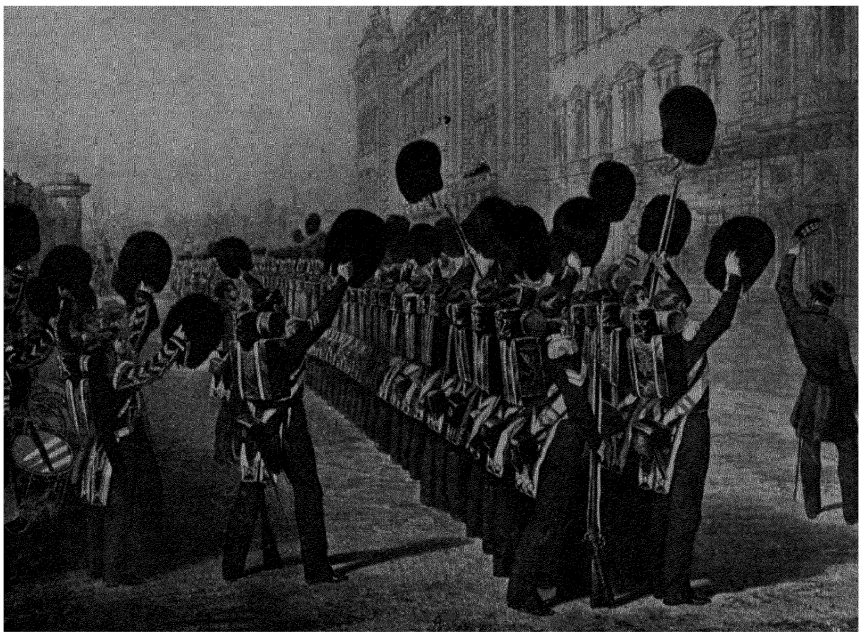


QUEEN VICTORIA AS SHE APPEARED IN THE YEAR 1852

and with matters outside British interests, they will be dealt with in the chapter following. Here we observe that in the beginning of 1853 the Tsar was assuming a threatening attitude towards the Porte on the hypothesis that Russia was the protector of the Greek Church Christians in the Turkish dominions; and that France, in the character of protector of the Latin Christians, regarded the Russian attitude as merely a pretext for absorbing the Danube states. A similar view was entertained in England, where the Tsar had already made suggestions regarding the ultimate partition of the Turkish Empire, which he regarded as practically inevitable.

England, however, and Palmerston in particular, looked upon the maintenance of the independence of Turkey as a necessity, if for no other reason because Russian expansion in the direction either of India or of the Mediterranean appeared exceedingly dangerous to the interests of Great Britain. It may be remembered that the Afghan war of 1839 had been the outcome of Persian aggressions which were universally regarded as prompted by Russia.

Russia maintained her claim to protect the Christians in the Danube provinces; Turkey declined her demand for guarantees; the rest of the Powers upheld Turkey. Negotiations failing, Russia occupied the provinces in July as a proceeding warranted by her treaty rights. The Powers might, by the exercise of joint pressure, have compelled Russia to retire, but a mere evacuation would not have satisfied either Napoleon or Palmerston. Aberdeen, on the other hand, allowed his aversion to war to be so obvious that the Tsar probably felt quite satisfied that Britain would not join France in an appeal to arms, and that Napoleon would not venture on that appeal single-handed. The temper of the country, however, was clearly in favour of Palmerston's views, and in July the French and British fleets were despatched to Besika Bay. The "Vienna Note," a proposal formulated by the Powers in conference at Vienna, was amended by Turkey and rejected by Russia in August. Everywhere popular feeling was rising; an anti-Christian émeute was feared in Constantinople, and the French and British fleets were ordered to the Dardanelles in October, ostensibly to protect the Christians. Before the close of the month Turkey declared war on Russia, to which the Tsar replied by declaring that he would not take the offensive. The Turks crossed the Danube, and fighting began. But when a Russian squadron fell upon some Turkish ships in the harbour of Sinope and destroyed them on September 30th, the action was regarded as proving the insincerity of the Tsar's declarations. Aberdeen found himself obliged to consent to the occupation of the Black Sea by the allied fleets on December 27th. The

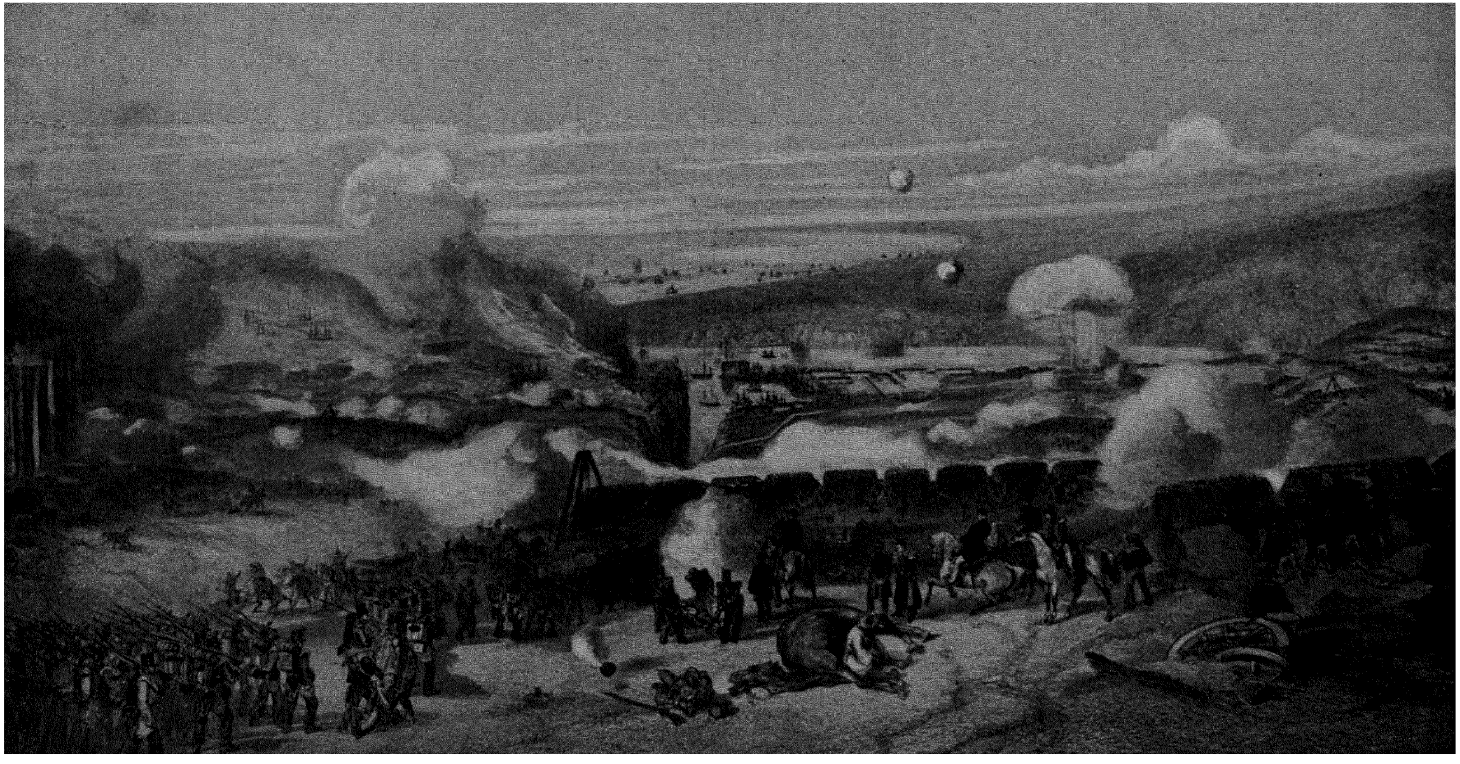


THE QUEEN REVIEWING THE SCOTS GUARDS ON THEIR DEPARTURE FOR THE CRIMEA IN 1854
The aggression of Russia, involved by her claim of 1853 to be protector of the Orthodox Greek Christians in the Turkish dominions, was naturally resented by Turkey. Both Britain and France took the side of the latter, and on March 27th, 1854, declared war on Russia, whence followed all the miseries and suffering of the Crimean war.



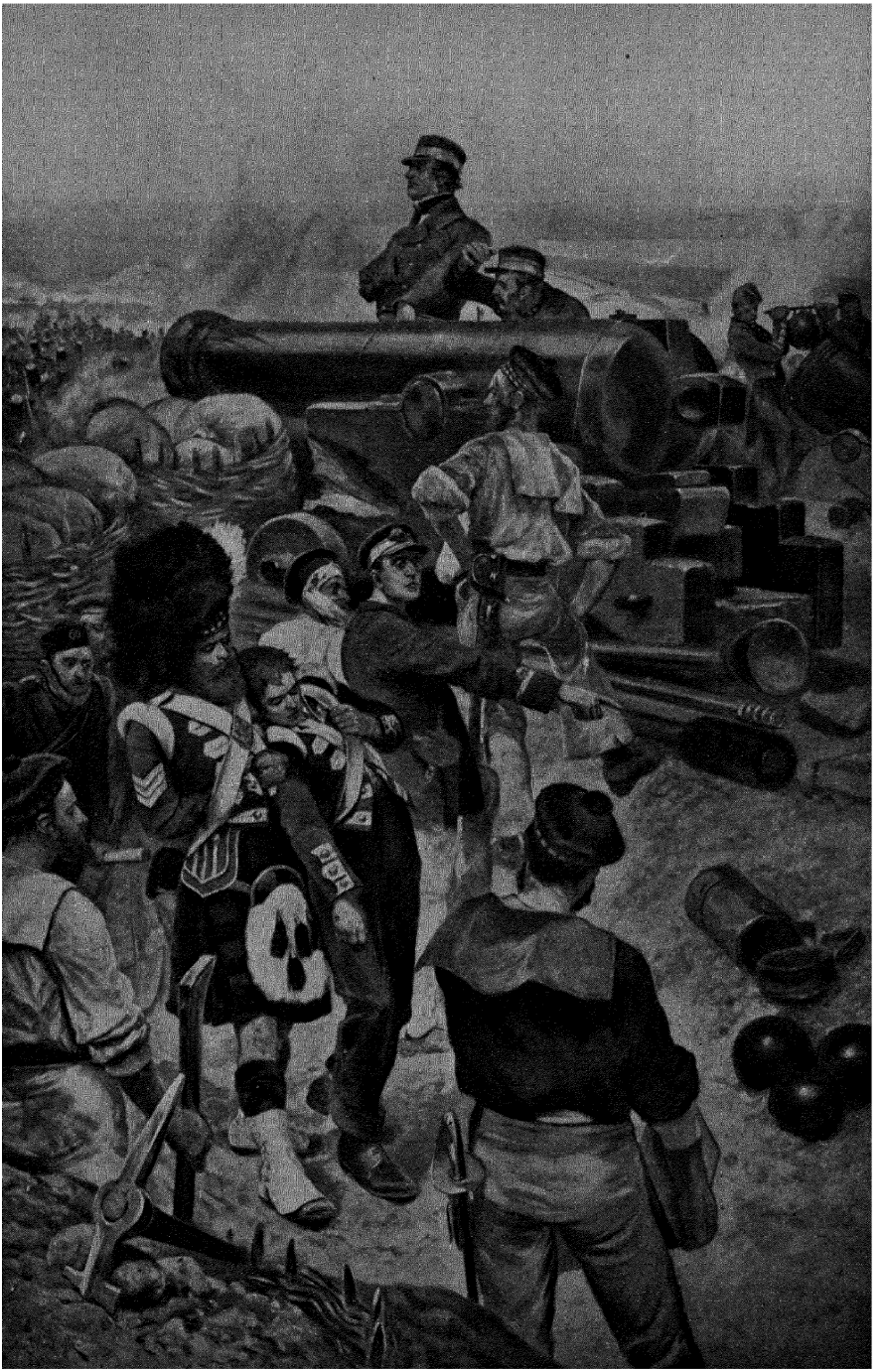
GERMANY'S CONQUERING EMPEROR: THE TRIUMPHAL ENTRY OF WILLIAM I. INTO BERLIN ON JUNE 16TH, 1871

From the painting by Camphausen, by permission of the Berlin Photographic Co.



GERMANY'S CONQUERING EMPEROR: THE TRIUMPHAL ENTRY OF WILLIAM I. INTO BERLIN ON JUNE 16TH, 1871

From the painting by Camphausen, by permission of the Berlin Photographic Co.



NAVAL BRIGADE AT SEBASTOPOL: LORD RAGLAN VIEWING THE STORMING OF THE REDA

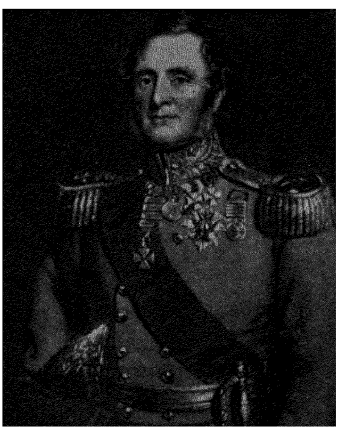
From the picture by R. Caton Woodville, by permission of Messrs. Graves & Co.

precipitate action of France and Britain in presenting a joint note demanding the evacuation of the Danube provinces gave Austria an excuse for leaving them to act independently; and on March 27th, 1854, the two Western Powers declared war on Russia and proceeded to a formal alliance with the Turks, who in the meantime had more than held their own on land.

Troops were despatched to co-operate with the Turks, and it soon became evident that the Russians would have no chance of effecting a successful invasion; before the end of July it was clear that they would be obliged to evacuate the Provinces. But before that time instructions had already been sent for the invasion of the Crimea and the seizure of Sebastopol.

But the invasion could not be carried out till September; and by that time, Sebastopol had been placed in a comparatively thorough state of defence by the engineering skill of Todleben. Its capture by a coup de main was now extremely improbable. The British and French forces disembarked at Eupatoria, and found a Russian army under Menschikoff lying between them and Sebastopol. The battle of the Alma, in which the brunt of the fighting was borne by the British, left the allies masters of the field. Menschikoff withdrew his main force not to Sebastopol but to the interior. The opposition of the dying French general, St. Arnaud, prevented an immediate assault from being attempted—it was ascertained later that the attempt at that moment would probably have been successful—and the allies settled down to a siege. Their numbers were not sufficient for a complete investment, and the communications between Menschikoff and the garrison remained open. The British drew their supplies from the port of Balaclava, and Menschikoff now endeavoured to effect its capture. The movement, however, was repulsed, mainly by the magnificent charge of the Heavy Brigade against a column of five times their own numbers; but that splendid action was eclipsed in the popular mind by one of the most desperate, and, from a military point of view, most futile, deeds of valour on record, the charge of the Six Hundred.

The Charge of the Heavy Brigade

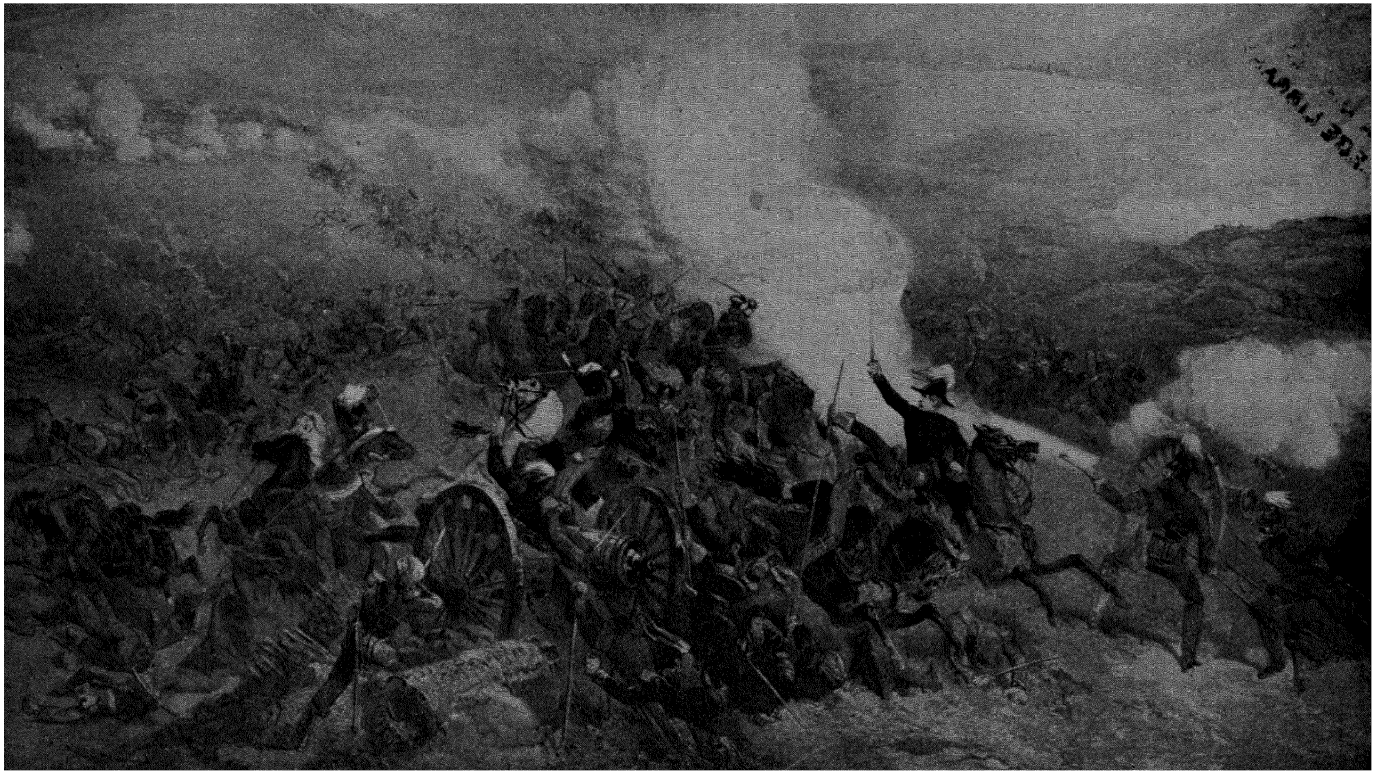


LORD RAGLAN
Commander-in-chief of the British forces in the Crimea, his conduct of the war was severely condemned both by the public and the Press. He died from dysentery on June 28th, 1855.

Through the misinterpretation of an order, the Light Brigade hurled itself through a terrific storm of shot and shell upon a Russian battery, captured it, and then, because there was nothing else to be done, relinquished it, leaving more than two-thirds of their number in the "Valley of Death." Nothing whatever was gained of a calculable kind. Yet it was one of those deeds which have a moral value past all calculation, like the equally futile defence of Thermopylæ.

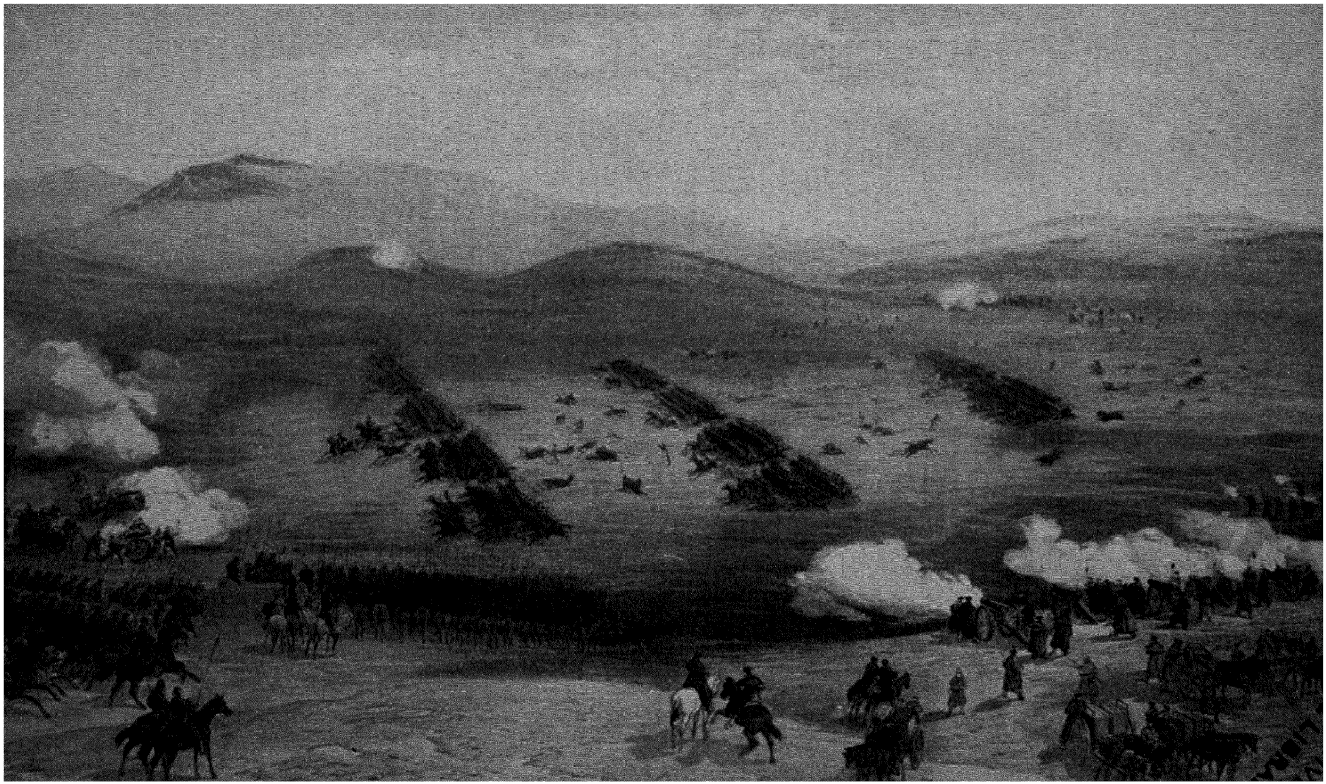
In the "Valley of Death"

Ten days later an attempt was made upon the British position before Sebastopol at Inkerman. The attack was made by a large Russian force in the midst of a fog so thick that none knew what was going on except close at hand. Concerted action was impossible, and men battled desperately as best they could in small groups. The fight was fought by the men virtually without commanders, and, in spite of immensely superior numbers, the Russians were triumphantly repulsed. But after Inkerman, the design, then in contemplation, of an immediate assault on Sebastopol was abandoned. And then the Crimean winter began. A winter siege had not been in the programme when the expedition was planned; the arrangements were disastrously inadequate, and their inadequacy was increased by the destruction in a gale of the stores which had reached Balaclava but had not been disembarked; while the iniquities of army contractors broke all previous records. The four winter months killed far more of the troops than the Russians were responsible for. The blame lay not at all with the officers on the spot, and only in a limited degree with the Government, but popular indignation compelled the retirement of Aberdeen; and Palmerston, the



BRITISH HEROES AT BALACLAVA: THE CHARGE OF THE HEAVY BRIGADE ON OCTOBER 25th, 1854

The supplies for the British army were drawn from the port of Balaclava, and as its capture would have been of immense value to the Russians, Menschikoff attempted to bring this about on October 25th. The movement, however, was repulsed, mainly by the magnificent charge of the Heavy Brigade against a column of five times their own numbers.



THE CHARGE OF THE LIGHT BRIGADE: THE SIX HUNDRED RIDING "INTO THE VALLEY OF DEATH"

The brilliant action at Balaclava illustrated on the preceding page was eclipsed in the popular mind by the splendid but futile charge of the "Six Hundred." Through the misinterpretation of an order, the Light Brigade hurled itself through a terrific storm of shot and shell upon a Russian battery, while "cannon to right of them, cannon to left of them, cannon in front of them volley'd and thunder'd," and then, "because there was nothing else to be done, relinquished it, leaving more than two-thirds of their number in the 'Valley of Death.'"

man in whom the confidence of the country had not been shaken, became Prime Minister in February, 1855. The lesson of the early administrative blunders had been learnt, and a great improvement was soon apparent. The immense and unprecedented services of the staff of nurses organised under Florence Nightingale, who had been at work since November, mark an epoch in the history of civilised warfare Negotiations were renewed at Vienna, but while agreement might have been reached on two of the four proposals put forward by Austria, Russia was obdurate on a third, and the belligerent allies were dissatisfied with the fourth

A New Epoch in Warfare

The negotiations broke down, and Austria again found excuse in the attitude of the French and British for declining to join them in an offensive alliance—in their eyes a breach of faith on her part In May, however, Sardinia joined the allies, and the British share in the operations at Sebastopol became comparatively restricted, while the British fleets found little of consequence to do It was not till September 8th that Sebastopol fell, an event secured by the French capture of the Malakoff

Napoleon was now satisfied with the personal security his imperial position had acquired from the war, the friendship of the new Tsar, Alexander II — Nicholas had died in March—was of more importance to him, if not to France, than the repression of Russia Austria cared only to have her own Balkan interests safeguarded, and it was with no little difficulty that the British were able to secure adequate checks on Russian aggression The occasion was used for a fresh settlement of those maritime regulations which had been the cause of the "Armed Neutrality" at the close of the last century Privateering, the one weapon which hostile Powers had been able to wield effectively against Great Britain, was abolished, and, on the other hand, it was conceded that the neutral flag should cover all goods but contraband of war, and that even on belligerent vessels neutral goods should not be liable to capture, in March, 1856

Abolition of Privateering

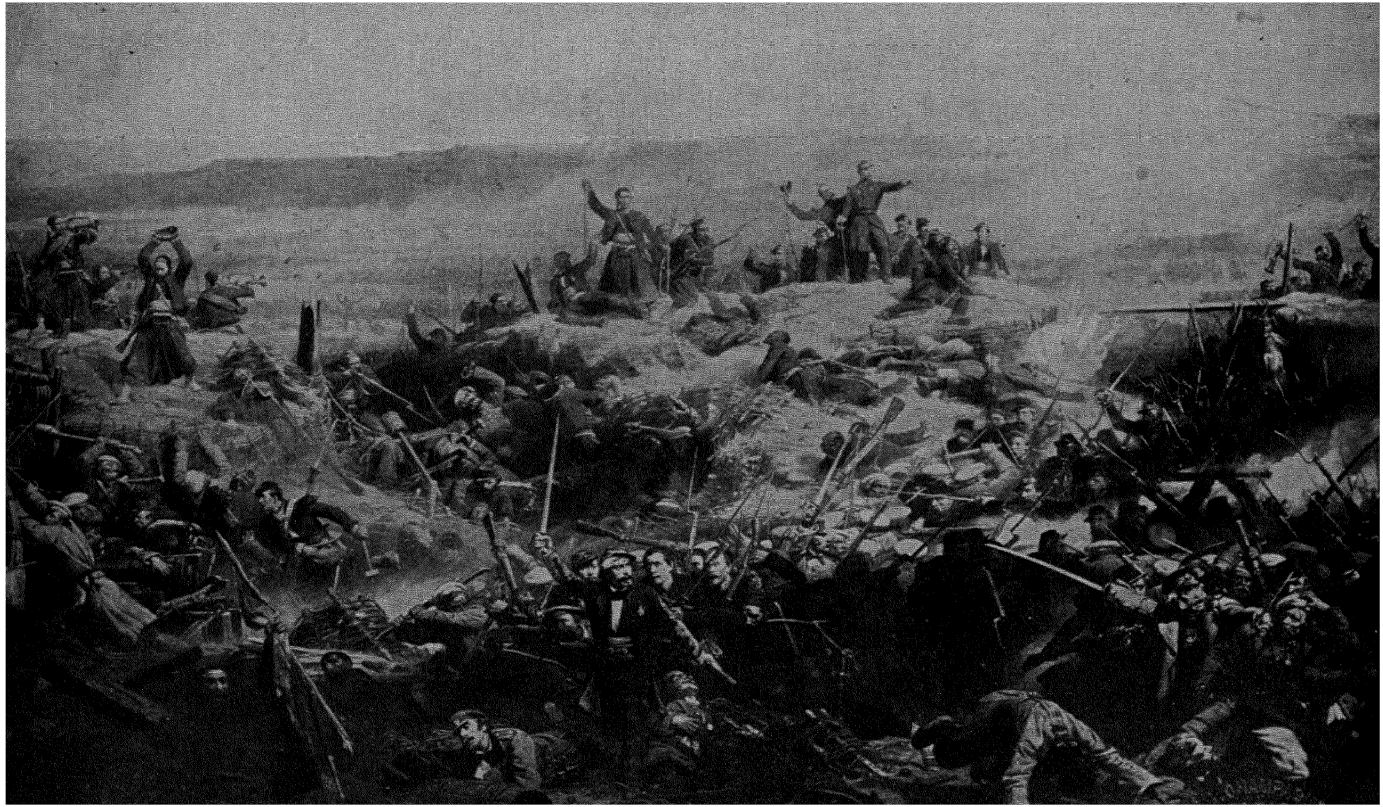
The war in the Crimea had necessitated the withdrawal of British regiments from India, where, on the other hand, Dalhousie's annexations had involved an increase in the Sepoy army A quarrel with Persia demanded an expedition to that country from India at the end of 1856, owing to the seizure of Herat by Persia—a movement attributed, as a matter of course, to Russian instigation No difficulty was found in the military operations, which soon resulted in a treaty by which Persia resigned Herat and all claims on Afghan territory, but the war must be included among the minor circumstances which encouraged the outbreak of the great Sepoy revolt of 1857

About the same time a war with China was brought about by what is known as the "Arrow" incident The Arrow was a Chinese vessel which had been sailing under the British flag, and was continuing to do so though the year during which she was authorised to do so had just elapsed The Chinese authorities, having no knowledge of this lapse, nevertheless seized the crew in Canton harbour on the hypothesis that there were persons "wanted" for piracy among its number Reparation was demanded and refused, the British fleet was called into play, and the incident developed definitely into a war The British Government acted on the principle that the punctilios of Western diplomacy are invariably looked upon by Orientals as signs of weakness which invite defiance, high-handed methods, however, equally invariably offend the moral ideals of a large section of the British people, and the Government was vigorously attacked by the Liberals and Peelites who had parted from the Ministry But an appeal to the country gave Palmerston a decisive majority in April, 1857 The war was brought to a conclusion in the course of 1858

Britain's War with China

Almost the first news, which came on the new Parliament as a bolt from the blue, was that of the great outbreak in India, the story of which has been dealt with in the earlier section of this work devoted to Indian history. The Mutiny was inaugurated by the rising of the Sepoys at Mirat on May 10th, 1857. Delhi was seized in the name of a restored Mogul Empire, a British force concentrated on the famous Ridge, which it occupied for the siege of the great city, held by forces enormously superior in point of numbers.

Above Allahabad, the whole Ganges basin was in the hands of the mutineers, and the British were soon shut up in Cawnpore or the Lucknow Residency, with the



THE VICTORY THAT SETTLED THE FATE OF SEBASTOPOL: THE CAPTURE OF THE MALAKOFF BY THE FRENCH
From the painting by Yvon

exception of the force on the ridge before Delhi and of a considerable number who took refuge at Agra. The loyalty and diplomacy of Sindhia and his minister Dinkar Rao restrained the Gwalior army from marching to Delhi. In September, Delhi was stormed and Lucknow was reinforced by the operations of Havelock and Outram.

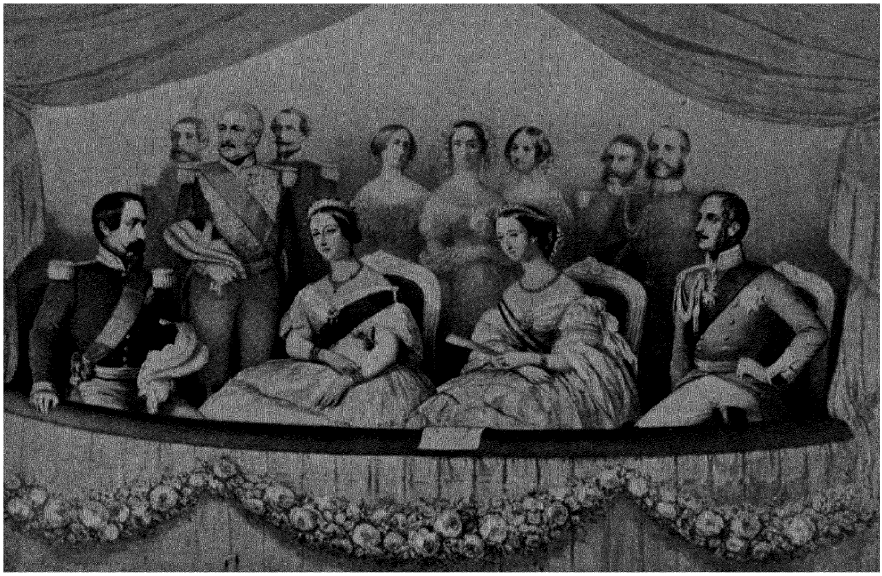
From that time, though Sindhia was no longer able to hold back the Gwalior regiments, the tide turned. Troops were arriving from England; a contingent on its way to the Chinese war was detained for the more serious affair. In November, Sir Colin Campbell relieved the defenders of the Lucknow Residency; in the spring, the British armies were everywhere triumphant, and in the summer the last efforts of the revolt were crushed.

The Mutiny brought home to the British mind the necessity for terminating the unique and anomalous dual control, by the East India Company and Parliament, of the government of India. It was time that the Crown should assume the exclusive responsibility, and in February, 1858, Palmerston brought in a Bill for that purpose. By a curious accident, he was turned out of office before the Bill could be passed. An Italian named Orsini flung bombs under the carriage of Napoleon in January; it turned out that the plot had been hatched and the bombs manufactured in England. The Government proposed to amend the conspiracy laws; but the French had assumed an attitude of such amazing and bombastic truculence that the Conspiracy to Murder Bill was regarded as a pusillanimous submission to foreign insolence—a curious charge against the Minister who was accustomed to being himself accused of arrogance rather than submissiveness in foreign affairs, mainly to be explained by the tenacious pride with which the nation clung to its claim of offering an asylum to refugees from oppression.

The Bill was defeated, the Government resigned, and again Lord Derby took office, though his party was in a minority in the House of Commons. Under such circumstances, the Ministry had no choice but to seek for compromises with the Opposition. Lord Derby's India Bill, when introduced, was obviously not destined to pass, and the Act which finally ended the career of the East India Company, and transferred the Indian government to the Crown, was virtually the work of all parties combining to arrive at a settlement irrespective of party. Lord Canning, the Governor-General, who had remained at the helm throughout the Mutiny, inaugurated the new regime as the first Viceroy. In the same summer, the Lords were persuaded to pass a Bill removing the political disabilities under which the Jews still laboured, a principle repeatedly approved by the Commons

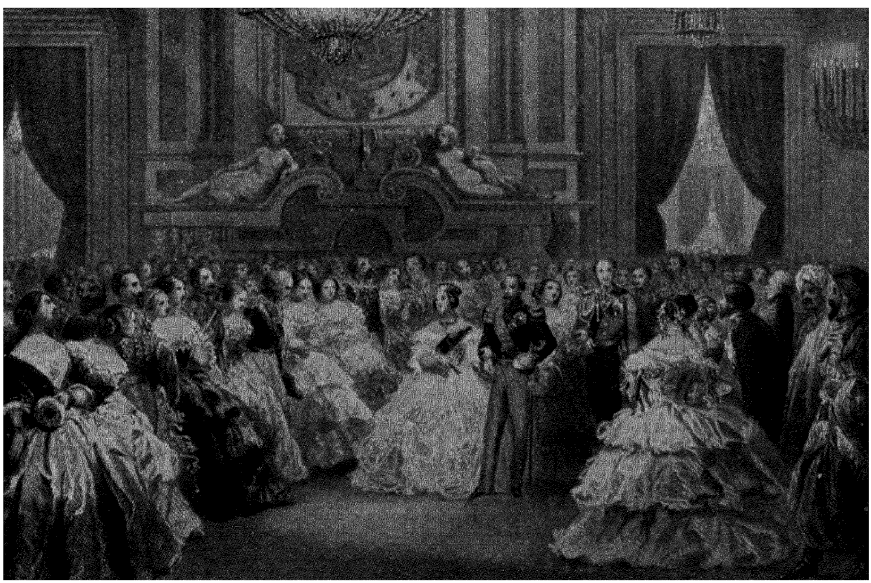


QUEEN VICTORIA RECEIVING HEROES OF THE CRIMEA AT BUCKINGHAM PALACE
From the painting by Sir John Gilbert, R.A.



THE RULERS OF BRITAIN AND OF FRANCE AT THE OPERA IN LONDON

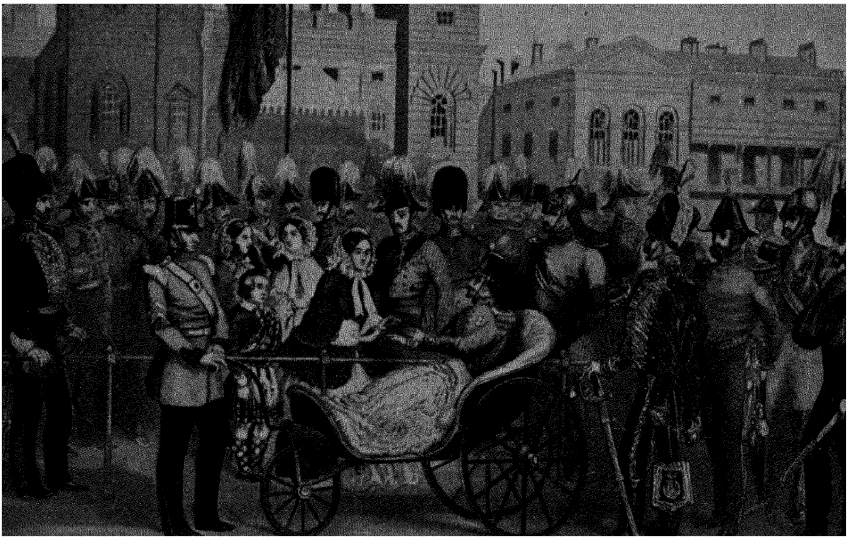
Arising out of their common interests in the war against Russia, a kindly feeling sprang up between Britain and France, the rulers of the two countries exchanging visits of friendship. On April 16th, 1855, the Emperor Napoleon III. and the Empress Eugénie arrived in England, visiting Queen Victoria at Windsor Castle, and in the above picture they are shown with the Queen and the Prince Consort at the Royal Italian Opera on April 19th.



QUEEN VICTORIA AND THE PRINCE CONSORT VISITING THE TUILERIES

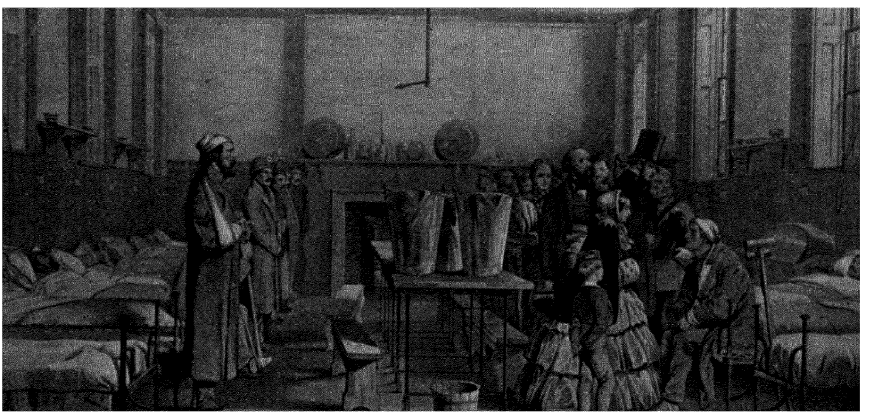
In the August following the visit of the French Emperor and Empress to England, Queen Victoria and the Prince Consort visited France. In this picture the British queen and her husband are seen at the Tuileries, the former in the foreground on the arm of Napoleon with Prince Albert and the Empress Eugénie immediately behind.

THE ENTENTE CORDIALE IN THE MIDDLE OF LAST CENTURY



QUEEN VICTORIA DISTRIBUTING THE CRIMEAN MEDALS AT THE HORSE GUARDS
The first distribution of V.C. medals is represented in the above picture, this event taking place on May 18th, 1856; the queen is shown in the act of presenting a medal to Sir Thomas Troubridge, who had lost both his feet in action.

and rejected by the Peers during the preceding twenty-five years. Electoral Reform—that is, extension of the franchise—was a subject in which the electorate and the unenfranchised masses were more interested than Ministers. Russell and a considerable section of the Liberals were becoming more strongly disposed in that direction, but the Palmerstonians preferred to keep the question shelved as long as possible. Disraeli, however, now saw a possibility of securing success to the conservative policy by a measure professedly democratic, but safeguarded by devices which, in the eyes of the Liberals, were intended to secure political preponderance for conservative influences. Defeated on a resolution introduced by Russell, Lord Derby appealed to the country; the party returned somewhat strengthened in numbers, but still in a minority, and the minority gave way to a new Palmerston administration, with Russell at the Foreign Office, the two

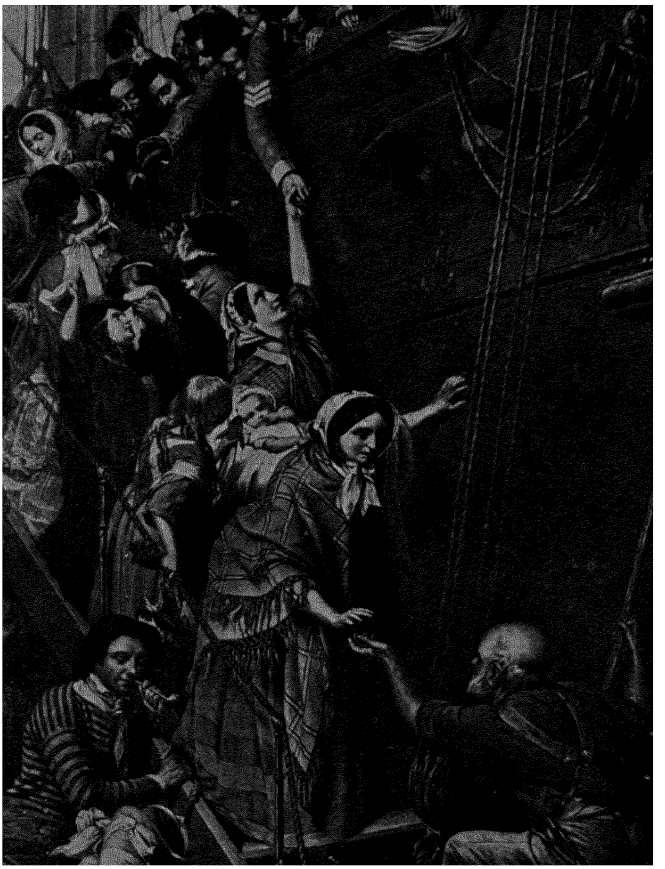


THE QUEEN AND PRINCE ALBERT VISITING BROMPTON HOSPITAL AT CHATHAM, IN 1856

liberal leaders having recognised the need of co-operation. Gladstone returned to the Exchequer.

Palmerston remained at the head of the government till his death in 1865. It was inevitable that a Franchise Bill should be introduced, but it aroused no enthusiasm in Parliament or in the country, and in the commercial treaty with France, negotiated by Richard Cobden, which was ratified in 1860.

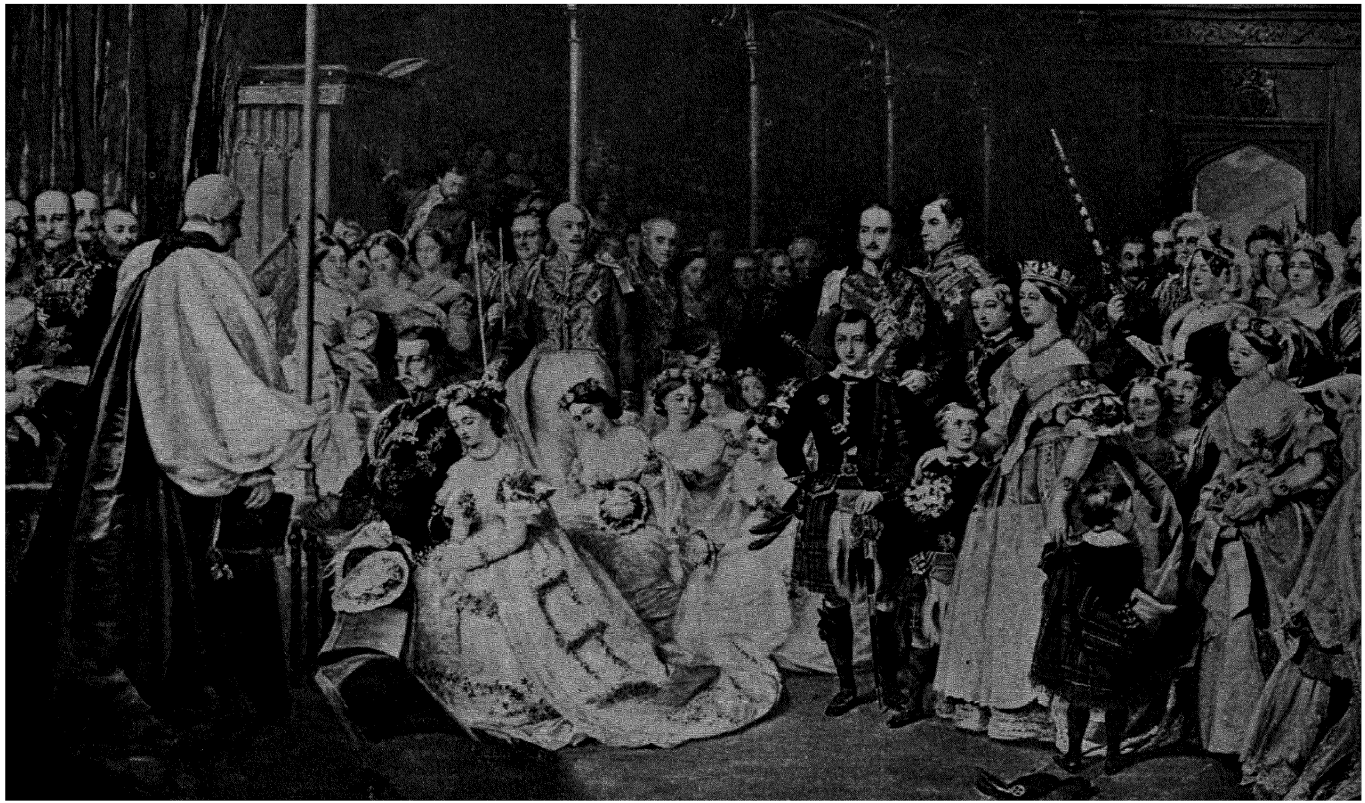
The Budget of that year reduced the number of articles subject to customs duties from 419 to 48, the primary object being the removal of preferential and protective duties. Financial questions, however, narrowly missed producing a serious constitutional crisis. It was proposed in 1859 to remove the tax upon paper. Being introduced in a Bill separate from the Budget, the Lords claimed the right of rejecting the proposal. The Commons claimed that the Lords could not reject separately any part of the general financial scheme. The action of the Lords in rejecting the Bill was in accordance with the law, but not with the custom of the Constitution. The crisis was averted, partly by a series of resolutions in the Commons, which pointed to the inclusion of such proposals in the Budget as security against the repetition of such action by the Lords, and partly by the inclusion of the particular proposal in the Budget of the following year.



When the Indian Mutiny broke out in 1857, the British army in India was not sufficiently strong adequately to cope with the rising, and reinforcements were speedily despatched from England. Farewell scenes are graphically represented in the above picture.
From the painting by Henry O'Neill, A.R.A.

Russell, who introduced it, found an excuse for its withdrawal, after which, by common consent, reform was shelved for the lifetime of the Prime Minister. There was little legislation during Palmerston's supremacy, and domestic interest centred mainly in the systematic extension of Free Trade principles, in the Budgets, and

These years, however, were marked by complications in the affairs of other nations which made the task of steering Great Britain successfully a difficult and delicate one. The sympathies of the country and of the Government were with the Italians in their struggle for liberty from



THE MARRIAGE OF THE PRINCESS ROYAL TO PRINCE FREDERIC WILLIAM OF PRUSSIA ON JANUARY 25TH, 1858

From the painting by John Phillip, R.A.



THE MARRIAGE OF KING EDWARD VII. AND QUEEN ALEXANDRA ON MARCH 10TH, 1863

This interesting event in the lives of the present King and Queen of Great Britain and Ireland was celebrated on March 10th, 1863, at St. George's Chapel, Windsor. The Prince of Wales, as he then was, first met Princess Alexandra of Denmark in 1861, and their union two years later, which happily remains unbroken, was welcomed by the whole nation, "the sea-king's daughter from over the sea" then winning for herself an affectionate place in the hearts of the people that has strengthened with the march of years.

From the painting by W. P. Frith, R.A.

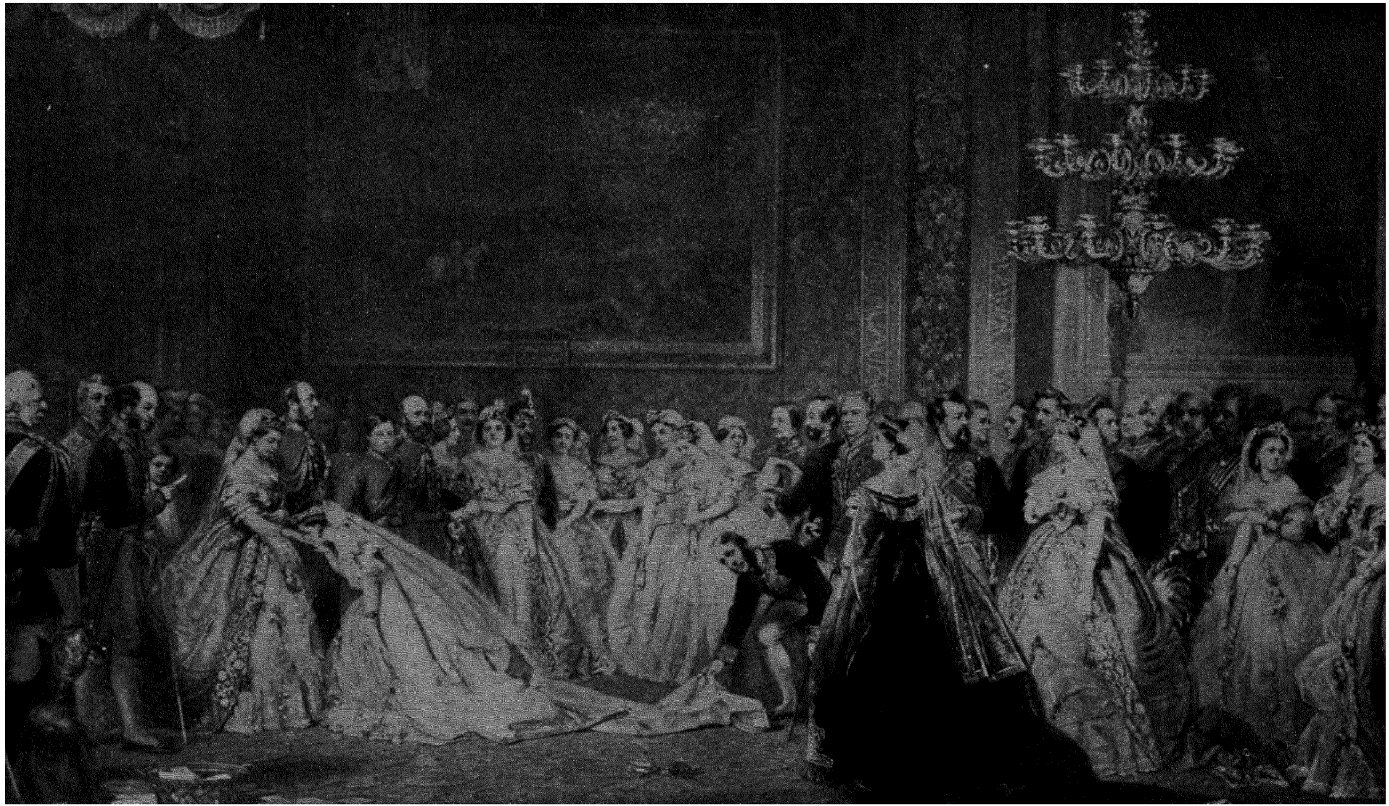
the Austrian yoke, with Poland in her resistance to Russia, with Denmark in her hopeless contest with Prussia and Austria over Schleswig-Holstein. In the first case, the moral support of Great Britain was of considerable value to Victor Emmanuel; in the other two, the action of the Government had the unfortunate appearance of exciting an expectation of material support which they lacked the courage to carry into action.

But it was the civil war in America which most seriously threatened to involve this country. There were two grave causes of disagreement between the Northern and the Southern States of the Union, which issued in a third, the gravest of all. The Northern States were manufacturing communities, and determined to protect their manufactures by the exclusion of foreign competition. The Southern States, whose products were not exposed to competition, objected to the protectionist policy which raised prices for the consumer. The Southern States lived by the production of crops cultivated by slave labour; the North was able to realise the iniquity of the system the more easily because it had no use for slave-labour itself, and became determined to abolish slavery. Hence the Southern States asserted the right to secede from a confederation which they had entered voluntarily; the North held that the union was federal, indissoluble, and that secession was rebellion.

In 1861, a group of the Southern States formed themselves into a confederation claiming independence, under their own president, and the great struggle began. The sympathies of the British were sharply divided. Toryism had a fellow feeling for the gentry of the South. Liberalism held slavery in horror, yet the general principles of political freedom were on the side of the right of secession. The Government was firm in its resolution not to intervene, not to declare itself on either side; but it was obliged to commit itself on the question whether the Southerners were to be treated as lawful belligerents or as rebels. The position adopted was that the effective strength of the Southern States made them de facto belligerents, and that their recognition



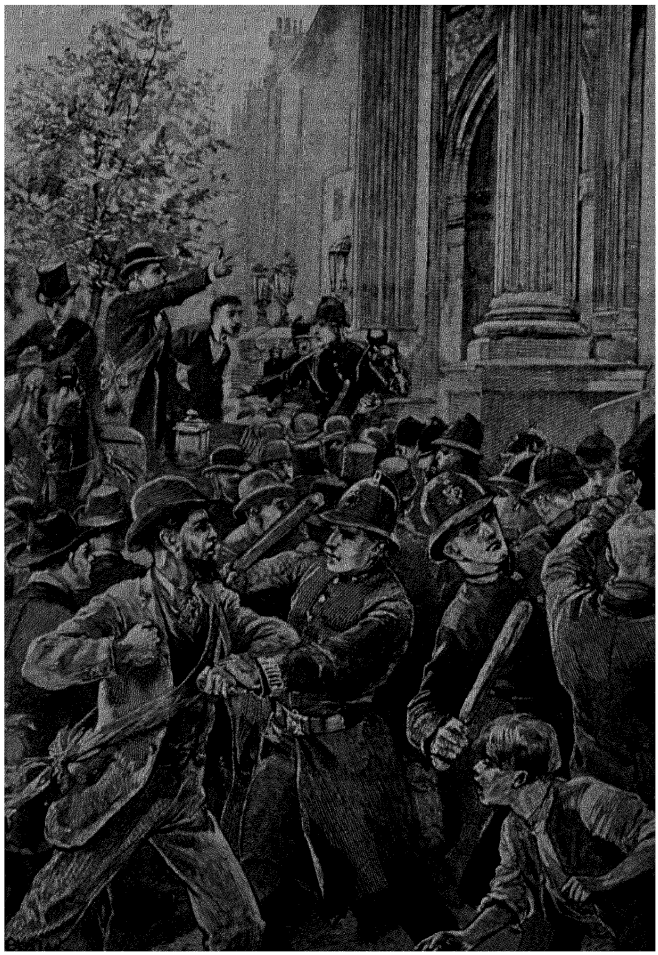
QUEEN VICTORIA WITH PRINCE ALBERT AND THEIR CHILDREN



THE LAST DRAWING ROOM ATTENDED BY PRINCE ALBERT WITH QUEEN VICTORIA AT ST. JAMES'S PALACE IN 1861

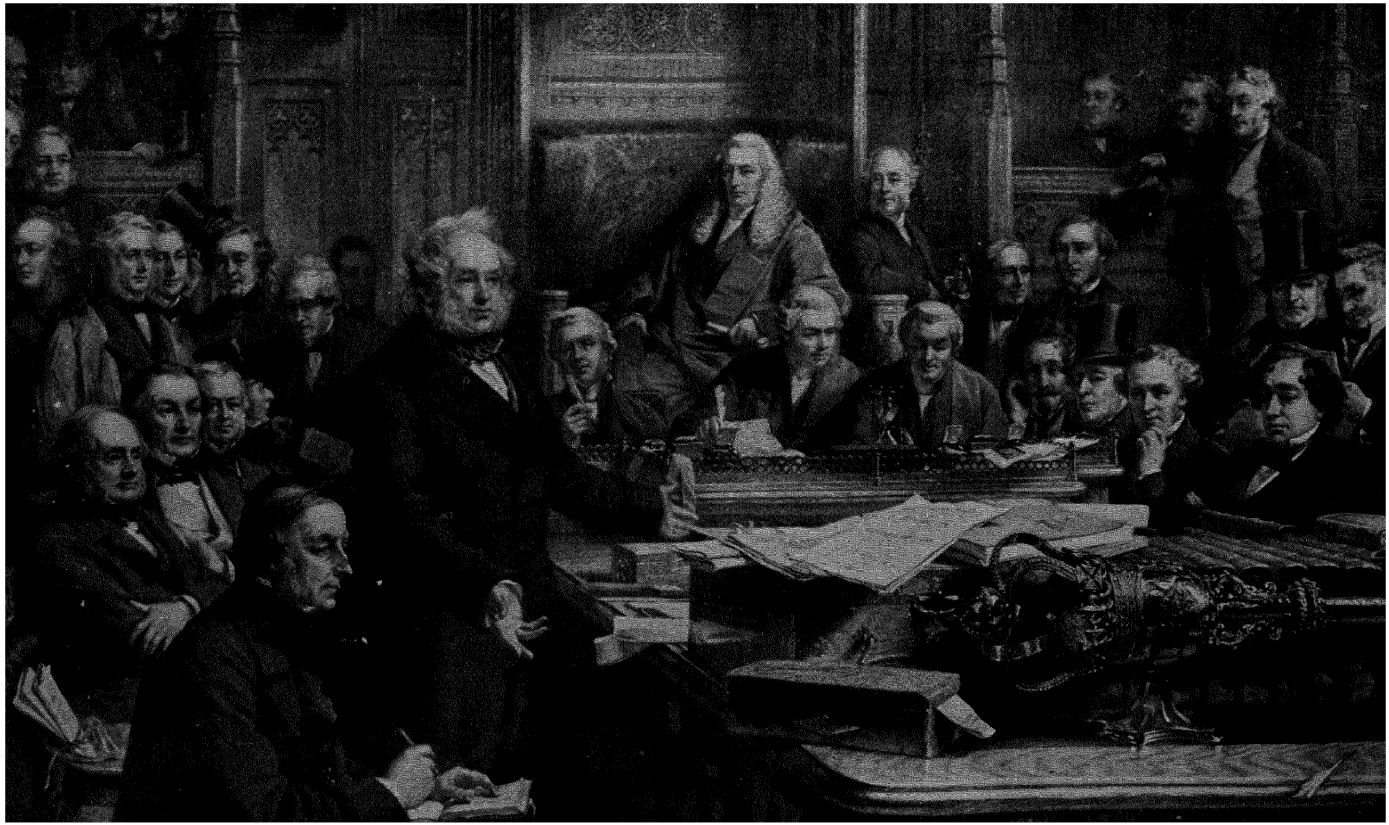
From the picture by Jerry Barrett

as such implied no judgment on the merits of the dispute; on the other hand, the time had not yet come when their claim for recognition as a separate nation could be officially acknowledged. The justice and impartiality of this attitude proved acceptable neither [redacted]North nor to [redacted]th. In 1862 Great Britain was all but compelled to commence hostilities by the action of the North in seizing the persons of two commissioners from the South on board a British vessel, the Trent, on which they had embarked in the neutral port of Havanna. The tardy recognition of this violation of international law and the liberation of the commissioners averted hostilities. Relations were, moreover, perpetually strained to a high pitch of intensity by the action of the Alabama and other cruisers of the same type in the Confederate service. These were vessels constructed in British dockyards, which sailed from British ports, professedly on harmless voyages, but with the actual intent of being handed over at some appointed spot to Confederate officers, who proceeded to employ them for the destruction of the Federal mercantile marine. Since the British Government had failed to display sufficient vigilance in detaining such craft, notably the Alabama, they were regarded by the North as having been negligent of set purpose. At the same time, greatly as the South benefited by the resolute impartiality of Great Britain, it felt itself hardly less bitterly aggrieved thereby than the North, since it appeared almost certain that British intervention would have decisively terminated the war in favour of the Confederates. Nothing could have been more creditable to the labouring population of the United Kingdom than the dogged determination with which they supported



POLITICAL RIOTS IN HYDE PARK

The defeat of the Reform Bill in 1866 gave rise to a considerable amount of feeling in the country. A mass meeting in favour of reform was shut out of Hyde Park, and as a protest, the mob broke down the railings, "thereby convincing most of those who had hitherto been incredulous that the demand for the franchise was not a mere demagogic figment."



LORD PALMERSTON ADDRESSING A SITTING OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS IN THE YEAR 1860

From the painting by J. Phillip, R.A.

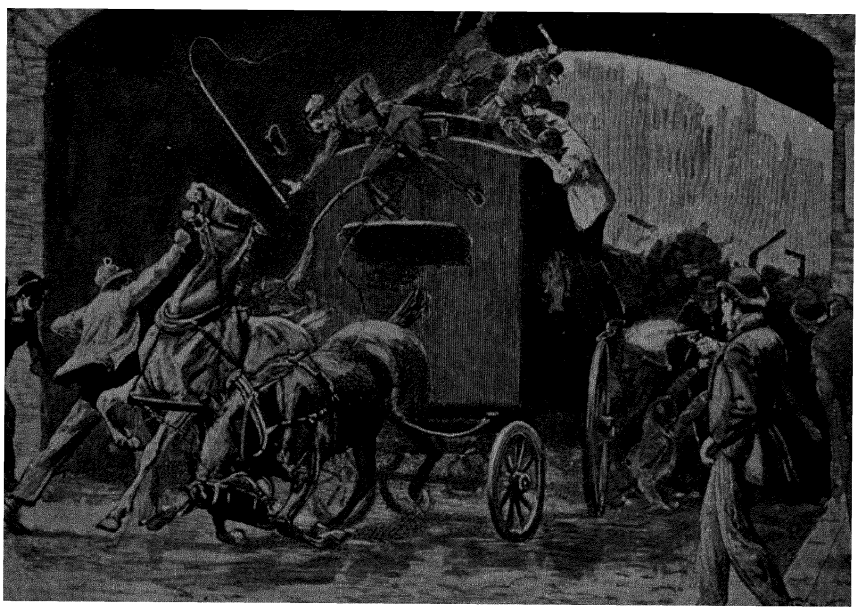
the Government, from the conviction that the anti-slavery cause was the cause of righteousness, in spite of the terrible sufferings entailed by the cotton famine, resulting from the Northern blockade of the Southern ports. No nobler example of self-restraint has been recorded than that of the Lancashire operatives in those cruel times; nor has the general public ever displayed its free-handed generosity more wisely and more generously than in the efforts then made for the relief of the distress prevailing. The war was brought to an end with the complete success of the North, in the spring of 1865. In the summer, Parliament was dissolved, having sat for six years, but no immediate effect was produced on the Government. That came with the death of the octogenarian Premier in October.



LORD TENNYSON

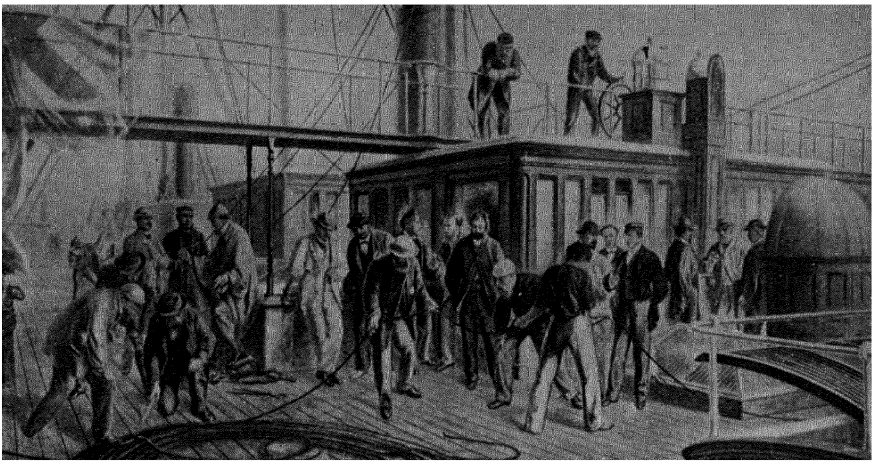
Successor to Wordsworth as Poet-Laureate, Tennyson remained until his death, in 1892, the supreme English poet, challenged only by Browning, beside whom he sleeps in Westminster Abbey. In 1884 he received a peerage.

The democratic movement, which had been held in check by general consent until his demise, at once became active. At the same time, Irish discontent assumed a somewhat more threatening shape, owing to the formation of the "Fenian Brotherhood" by the physical-force party, whose strength lay amongst the crowds of emigrants who had been driven to America, and had there been learning practical lessons of warfare in the ranks of Federal and Confederate armies alike. The Fenians set themselves to the secret organisation of armed rebellion; and the detection of the conspiracy and arrest of its leaders revealed a state of affairs



THE FENIAN OUTRAGES: ATTACK ON THE PRISON VAN AT MANCHESTER

Discontent in Ireland assumed a serious aspect towards the end of 1865, the formation of the "Fenian Brotherhood" by the physical-force party indicating the length to which the agitators were prepared to go. The Fenians set themselves to the secret organisation of armed rebellion, as well as opposing the authorities in England, the above picture showing an armed attack on the Manchester prison van for the liberation of Fenian prisoners.

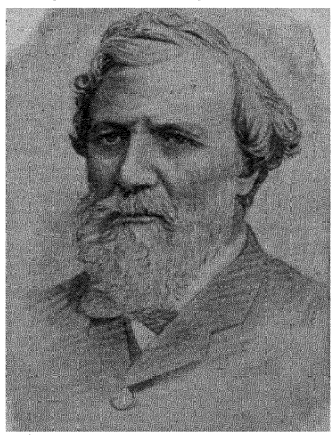


THE GREAT EASTERN RECOVERING THE LOST ATLANTIC CABLE

The largest vessel in existence when built in London in 1854-7, the Great Eastern, proved of great service in laying the Atlantic cables in 1865, and recovered them, after being lost, in 1866; but the vessel was otherwise a failure.

From the picture by R. Dudley

which induced the Government to go so far as to suspend the Habeas Corpus Act in Ireland. The Reform Act of 1832 had abolished the old system of rotten boroughs, which placed the control of half the constituencies in the country in the hands of a few families; it had given representation to the great towns, which had grown up mainly in the course of the industrial revolution; it had applied uniformity to the methods of election; it had transferred the preponderance of political power from the landed to the commercial interests; incidentally it had transformed the House of Lords into a conservative organisation. But its high franchise had still completely excluded the labouring classes from the electorate. For a time, those classes had shown signs of a tendency to believe that the vote would be a panacea for all ills, but the wave of industrial prosperity which attended the repeal of the Corn Laws, and the development of Free Trade, removed the more pressing incitements to the demand for political power;



ROBERT BROWNING

One of the two great poets of the Victorian era, Browning enriched our literature with poetic thought of enduring value, his crowning achievement, the "Ring and the Book," appearing in 1869. In 1846, he married Elizabeth Barrett, also a poet of genius.

and Gladstone, now a convinced advocate of franchise extension, regarded it mainly as a measure of justice to which it would be wise to give effect while it was still not the subject of political passion. At the general election Disraeli had made it plain that the question would be forced to the front; and accordingly Lord Russell, Palmerston's successor in office, introduced a Reform Bill. Its moderation, however—it would have added less than half a million voters to the electorate—prevented it from exciting enthusiasm, and did not prevent it from exciting the determined opposition of the anti-democratic section of the Liberal party who formed the historic "Cave of Adullam." The Adullamites, in conjunction with the Conservatives, all but defeated the Bill on the second reading; when they carried an amendment against the Government in Committee, the Ministry resigned. For the third time the Conservatives took office, with Lord Derby as their chief and Disraeli as their leader, while the party itself formed

a minority in the House of Commons. The defeat of the Liberal Bill roused a fervour in the country which had not attended its introduction A mass meeting in favour of reform was shut out of Hyde Park, whereupon the mob broke down the railings, thereby convincing most of those who had hitherto been incredulous that the demand for the franchise was not a mere demagogic figment The impression thus produced was confirmed by a series of demonstrations during the latter part of 1866, and a Reform Bill was announced as a part of Disraeli's programme for 1867

The Reform Bill Carried

His first intention of proceeding by resolution—that is, by obtaining the assent of the House to a series of principles on which the actual Bill was then to be constructed—was abandoned , the Cabinet was split on the moderate Bill which Disraeli then proposed to introduce, and the secession of Lord Cranborne (afterwards Lord Salisbury) and others decided Disraeli to adopt a much more audacious scheme which would capture support from the Opposition He had hoped to be able to introduce sundry "fancy franchises," and other securities to prevent a complete subversion of the balance of political power, but it soon became clear that if the Bill was to pass the Government would have to accede with very little reservation to the amendments demanded by the Liberals The result was that in the boroughs the franchise was granted to all householders and to ten-pound lodgers, with a twelve-pound occupation franchise in the counties , the "fancy franchises" disappeared The Act, indeed, went very much further than the Liberal leaders had proposed to go in their own Bill , it definitely transformed the House of Commons into a democratic body, though the change had still to be completed by the assimilation of the county franchise to that of the boroughs The same year was rendered notable in the colonial history of the Empire by the British North America Act, which eventually united the British Colonies in North America, with the exception of Newfoundland, in the federation which bears the name of the Dominion of Canada. The conduct of King Theodore of Abyssinia, who thought himself justified in seizing a number of British subjects, confining them at Magdala, and refusing to pay any attention to representations demanding their liberation, necessitated the completely successful Abyssinian expedition, under the command of Lord Napier, in the spring of the following year, 1868 By this time Lord Derby had withdrawn, leaving Disraeli, long the actual chief of the party, as its avowed head

Disraeli at the Height of his Power

Renewed Fenian disturbances emphasised the unsatisfactory condition of Ireland, which was destined to occupy an exceedingly prominent position in the domestic politics of the succeeding period In June it was clear that the Ministry was practically powerless in the face of the Opposition, and in the autumn Disraeli appealed to the new electorate The result was that the first democratic Parliament of the United Kingdom returned the Liberals to power under Gladstone's leadership, with a decisive majority In English history the inauguration of democracy forms an epoch, which we must respect for clearness sake as a dividing line , but as the dividing line in Continental history is drawn by the German overthrow of France and the establishment of the German Empire under the Prussian hegemony, we may here note that Great Britain abstained from taking any active part in those important events

Leaders of Intellectual Movements

Industrial movements are dealt with in a separate section But in the intellectual movement of the period now under review we have to note the succession to Wordsworth as Poet Laureate of Alfred Tennyson, who held his supreme position unchallenged for the rest of his life, save in the eyes of those who recognised a still mightier genius in Robert Browning, whose crowning achievement, the "Ring and the Book," appeared in 1869 But the world at large was more deeply affected by another influence which had its birth in England Simultaneously, Charles Darwin and Alfred Russel Wallace developed their conception, which will always be associated with the name of the former, of the evolution of species That conception filled the minds of the orthodox with alarm, and called for an almost fundamental readjustment of ideas on the relations between "Nature, Man, and God," which a later generation has found to be in nowise subversive of the essential doctrines of Christianity.

ARTHUR D. INNES



TURKEY AFTER THE CRIMEAN WAR

ADJUSTMENT OF THE EASTERN QUESTION

THE year of revolutions, 1848, which shook Western Europe with its conceptions of freedom, had left Turkey almost untouched. Shekib Effendi held a formal conference with Pope Pius IX., in Rome in 1848, under commission from the Sultan, who would have been glad to hand over to the Pope the protectorate of the Catholics in the East; the Holy Father had sent out the Archbishop Ferrieri with an appeal to the Oriental communities, which, however, did not end in that union which the Porte and the Pope had hoped for.

The revolt of the Boyars and of the Polish fugitives in Moldavia and Wallachia speedily resulted in the strengthening of the hospodar Michael Sturdza, and in the appointment of Kantakuzen in place of Bibeskos. The Hungarian rising, on which the Porte had staked its hopes for the infliction of a blow on Austria, came to nothing, on the capitulation of Vilagos. On the other hand, the Sultan, encouraged by the presence of a British fleet in the Dardanelles, declined to hand over the Hungarian fugitives.

Protectors of the Catholics

Austria and Hungary thereupon avenged themselves by taking advantage of a claim for damages which France had now set up. Two parties, the Catholics and the Greeks, were quarrelling about the Holy Places in Palestine. The powers protecting the Catholics were invariably France or the Pope, while the Greeks had been under a Russian protectorate since 1720. It was to deliver these Holy Places from the hands of the Moslems that the Crusades had been undertaken. Saladin had permitted the Latin clergy to perform service in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in 1187, while Robert of Anjou had purchased the Holy Places from the caliph in 1342.

After the conquest of the Holy City by Sultan Selim, 1517, the Georgians secured part of Golgotha, all the other remaining places being reserved expressly to the Sultan in 1558. The title was further confirmed by the capitulations of France with the Sultans in 1535, 1621, 1629, and 1740. Violent outbreaks of jealousy took place between the Armenians, Greeks, and Catholics concerning these marks of favour and especially concerning the possession of the Holy Sepulchre. In 1808 the Greeks, after the Church of the Holy Sepulchre had been destroyed by fire, actually reduced the tombs of Godfrey of Bouillon and Baldwin to ruins. The Greeks, aided by Russian money, restored the Church of the Holy Sepulchre; meanwhile the Latins, whose zeal was supported by France, gained possession of two chapels in 1820.

The Holy Sepulchre in Dispute

In the year 1850 the Pope and the Catholic Patriarch of Jerusalem applied first to France, and joined France in a further application to the Porte, to secure protection against the Greeks. Fear of Russia induced the Porte to decide almost entirely in favour of the Greeks, and the only concession made to the Catholics was the joint use of a church door in Bethlehem.

In the realm of the blind the one-eyed man is king; above the reactionary governments rose the "saviour of order," who had been carried to the throne of France by the Revolution. The presidential chair, which had gained security and permanence from the coup d'état of December 2nd, 1851, was made a new imperial throne within the space of a year by the adroit and not wholly untalented heir to the great name of Bonaparte. On January 14th, 1852, he had brought out a constitution to give France a breathing space, exhausted as she was by the passionate struggle for freedom, and to soothe the extravagance of her imaginings. But this constitution needed a monarchy to complete it. The basis of a national imperial government was there in detail: a

A New Throne in France

legislative body elected by national suffrage; a senate to guarantee the constitutional legality of legislation; an "appeal to the people" on every proposal which could be construed as an alteration of the constitution; a strong and wise executive to conduct state business, whose "resolutions "were examined in camera, undertaking the preparation and execution of everything which could conduce to the welfare of the people.

Napoleon III. Emperor of France

The twelve million francs which the energetic senate had voted as the president's yearly income might equally well be applied to the maintenance of an emperor. When the question was brought forward, the country replied with 7,840,000 votes in the affirmative, while 254,600 dissentients appeared merely as a protest on behalf of the right of independent judgment. On December 2nd, 1852, Napoleon III. was added to the number of crowned heads in Europe as Emperor of France by the grace of God and the will of the people. No Power attempted to refuse recognition of his position. The democratic origin of the new ruler was forgotten in view of his services in the struggle against the Revolution, and in view also of the respect he had shown for considerations of religion and armed force.



PRINCE MENSCHIKOFF
He was in charge of the Russian forces at the battles of the Alma and Inkerman, and also took part in the defence of Sebastopol, but. in consequence of illness, he was recalled in 1855 and died in 1869.

Unfortunately the new monarch could not gain time to convince other Powers of his equality with themselves. The old reigning houses were not as yet sufficiently intimate with him to seek a permanent union through a marriage alliance; yet he was bound to give France and himself an heir, for a throne without heirs speedily becomes uninteresting. Born on April 20th, 1808, he was nearly forty-five years of age, and dared not risk the failure of a courtship which might expose him to the general sympathy or ridicule. Without delay he therefore married, on January 29th, 1853, the beautiful Countess Eugénie of Teba, of the noble Spanish House of Guzman, who was then twenty-six years of age. She was eminently capable, not only of pleasing the Parisians, but also of fixing their attention and of raising their spirits by a never-ending series of fresh devices. No woman was ever better fitted to be a queen of fashion, and fashion has always been venerated as a goddess by the French.

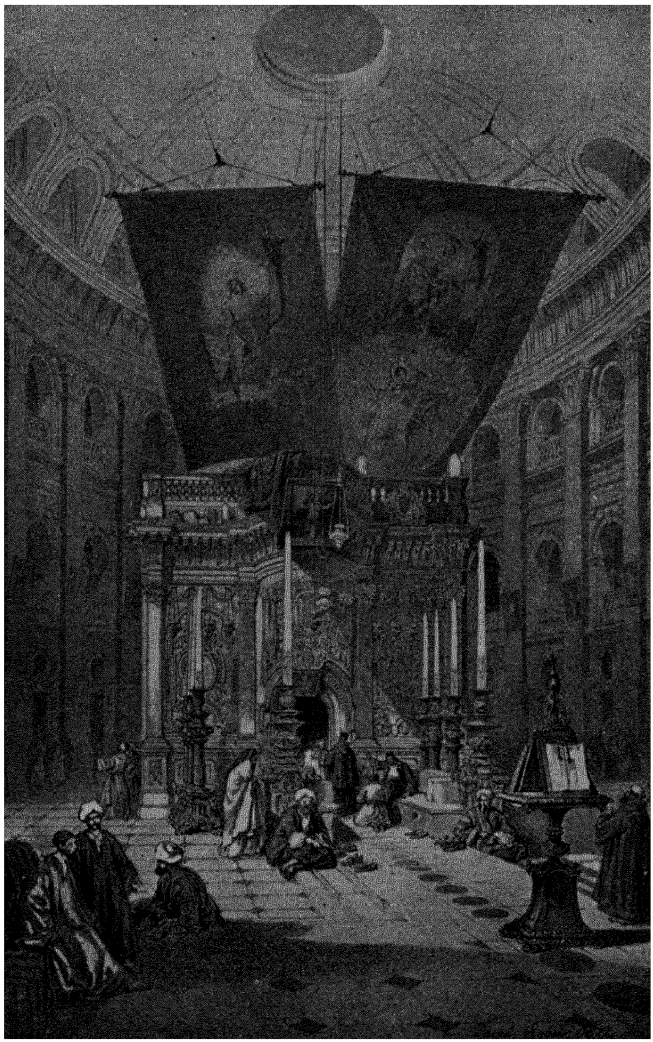
Nothing but a brilliant foreign policy was now lacking to secure the permanence of the Second Empire. It was not enough that Napoleon should be tolerated by his fellow sovereigns; prestige was essential to him. There was no surer road to the hearts of his subjects than that of making himself a power whose favour the other states of Europe would be ready to solicit. For this end it would have been the most natural policy to interest himself in the affairs of Italy, considering that he had old connections with the Carbonari, with Mazzini, and with Garibaldi. But it so happened that the Tsar Nicholas was obliging enough at this juncture to furnish the heir of Bonaparte with a plausible pretext for interfering in the affairs of Eastern Europe. Napoleon III. cannot be regarded as primarily responsible for the differences which arose in 1853 between Britain and Russia. But there can be no doubt that he seized the opportunity afforded by the quarrel of these two Powers and hurried the British Government into an aggressive line of policy which, however welcome to the electorates of British constituencies was viewed with misgiving by many British statesmen, and was destined to be of little advantage to any power but the Second Empire.

The Tsar's Schemes on Turkey

The Tsar Nicholas had for a long time past regarded the partition of the Turkish Empire in favour of Russia as a step for which the European situation was now ripe. Britain and Austria were the Powers whose interests were most obviously threatened by such a scheme. But he thought that Austria could be disregarded if the assent of Britain was secured; and as early as 1844 he had sounded the British Government, suggesting that, in the event of partition, an

understanding between that Power and Russia might be formulated with equal advantage to both. His overtures had met with no definite reply; but he appears to have assumed that Britain would not stand in his way. It was not till 1854, however, that, feeling secure from further insurrections in Poland, he unmasked his batteries against the Porte. The temptation to reassert the French protectorate over the Latin Christians of the East was increased by the annoyance which Napoleon felt at the arrogant demeanour of the Russian court towards himself.

But Napoleon, busied as he was at the moment with preparing for the re-establishment of the empire, could not afford to push his resistance to extremes, and it would have been the wisest course for Nicholas to make sure of the prey which he had in view by occupying the Danube principalities in force, before Austria and Prussia had finished quarrelling over the question of federal reforms. The fact was that the development of his plans was checked for a moment by the unexpected submissiveness of the Sublime Porte, when it agreed to guarantee the Greek Christians of the Holy Land in the possession of the coveted privileges. New pretexts for aggression were, however, very easily discovered; and on May 11th, 1853, Prince Menschikoff despatched an ultimatum, demanding for Russia a protectorate over the fourteen millions of Greek Christians who inhabited the various countries under Turkish rule. Submission to such a demand was equivalent to accepting a partition of the Turkish dominions between Russia and the Sultan. Even without allies the Sultan might be expected to make a stand; and allies were



THE SHRINE OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE AT JERUSALEM

In 1808 the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, one of the shrines which the Crusaders had endeavoured to wrest from the hands of the Mohammedans, was destroyed by fire, and the Greeks, with the aid of Russian money, had the sanctuary restored.

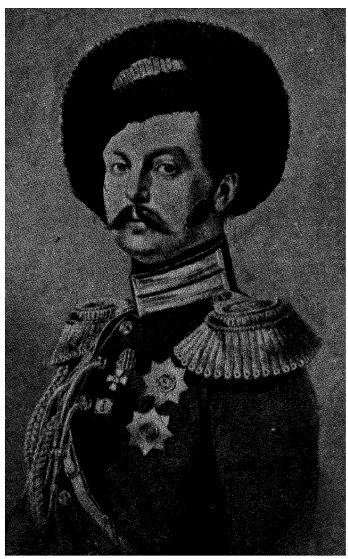


AFTER THE FALL OF KARS: SIR WILLIAM FENWICK WILLIAMS PARTING WITH THE GRIEF-STRICKEN CITIZENS

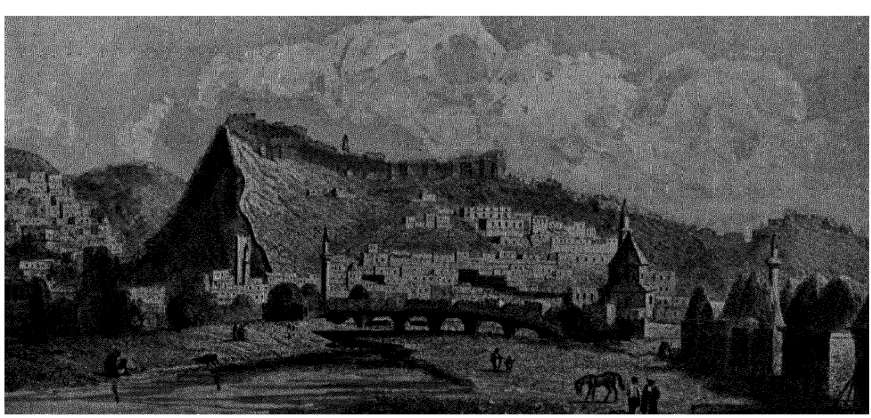
When the Crimean war broke out, in 1854, Sir William Fenwick Williams was sent to Asiatic Turkey to organise the Turkish army, and reaching Kars in September he immediately prepared it for defence. The siege began in June, 1855, by the Russians, under Muravieff, and after a heroic defence lasting till November 25th, Williams was compelled to surrender. The gallant soldier was idolised by the Turkish army as well as by the citizens of Kars, and their sorrow at parting with him is admirably illustrated in the above picture.

From the painting by Barker

forthcoming. Though Napoleon had been first in the field against Russia, it was from Great Britain that Abd ul-Mejid now received the strongest encouragement. Some months before the ultimatum Nicholas had confessed his cherished object to the British ambassador; and though the shock of this disclosure had been tempered by a proposal that Britain should take Egypt and Crete as her share of the spoil, the British Government was clear that, in one way or another, the integrity of the Turkish Empire must be secured. Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, the British representative at Constantinople, advised that no concession whatever should be made to Russia. The advice was taken. Although the Tsar had probably not counted upon war as a serious probability, nothing now remained but to face the consequences of his precipitation, to recall his ambassador, and to send his troops into the Danube principalities. They were invaded on July 2nd, 1853, the Tsar protesting "that it was not his intention to commence war, but to have such security as would ensure the restoration of the rights of Russia." Unprepared as he was, he had every prospect of success if he could secure the co-operation of Austria. Had these two Powers agreed to deliver a joint attack upon Turkey, inducing Prussia, by means of suitable concessions, to protect their rear, the fleets of the Western Powers could not have saved Constantinople, and their armies would certainly not have ventured to take the field against the combined forces of the two Eastern emperors. But the Tsar overrated his own powers and underrated the capacity of the Sultan for resistance. All that Nicholas desired from Austria was neutrality; and this he thought that he might confidently expect after the signal service which Russian armies had rendered in the suppression of the Hungarian rebellion. No advance was made on his part towards an understanding with Austria until the two Western Powers had appeared on the scene. This happened immediately after the Black Sea squadron of the Turkish fleet had been destroyed in the harbour of Sinope by



ALEXANDER II. OF RUSSIA
The son of Tsar Nicholas I., he succeeded to the throne of Russia on March 2nd, 1855. The emancipation of 23,000,000 serfs in 1861, chiefly due to the Tsar's own efforts, was the greatest achievement of Alexander's reign.



VIEW OF KARS FROM THE EAST, SHOWING THE FORTRESS, ABOUT THE YEAR 1840

Admiral Nakimoff on November 30th, 1853 The allied French and British fleets had been in the Bosphorus for a month past with the object of protecting Constantinople; now, at the suggestion of Napoleon, they entered the Black Sea in January, 1854. At this juncture Prince Orloff was despatched to Vienna, without authority to offer any concessions, but merely to appeal to Austrian gratitude It would have needed a statesman of unusual penetration to grasp the fact that Austrian interests would really be served by a friendly response to this dilatory and unskilfully managed application, and such a statesman was not to be found at the Hofburg Schwarzenberg had died very suddenly on April 5th, 1852, and his mantle had fallen upon the shoulders of Count Buol, who had no qualifications for his responsible position beyond rigid orthodoxy and some small experience acquired in a subordinate capacity during the brief ministry of Schwarzenberg Buol confirmed his master, Francis Joseph, in the erroneous idea that the interests of Austria and Russia in the East were diametrically opposed Accordingly, Prince Orloff was rebuffed, and Austria supported a demand for the evacuation of the Danubian principalities issued by the Western Powers on February 27th, 1854

Austria's Rebuff to Russia

France and Britain were encouraged by this measure of Austrian support to conclude a defensive treaty with the Sultan on March 12th and to declare war on Russia on March 27th In the first stages of hostilities they had the support of the Austrian forces Austria accepted from Turkey a formal commission to hold the Danube principalities during the course of the war, and cooperated with a Turkish army in compelling the Russian troops to withdraw And on August 8th, Austria joined with France and Britain in demanding that Russia should abandon her protectorate over Servia and the Danubian principalities, should allow free navigation of the Danube, should submit to a revision of the "Convention of the Straits" of July, 1841, in the interests of the balance of power, and should renounce the claim to a protectorate over the Greek Christians of the Turkish dominions When these demands were rejected by Russia, and the war passed into its second stage, with France and Britain acting on the offensive in order to provide for the peace of the future by crippling Russian power in the East, it might have been expected that Austria would go on as she had begun But at this point a fifth power made its influence felt in the already complicated situation Frederic William IV. did not go to the lengths advised by Bismarck, who proposed that Prussia should restore peace by concentrating an army on the Silesian frontier, and threatening to attack whichever of the two neighbouring empires should refuse a peaceful settlement But the King of Prussia was by no means inclined to make capital out of Russian necessities, and turned a deaf ear to the suggestions of Austria for an armed coalition against the Tsar The result was that Austria, though she concluded, in December, 1854, an offensive alliance with France and Britain, did not take part in the Crimean War, the operations of which have already been described

Russia Rejects the Demands of the Powers

The Tsar Nicholas died, worn out with chagrin and anxiety, on March 2nd, 1855 His policy had cost Russia a loss which was officially calculated at 240,000 men, and "Generals January and February" had treated him even more severely than the allied force which he had expected them to annihilate Negotiations were opened by his son Alexander II, who declined, however, to limit the Russian fleet in the Black Sea The allies, therefore, proceeded with the attack upon Sebastopol, and after a third unsuccessful attack upon their position in the battle of the Tchernaya, August 16th, 1855, the Russians were compelled, by a fearful cannonade and the loss of the Malakoff, September 8th, which was stormed by the French in the face of an appalling fire, to evacuate the city The capture of the Armenian fortress of Kars by General Muravieff in November enabled the Russians to claim more moderate terms of peace than would otherwise have been possible. On February 6th, 1856, a congress opened at Paris to settle the Eastern question, and peace was signed on March 30th of the same year

Death of the Tsar Nicholas

By the terms of the Peace of Paris, the Black Sea was declared neutral and open to the merchant ships of every nation It was to be closed against the warships of all nations, except that Russia and Turkey were permitted to equip not more than

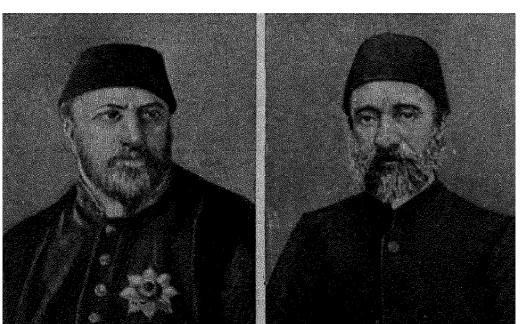
ten light vessels apiece for coastguard service, and that any state interested in the navigation of the Danube might station two light vessels at the mouth of that river. The integrity of Turkey was guaranteed by the Powers, all of whom renounced the right of interfering in the internal affairs of that state, nothing beyond certain promises of reforms being demanded from the Sultan in return for these favours. For the regulation of the navigation of the Danube a standing commission of the interested Powers was appointed. Moldavia and Wallachia were left in dependence on the Sultan, but with complete autonomy so far as their internal administration was concerned. They were to pay a tribute, and their foreign relations were to be controlled by the Porte. Moldavia recovered that part of Bessarabia which had been taken from her by Russia, and in this way the latter Power was pushed back from the Danube.



MILOS OBRENOVITCH

Prince of Servia, he was driven out by a revolution in 1839, but was subsequently recalled, and after his death, in 1860, his son Michael was acknowledged by the Porte.

In Asia Minor the action of France and England restored the frontier to the status quo ante. Turkey, henceforward received into the concert of Europe, promised further reforms in the Hatti-humayun of February 18th, 1856, and reaffirmed the civic equality of all her subjects. The "hat" was received with equal reluctance by both Ottomans and Christians. Only since 1867 have foreigners been able to secure a footing in Turkey. If any advance has been made since these paper promises, it is due not to the imperial firman but to the increase of international communication, which brought the light of civilisation to the very interior of Asia. In 1851 the first railway was built from Alexandria to Suez, by way of Cairo; shortly afterwards the Suez Canal was begun. In Turkey itself new roads were built, harbours constructed, the postal service improved, and telegraph lines erected, especially after the events in Jidda and Lebanon in 1858–1860. The dark side of this onward movement was the shattered condition of the finances. The financial embarrassments of the Porte had been steadily increasing since 1848. At that date there was no foreign national debt; there were about 200 millions of small coin in circulation, with an intrinsic value of 23½ per cent. of their face value. There was a large amount of uncontrolled and uncontrollable paper money, covered by no reserve in bullion, and there were heavy arrears in the way of salaries and army payments. During the Crimean War, apart from an enormous debt at home, a loan of £7,000,000 had been secured in England. Three further loans were effected in 1858, 1860, and 1861. Expenditure rose, in consequence of the high rate of interest, to £14,000,000 annually, while the revenue amounted to £9,000,000 only. In 1861 the financial strain brought about a commercial crisis; an attempt was made to meet the danger by the issue of 1,250 millions of piastres in paper money, with forced circulation. While the upper officials, bank managers, and contractors, such as Langiand-Dumonceau, Eugene Bontoux, and Moritz Hirsch were growing rich, the provinces were impoverished by the weight of taxation and the unnecessary severity with which the taxes were collected. The concert of Europe had guaranteed the first state loan.



ABD UL-AZIZ ALI PASHA

Becoming sultan on the death of his brother, Abd ul-Mejid, in 1861, Abd ul-Aziz found himself confronted by difficult tasks, and for ten years was guided by two very distinguished men, Fuad and Ali Pasha.

Hence in 1882 originated the international administration of the Turkish public debt; and this became the basis of the claim for a general supervision of Turkish affairs by Western Europe, which was afterwards advanced in the case of Armenia and Crete.

The Porte was thus unable to prevent the appointment of Colonel Alexander Johann Cusa, at the instance of France, as Prince of Moldavia on January 29th and of Wallachia on February 17th; the personal bond of union thus established between these vassal states resulted in their actual union as Roumania in 1861. Cusa's despotic rule was overthrown on February 22nd, 1866, and under the new prince, Charles of Hohenzollern, the country enjoyed a rapid rise to prosperity, although the political incapacity of the people, the licence granted by the constitution, and the immorality of the upper classes did not conduce to general order. In Servia the Sultan's creature, Alexander Karageorgevitch, was forced to abdicate on December 21st-22nd, 1858, the family of Obrenovitch was recalled, and after the death of Milos at the age of eighty, on September 26th, 1860, Michael Obrenovitch II. was elected and acknowledged by the Porte. Under the revolutionary and literary government of the "Omladina," "youth," Servia became the scene of Panslavonic movements, hostile to Hungary, which spread to the soil of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and even endangered the absolute monarchy of Michael.

Roumania's Rise to Prosperity



GEORGE I. OF GREECE
The despotic rule of King Otto led to his deposition, and in 1863 a new king was chosen in the person of George I., a son of the King of Denmark.
From an early photograph

On March 6th, 1867, the last Turkish troops were withdrawn from Servian soil, in accordance with the agreements of September 4th, 1862, and March 3rd, 1867. After the murder of the prince, on June 10th, 1868, the Skupshtina appointed the last surviving Obrenovitch, Prince Milan, then fourteen years of age, and passed the new constitution on June 29th, 1869. An additional consequence was that Turkey became again involved in disputes with the Western Powers; in 1858 the occasion was the murder of the British and French consuls at Jidda, in Arabia, and in 1860 the atrocities of the Druses against the Christians in Lebanon and Damascus. To anticipate the interference of the Powers, the Grand Vizir, Fuad Pasha, one of the greatest statesmen that Turkey has produced in the nineteenth century, was sent to the spot with unlimited powers; but it was not until a French army of occupation appeared that the leaders in high places were brought to punishment, and the province of Lebanon was placed under a Christian governor. The chief service performed by Fuad was that of introducing the vilayet constitution, the division of the Ottoman Empire into sanjaks and kasas, by which means he had already produced great effects on the Danube provinces. Had it not been for the opposition of the whole company of the Old Turks, the imams, mollas, mütevelis, hojas, the dervishes, and softas, in the mosques, the schools, the monasteries, and also the coffee-houses, he would possibly have succeeded in cleansing the great Augean stable of Arabic slothfulness.

Upon the death of Abd ul-Mejid, on June 26th, 1861, his brother, the new ruler, Abd ul-Aziz, 1861-1876, was confronted by difficult tasks, and the question arose as to his capacity for dealing with them. The good-natured Abd ul-Mejid had generally allowed his Grand Vizirs to govern on his behalf, but after 1858, when the royal privy exchequer had been declared bankrupt, he relapsed into indolence and weak sensuality. Notwithstanding the shattered state of the empire, his brother and successor, Abd ul-Aziz, promised a government of peace, of retrenchment, and reform. To the remote observer he appeared a character of proved strength, in the prime of life, and inspired with a high enthusiasm for his lofty calling. All these advantages, however, were paralysed by the criminal manner in which his education had been neglected. The ruler of almost forty millions of subjects was, at that time, scarcely able to write a couple of lines in his own language. The result was the failure of his first attempts

Programme of the New Sultan

to bring some order into the administration and the finances, a failure which greatly discouraged him Until 1871 he allowed himself to be guided by these two distinguished men, Fuad and Ali Pasha, at the same time his want of firmness and insight, his nervous excitability, which often made him unaccountable for his actions, and his senseless and continually increasing extravagance led him, not only to the arms of Ignatieff, "the father of lies," but also to his own destruction

In the commercial treaties of 1861–1862 gunpowder, salt, and tobacco had been excepted from the general remission of duties The salt tax, which was shortly afterwards revived, was a lamentable mistake Sheep farmers suffered terribly under it, for the lack of salt produced fresh epidemics every year among the flocks and destroyed the woollen trade and the manufacture of carpets The culture of the olive and tobacco also suffered under the new imposts, while internal trade was hindered by octroi duties of every kind

A new King on the Throne of Greece

To these difficulties military and political complications were added Especially dangerous was the revolt in Crete, in the spring of 1866, in 1863 Greece had expelled the Bavarian prince and chosen a new king, George I, formerly Prince Wilhelm of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Glucksburg, and had received the seven Ionian Islands from England in 1864, she now supported her Cretan brothers and co-religionists with money, armies, troops, and ships, notwithstanding the deplorable condition of her own finances

Only when an ultimatum had been sent to Greece did the Porte succeed in crushing this costly revolt under pressure from a conference of the Powers in 1869 Meanwhile, Ismail Pasha of Egypt had received, in 1866 and 1867, the title of "Khedive" and the right to the direct succession Undisturbed by English jealousy, the "viceroy" continued the projects of his predecessor, especially the construction of the Suez Canal, which had been begun by Lesseps, he increased his army, built warships, appointed his own Minister of Foreign Affairs in the person of the Armenian Nubar Pasha travelled in Europe, and invited the courts of several states to a brilliant opening of the canal in 1869, by means of a personal visit to Constantinople, by large presents and an increase of tribute, he further secured in 1873 the sovereignty which he had assumed In the summer of 1867 the Sultan appeared in Western Europe accompanied

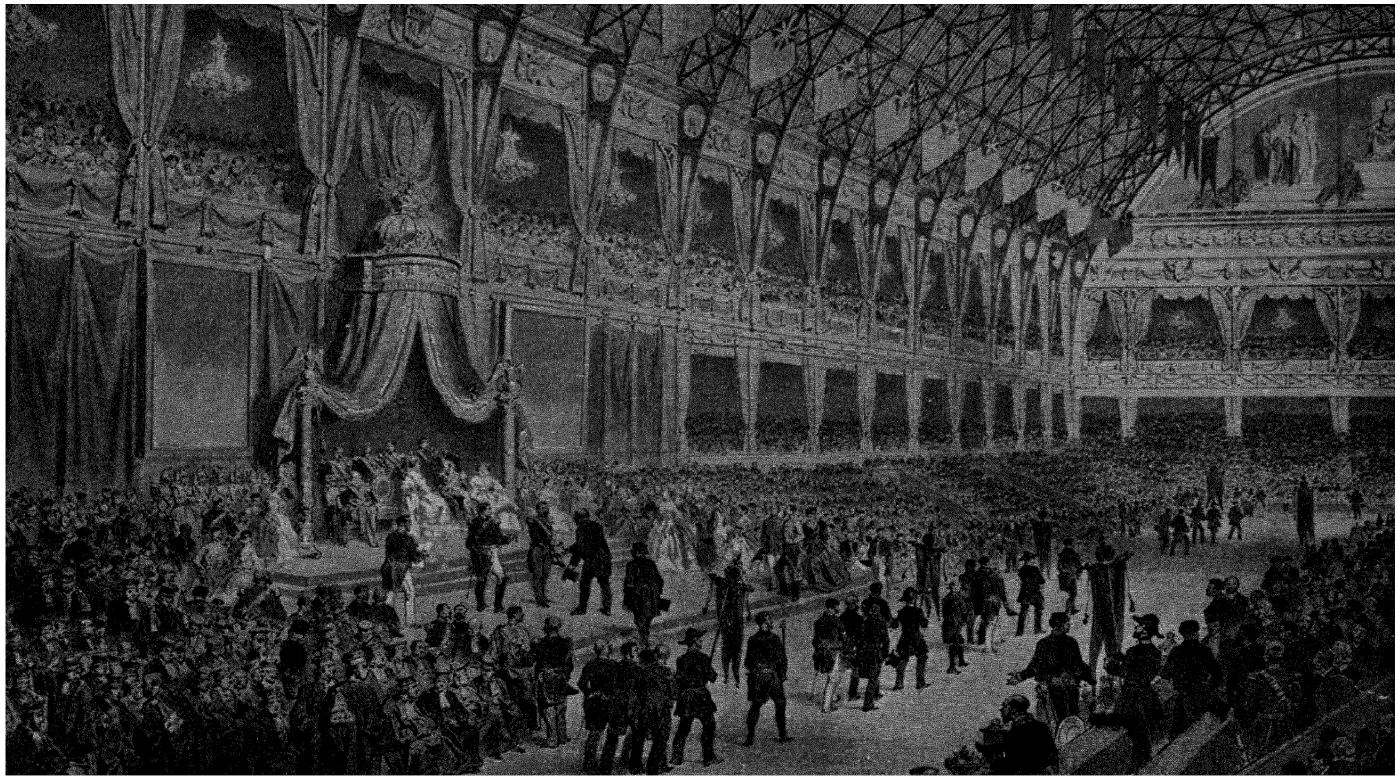
The Grand Tour of the Sultan

by Fuad, it was the first occasion in Ottoman history that a sultan had passed the frontiers of his empire, not for the purpose of making conquests, but to secure the favour of his allies He had already visited the Khedive in Egypt in 1863 Now he saw the World's Exhibition at Paris, and that of London in June, 1863 On July 24th he paid his respects to the King and Queen of Prussia at Coblentz and returned to Constantinople by way of Vienna on August 7th The success of Fuad Pasha in inducing his master to take this step was a masterpiece of diplomacy and patriotism, unfortunately, the journey, which had cost enormous sums, did not produce the hoped-for results

On February 11th, 1869, Fuad died, as also did his noble friend and rival, Ali, on September 6th, 1871, thereupon, simultaneously with the fall of the Second Empire, Ottoman politics entered upon that path which for Napoleon III began before the walls of Sebastopol and ended at Sedan In place of the influence of the Western Powers the eagles of Russia and Prussia were henceforward victorious on the Bosphorus Upon his death-bed Fuad had written from Nizza on January 3rd, 1869, to Sultan Abd ul-Aziz "The rapid advance of our neighbours and the incredible mistakes of our forefathers have brought us into a dangerous position,

Death-bed Warning of Fuad Pasha

if the threatening collision is to be avoided, your Majesty must break with the past and lead your people in fresh paths" The committee of officials which travelled through the provinces of the empire in 1864 expressed this thought even more bluntly "The officials grow rich upon the taxes, while the people suffer, working like slaves under the whip The income of the taxes is divided among the officials instead of flowing into the state exchequer"



THE WORLD'S EXHIBITION AT PARIS IN 1855: DISTRIBUTING THE AWARDS TO THE SUCCESSFUL EXHIBITORS

The Great Exhibition held at Paris in the year 1855 did much to restore the French capital to her former prestige as the Continental centre. The presentation of awards to the successful exhibitors, which ceremony took place in the Palace of Industry on November 15th, and marked the closing of the Exhibition, is illustrated in the above interesting picture.



THE SECOND EMPIRE OF FRANCE

THE ASCENDANCY OF NAPOLEON III. AND THE WANING OF HIS STAR

FOR a short time, the diplomatic results of the Crimean war made Napoleon III. appear to be the most powerful ruler in Europe; and he took upon himself the part of a second Metternich. He concealed his actual position and succeeded in inspiring Europe with a wholly unfounded belief in the strength of his country and himself. The World's Exhibition of 1855, and the congress which immediately followed, restored Paris to her former prestige as the centre of Europe. Pilgrims flocked to the city of pleasure and good taste, upon the adornment of which the Prefect of the Seine, Georges Eugène Haussmann, was permitted to expend £4,000,000 per annum.

Napoleon's Greatest Mistake

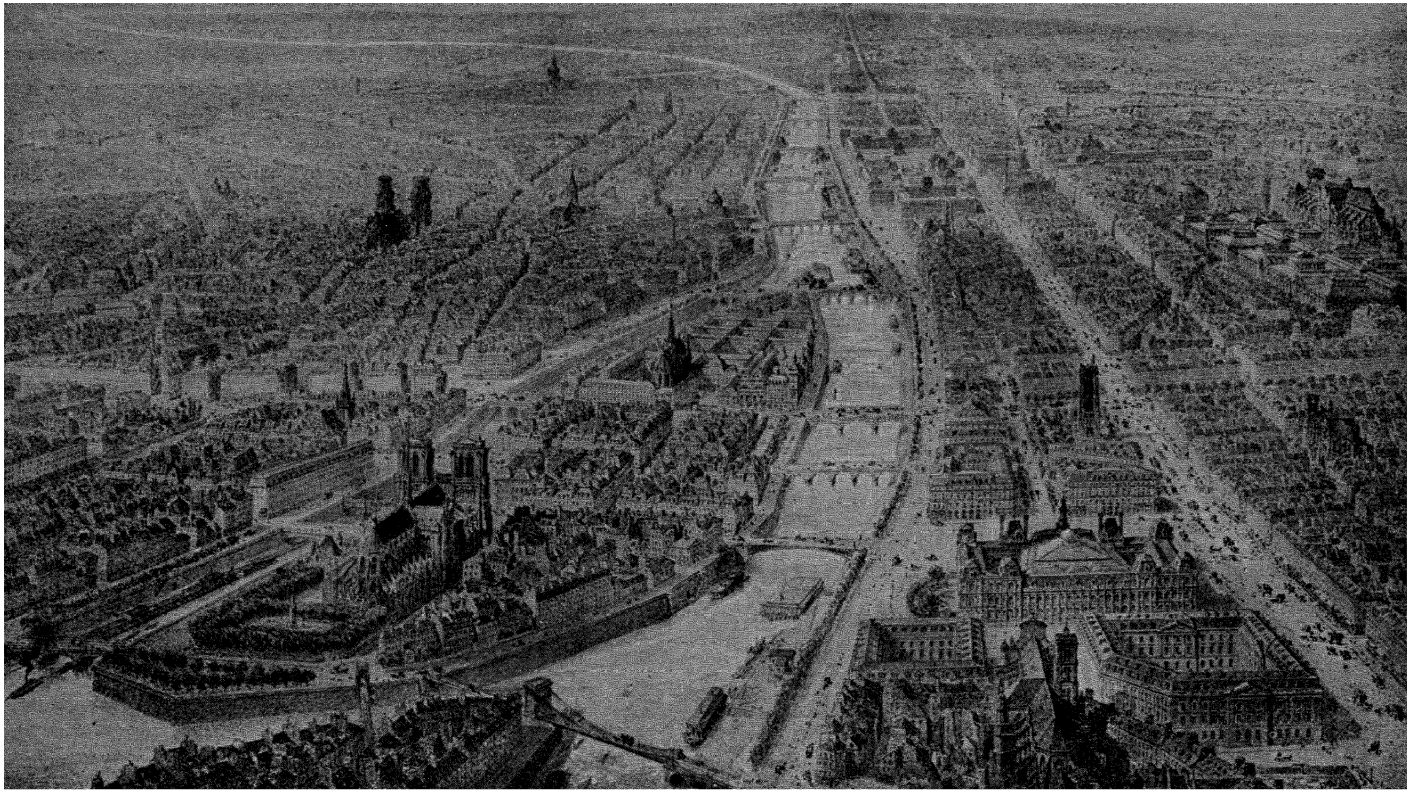
The sound governmental principle laid down by the first Napoleon, of keeping the fourth estate contented by high wages, and thus securing its good behaviour and silent approval of an absolute monarchy, was followed with entire success for the moment in the "restored" empire. However, Napoleon III., like Metternich, was penetrated with the conviction that the ruler must of necessity be absolute. His greatest mistake consisted in the fact that he refrained from giving a material content to the constitutional forms under which his government was established. By this means he might have united to himself that section of the population which is not subject to the influence of caprice.

The "legislative body" should have been made representative, and should have been given control of the finances and the right of initiating legislative proposals. Such a change would have been far more profitable to the heir who was born to the emperor on March 16th, 1856, than the illusory refinements which gained the Second Empire the exaggerated approbation of all the useless epicures in existence. Russia seemed to have been reduced to impotency for a long time to come, and her power to be now inferior to that of Turkey. She proceeded to accommodate herself to the changed conditions. Alexander II. assured his subjects that the war begun by his father had improved and secured the position of Christianity in the East, and proceeded with magnificent dispassionateness to make overtures to the French ruler, who had just given him so severe a lesson. The Russian politicians were correct in their opinion that Napoleon was relieved to have come so well out of his enterprises in the East, and that they need fear no immediate disturbance from that quarter.

Russia After the War

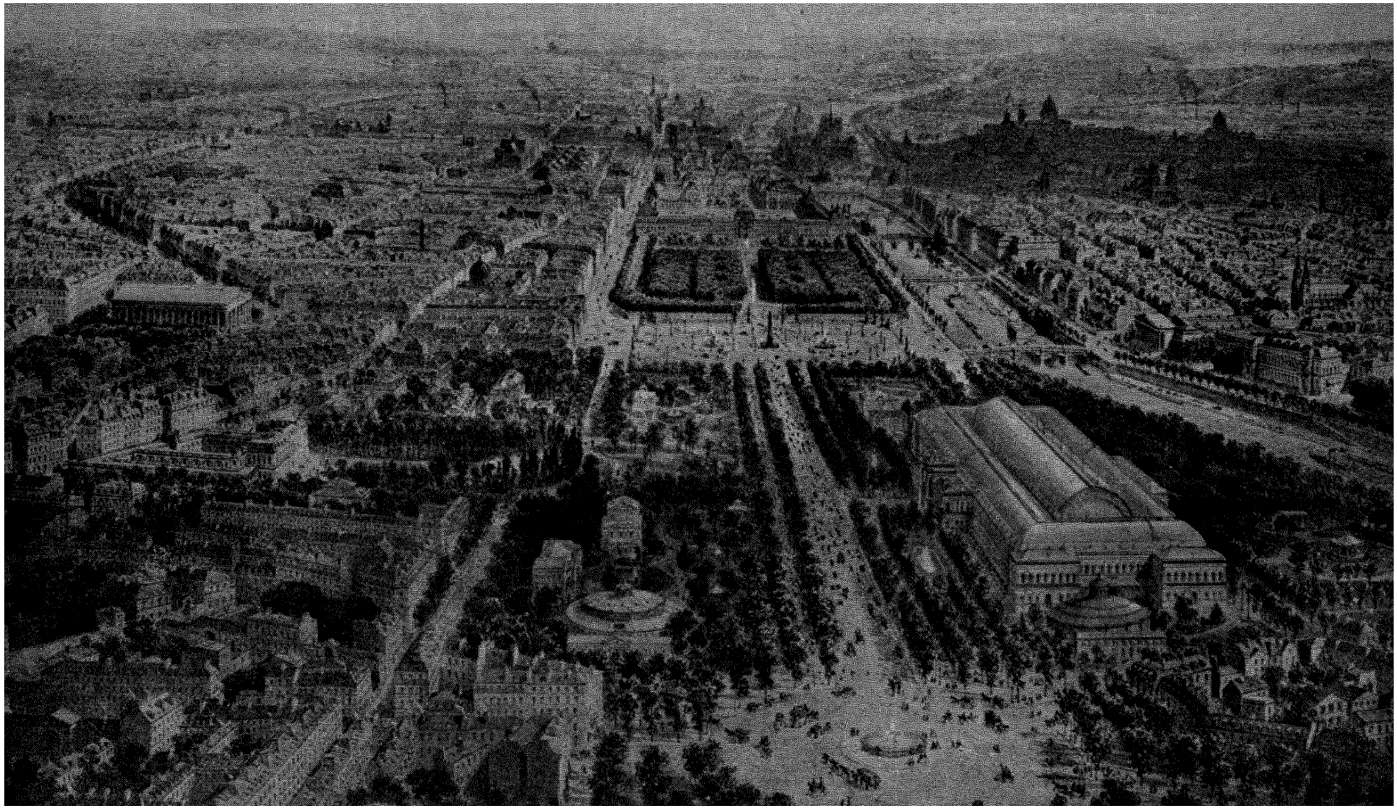
Napoleon III. showed himself worthy of this confidence. With real diplomacy he met Russia half way, respected her desires whenever he could do so, and received a tacit assurance that Russia would place no obstacle in the way of his designs against any other Power. Though Austria had not fired a shot against the Russian troops, she proved far less accommodating than France, whose troops had triumphantly entered Sebastopol. Austria had declined to repay the help given her in Hungary; she had also appeared as a rival in the Balkans, and had only been restrained by Prussia from dealing Russia a fatal blow. Thus Austria's weakness would imply Russia's strength, and would enable her the more easily to pursue her Eastern policy. Prussia had fallen so low that no interference was to be feared from her in the event of any great European complication, though there was no immediate apprehension of any such difficulty. In a fit of mental weakness which foreshadowed his ultimate collapse, Frederic William IV. had concentrated his thoughts upon the possibility of recovering his principality of

Prussia in the Dust



GENERAL VIEW OF THE CITY OF PARIS IN THE YEAR 1860, LOOKING NORTH-WEST ALONG THE COURSE OF THE SEINE

Whatever Napoleon III. failed to do for France, he certainly made vast improvements in Paris. The above view shows Nôtre Dame in the left foreground, while beyond it, in the middle distance, the graceful shape of the Sainte Chapelle is seen, and farthest beyond we discern the tower of the Hôtel des Invalides. In the right foreground stands the Hôtel de Ville, with the broad Rue de Rivoli stretching straight ahead, and bending to the left beyond the Tuileries, we see the Champs Elysées reaching to the Arc de Triomphe in the farthest distance.



A GENERAL VIEW OF THE HEART OF PARIS AS IT WAS DURING THE BRILLIANT DAYS OF THE SECOND EMPIRE

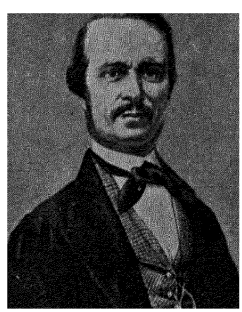
In the above illustration the spectator is looking in the opposite direction from the view on the preceding page. The Place de la Concorde is seen in the centre of the picture, and beyond it are the Tuileries Gardens and the Louvre, while in the middle distance on the left the Grecian masonry of the Madeleine is easily distinguished, and the routes of many of the most famous thoroughfares can be readily traced, as the changes in the general aspect of this part of the city during the last half century have not been extraordinary.

Neuenberg. Success was denied him. After the ill-timed attempt at revolution, set on foot by the Prussian party in that province on September 3rd, 1856, he was forced to renounce definitely all claim to the province on May 26th, 1857. The fact that the principality was of no value to Prussia did not remove the impression that the German state had again suffered a defeat. Napoleon was one of the few statesmen who estimated the power of Prussia at a higher rate than did the majority of his contemporaries; in a conversation with Bismarck in March, 1857, he had already secured Prussia's neutrality in the event of a war in Italy, and had brought forward proposals of more importance than the programme of the union. With the incorporation of Hanover and Holstein a northern sea-power was to be founded strong enough, in alliance with France, to oppose England. All that he asked in return was a "small delimitation" of the Rhine frontier; this, naturally, was not to affect the left bank, the possession of which would oblige France to extend her territory and would rouse a new coalition against her. Bismarck declined to consider any further projects in this direction, and sought to extract an undertaking from the emperor that Prussia should not be involved in any great political combination. Great Britain's resources were strained to the utmost by conflicts with Persia and China, and by the outbreak of the Indian Mutiny, and she needed not only the goodwill but the friendly offices of France. For these reasons the Tory Ministry, which came into office in 1858 upon the fall of Palmerston, could not venture to disturb the good understanding with Napoleon, however strongly inclined to this course.

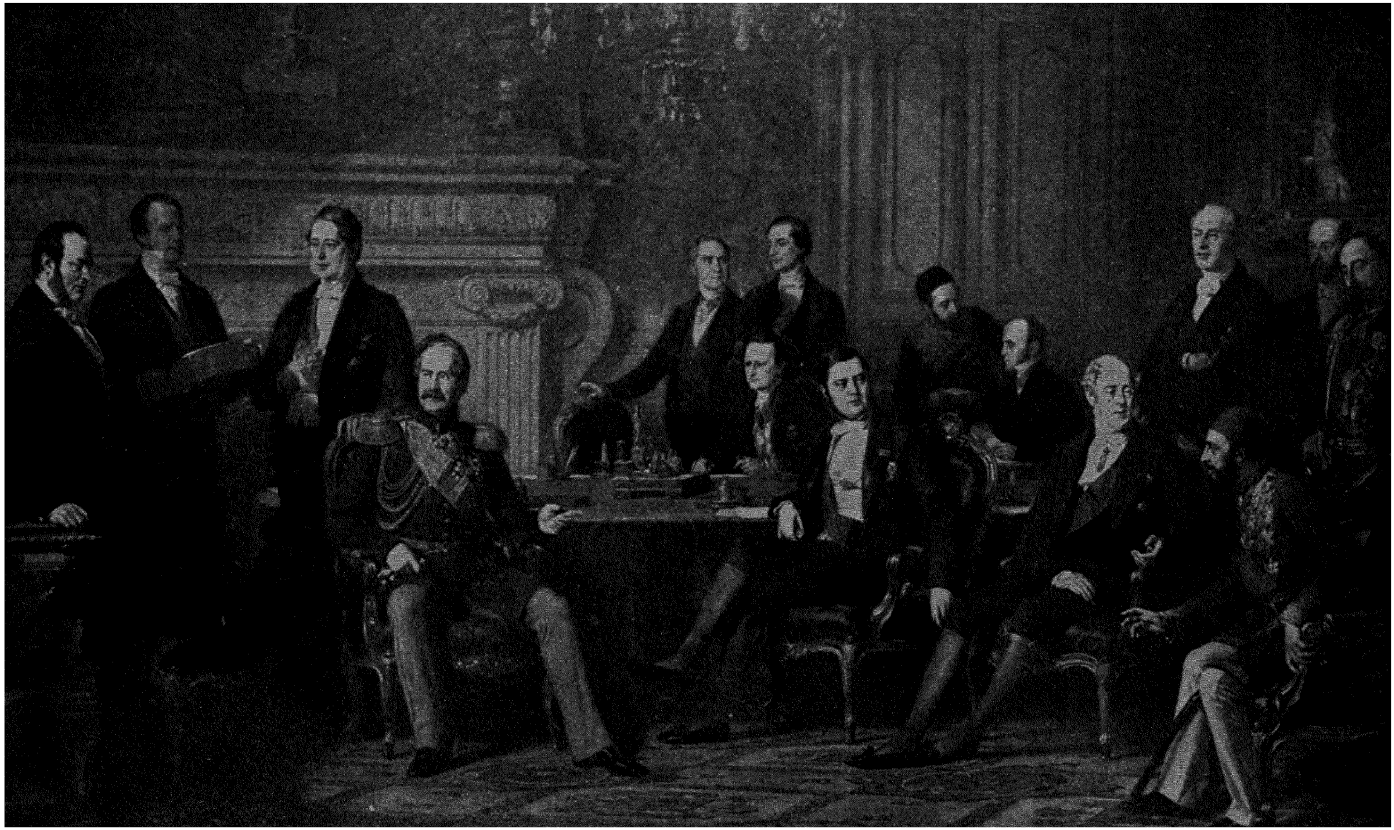
Napoleon was thus free to confront the apparently feasible task of increasing his influence in Europe and conciliating the goodwill of his subjects to the empire. It was now necessary to apply the second fundamental principle of the Bonapartist rulers, to avoid any thorough investigation of internal difficulties by turning attention to foreign affairs, by assuming a commanding position among the Great Powers, and by acquiring military fame when possible. Polignac had already made a similar attempt. He had failed through want of adroitness; the capture of Algiers came too late to prevent the July Revolution. Napoleon did not propose to fail thus, and for once, at least, his attempt proved successful. Naturally the methods by which Ministers had begun war under the "old regime" were impossible for a popular emperor. Moreover, Napoleon III. was no soldier; he could not merely wave his sword, like his great uncle, and announce to Europe that this or that dynasty must be deposed. Principles must be followed out, modern ideas must be made triumphant; at the least, the subject nation must be made to believe that the individual was merely the implement of the great forces of activity latent in peoples. He had turned constitutionalism to excellent account; the struggles of the Liberal party to obtain a share in the government had ended by raising him to the throne. Another idea with which modern Europe was fully penetrated, that of nationality, might now be exploited by an adroit statesman. Napoleon neither exaggerated nor underestimated its potency; only he had not realised how deeply it was rooted in the hearts of the people. He knew that it was constantly founded upon folly and presumption, and that the participation of the people in the task of solving state problems fostered the theory that the concentration of the national strength was ever a more important matter than the maintenance of the state; hence he inferred the value of the national idea as a means of opening the struggle against



COUNT CAVOUR
A liberal statesman, he laboured strenuously for the restoration of Italian nationality, and at last, in 1861, he witnessed the summoning of an Italian Parliament.



URBANO RATTAZZI
He was twice Prime Minister of Italy, in 1862 and again in 1867, but held office for only a brief period on each occasion, resigning through his opposition to Garibaldi.

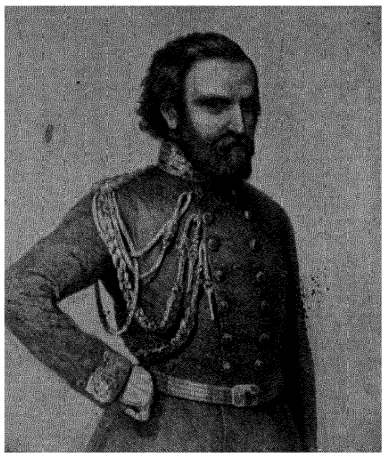


THE STATESMEN WHO ENDED THE CRIMEAN WAR: THE CONGRESS OF PARIS IN 1856

Attended by two plenipotentiaries from each of the seven Powers—Britain, France, Russia, Turkey, Austria, Prussia and Sardinia—the Congress of Paris agreed to the terms of peace that brought the Crimean war to an end. The integrity of the Ottoman Empire was guaranteed, the Danube declared free for navigation, and the Black Sea recognised as neutral.

From the painting by Dubufe in Versailles Museum

existing political institutions. But of its moral power he had no conception; he never imagined that, in the fulness of time, it would become a constructive force capable of bending statecraft to its will. Here lay the cause of his tragic downfall—he was like the apprentice of some political magician, unable to dismiss the spirits whom he had evoked when they became dangerous.



GARIBALDI

The central figure in the battle for Italian independence, Garibaldi, the son of a poor sailor, led the revolters against the Austrian rule, continuing the struggle till Italy became a nation, with Victor Emmanuel as her king, and then retiring to Caprera.

His gaze had long been directed towards Italy; the dreams of his youth returned upon him in new guise and lured him to make that country the scene of his exploits. It was, however, in the East, which had already proved so favourable to Napoleon's enterprises, that he was to make his first attempt to introduce the principle of nationality into the concert of Europe. Turkey was forced to recognise the rights of the Roumanian nation, of which she had hardly so much as heard when the question arose of the regulation of the government in the Danube principalities. She could offer no opposition when Moldavia and Wallachia, each of which could elect a hospodar tributary to the Sultan, united in their choice of one and the same personality, Colonel Alexander Johann Cusa, and appointed him their prince at the beginning of 1859 on January 29th and February 17th.

By this date a new rising of the kingdom of Sardinia against Austria had already been arranged for the purpose of overthrowing the foreign government in Italy. The victorious progress of the national idea in the Danube principalities, which not only destroyed Austria's hopes of extending her territory on the Black Sea, but also became a permanent cause of disturbance in her Eastern possessions, was now to justify its application in Italy. The attempt of the Italian, Orsini, and his three associates, who threw bombs at the imperial couple in Paris on January 14th, 1858, wounding both of them and 141 others, is said to have materially contributed to determine Napoleon's decision for the Italian war. He was intimidated by the weapons which the Nationalist and Radical party now began to employ, for Orsini in the very face of death appealed to him to help his oppressed fatherland, and it became manifest that this outrage was merely the expression of national excitement.

A similar state of tension existed in the Sardinian state, its dynasty and its leader, Count Camillo Cavour, who had been the Prime Minister of King Victor Emmanuel since November 4th, 1852. At first of moderate views, he had joined the Liberals under Urbano Rattazzi and Giovanni Lanza, and had entered into relations with the revolutionary party throughout the peninsula. He had succeeded in inspiring their leaders with the conviction that the movement for Italian unity must proceed from Piedmont. Vincenzo Gioberti, Daniel Manin, and Giuseppe Garibaldi adopted Cavour's programme, and promised support if he would organise a new rising against Austria. Cavour, with the king's entire approval, now made this rising his primary object; he was confident that Napoleon would not permit Austria to



VICTOR EMMANUEL II.

He ascended the throne of Sardinia in 1849, in succession to his father, and in 1861 he was proclaimed King of Italy at Turin, reigning until his death, which occurred in January, 1878.

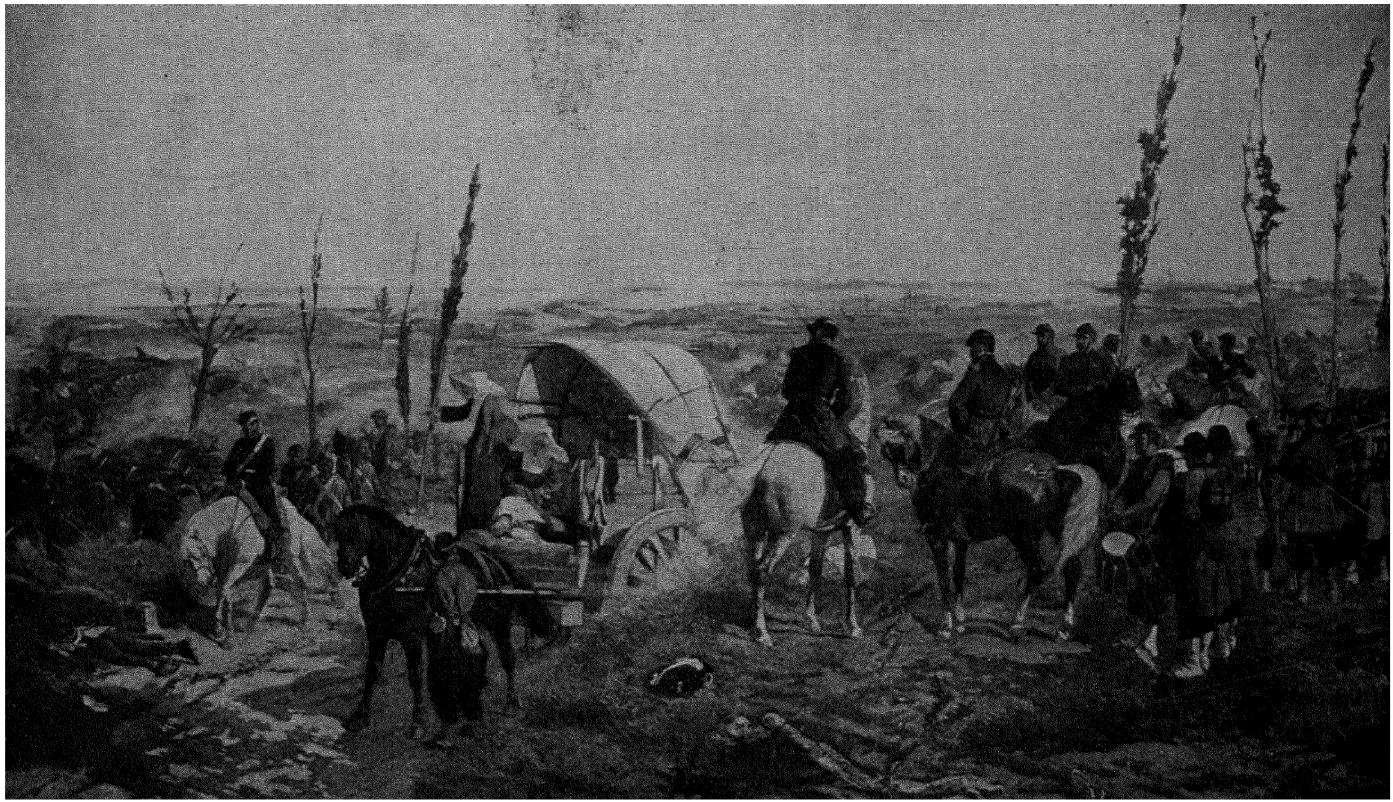


THE ITALIAN CAMPAIGN OF NAPOLEON III.: DEFEAT OF THE AUSTRIANS AT THE BATTLE OF PALESTRO ON MAY 30TH, 1859
From the painting by Emilio Lapi in the Gallery of Modern Paintings, Florence

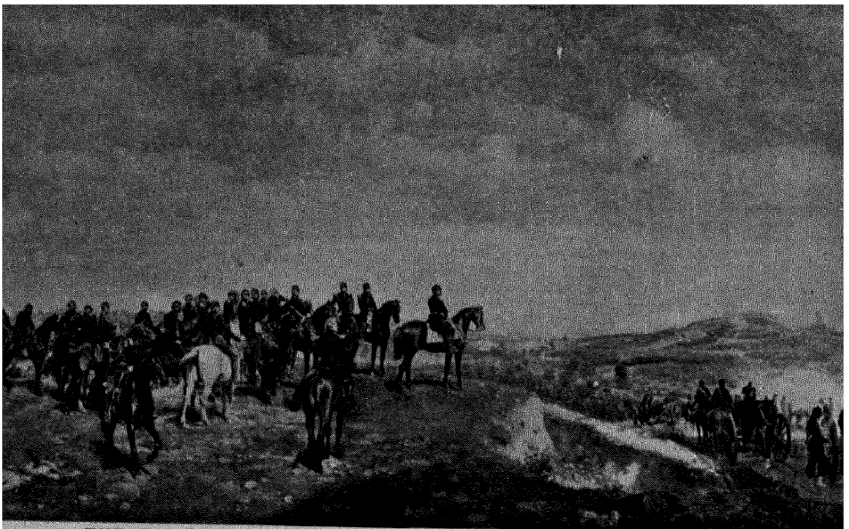
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THE FRENCH ATTACK UNDER MACMAHON AT THE BATTLE OF MAGENTA ON JUNE 4TH, 1859
From the painting by Yvon in the Versailles Museum

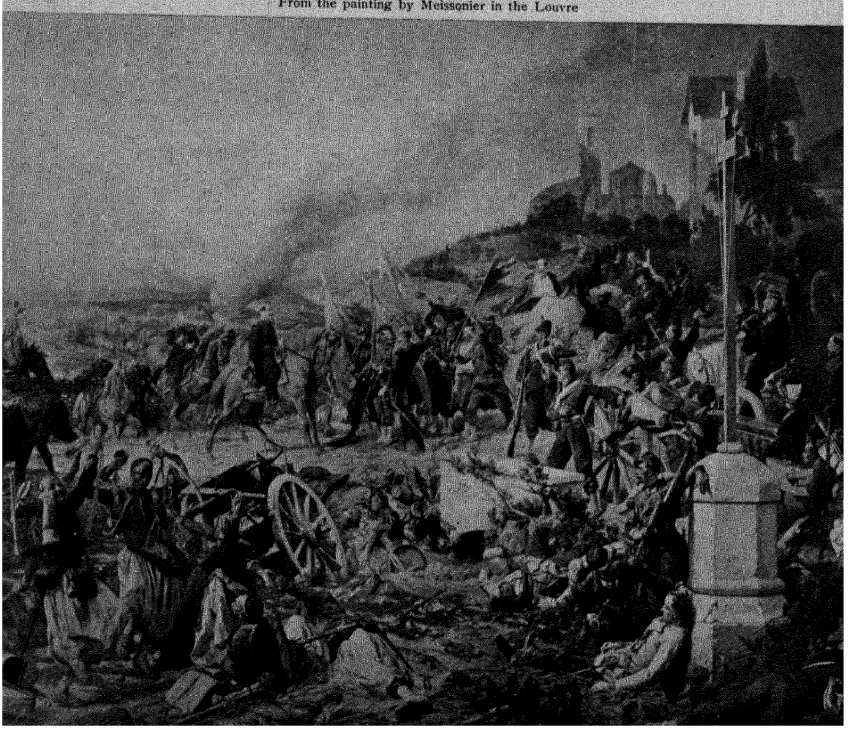


ANOTHER SCENE IN THE BATTLE OF MAGENTA: THE ITALIAN CAMP DURING THE FIGHT
From the painting by Giovanni Fattori



THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON III. AT THE BATTLE OF SOLFERINO

From the painting by Meissonier in the Louvre



SOLFERINO: "ONE OF THE BLOODIEST CONFLICTS OF THE CENTURY"

On June 24th, 1859, was fought the battle of Solferino, "one of the bloodiest conflicts of the century." Three hundred thousand men, with nearly 800 guns, were opposed in the terrible fight, and while the French had no definite plan of action, the Austrian leaders were unable to avoid a series of blunders. Rarely, indeed, have troops been handled with so little generalship. In the battle, which ended in the defeat of the Austrians, no fewer than 12,000 Austrians and nearly 17,000 allies were killed or wounded, and 9,000 Austrian prisoners were taken, as against 1,200 Italians.

From the painting by Jules Rigo in the Versailles Museum

aggrandise herself by reducing Italy a second time. The Austrian Government played into his hands by declining to continue the arrangements for introducing an entirely autonomous and national form of administration into Lombardy and Venice, and by the severity with which the aristocratic participants in the Milan revolt of February 6th, 1853, were punished. Sardinia sheltered the fugitives, raised them to honourable positions, and used every means to provoke a breach with Austria. The schemes of the House of Savoy and its adherents were discovered by the Viennese government, but too late; they were too late in recognising that Lombardy and Venice must be reconciled to the Austrian supremacy by relaxing the severity of the military occupation. Too late, again, was the Archduke Maximilian, the enlightened and popular brother of the emperor, despatched as viceroy to Milan, to concentrate and strengthen the Austrian party. Cavour gave the Lombards no rest; by means of the national union he spread the fire throughout Italy, and continually incited the Press against Austria. The Austrian Government was soon forced to recall its ambassador from Turin, and Piedmont at once made the counter move.



THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON III.
Many improvements in internal administration were carried out under Napoleon III., but the emperor's policy was one of vacillation, and the story is told that Bismarck on one occasion described him as "an undetected incapable."

In July, 1858, Napoleon came to an agreement with Cavour at Plombières; France was to receive Savoy if Sardinia acquired Lombardy and Venice, while the county of Nizza was to be the price of the annexation of Parma and Modena. The House of Savoy thus sacrificed its ancestral territories to gain the paramountcy in Italy. The term "Italy" then implied a federal state which might include the Pope, the Grand Duke of Tuscany, and the King of Naples.



JOSEPH NAPOLEON
The son of Jerome of Westphalia, he married Clotilde, the daughter of Victor Emmanuel, thus strengthening the community of interests between France and Sardinia.

Sardinia at once began the task of mobilisation, for which preparation had been already made by the construction of 250 miles of railway lines. On January 1st, 1859, at the reception on New Year's Day, Napoleon plainly announced to the Austrian ambassador, Hübner, his intention of helping the Italian cause. On January 17th, the community of interests between France and Sardinia was reaffirmed by the engagement of Prince Joseph Napoleon —Plon-Plon—son of Jerome of Westphalia, to Clotilde, the daughter of Victor Emmanuel. Even then the war might have been avoided had Austria accepted British intervention and the condition of mutual disarmament. Napoleon dared not provoke England, and informed Cavour on April 20th that it was advisable to fall in with the British proposals. But the Cabinet of Vienna had in the meantime been so ill-advised as to send an ultimatum to Sardinia threatening an invasion within thirty days if Sardinia did not forthwith and unconditionally promise to disarm. This action was the more ill-timed, as Austria was herself by no means prepared to throw the whole of her forces into Italy. By accepting British intervention Cavour evaded the necessity of replying to the ultimatum. France declared that the crossing of the Ticino by the Austrians would be regarded as a casus belli. The crossing was none the less effected on April 30th, 1859. The war which then began brought no special honour to any of the combatants, though it materially altered the balance of power in Europe. In the first place, the Austrian army showed itself entirely unequal to the performance of its new tasks; in respect of equipment it was far behind the times, and much of its innate

capacity had disappeared since the campaigns of 1848 and 1849; leadership and administrative energy were alike sadly to seek Half-trained and often wholly uneducated officers were placed in highly responsible positions High birth, irrespective of capacity, was a passport to promotion, a fine presence and a kind of dandified indifference to knowledge and experience were more esteemed than any military virtues There was loud clashing of weapons, but general ignorance as to their proper use The general staff was in an unusually benighted condition, there were few competent men available, and there had no chance of employment unless they belonged to one of the groups and coteries which made the distribution of offices their special business

The Austrian Army Corrupt and Incapable

At the end of April, 1859, the army in Italy amounted to little more than 100,000 men, although Austria was said to have at command 520,000 infantry, 60,000 cavalry, and 1,500 guns The commander-in-chief Count Franz Gyulay, was an honourable and fairly competent officer, but no general His chief of the staff, Kuhnenfeld, had been sent to the seat of war from his professorial chair in the military academy, and while he displayed the highest ingenuity in the invention of combinations, was unable to formulate or execute any definite plan of campaign

With his 100,000 troops Gyulay might easily have overpowered the 70,000 Piedmontese and Italian volunteers who had concentrated on the Po The retreat from that position could hardly have been prevented even by the French generals and a division of French troops, which had arrived at Turin on April 26th, 1859, however, the Austrian leaders were apprehensive of being outflanked on the Po by a disembarkation of the French troops at Genoa Gyulay remained for a month in purposeless inaction in the Lomellina, the district between Ticino and Sesia, it was not until May 23rd that he ventured upon a reconnaissance to Montebello, which produced no practical result The conflict at Palestro on May 30th deceived him as to Napoleon's real object, the latter was following the suggestions of General Niel, and had resolved to march round the Austrian right wing. Garibaldi, with three or four thousand ill-armed guerrilla troops, had crossed the Ticino at the south of Lake Maggiore This route was followed by a division under General MacMahon, and Niel reached Novara on the day of Palestro and proceeded to threaten Gyulay's line of retreat, who accordingly retired behind the Ticino on June 1st. He had learned nothing of MacMahon's movement on his left, and thought his right wing sufficiently covered by the division of Clam-Gallas, who was advancing from the Tyrol. The battle on the Naviglio followed on June 3rd, and Gyulay maintained his position with 50,000 men against the 58,000 under the immediate command of the Emperor Napoleon in person

Napoleon and Garibaldi in Battle

MacMahon had crossed the Ticino at Turbigo, driven back Clam-Gallas, and found himself by evening on the Austrian left flank at Magenta on June 4th, 1859 Unable to rely on his subordinates for a continuance of the struggle, Gyulay abandoned his position on the following day, evacuated Milan, and led his army to the Mincio At this point the Emperor Francis Joseph assumed the command in person, reinforcements to the number of 140,000 troops had arrived, together with reserve and occupation troops amounting to another 100,000 With these the emperor determined to advance again to the Chiese on the advice of General Riedkirchen, who presided over the council of war in association with the old quartermaster-general Hess

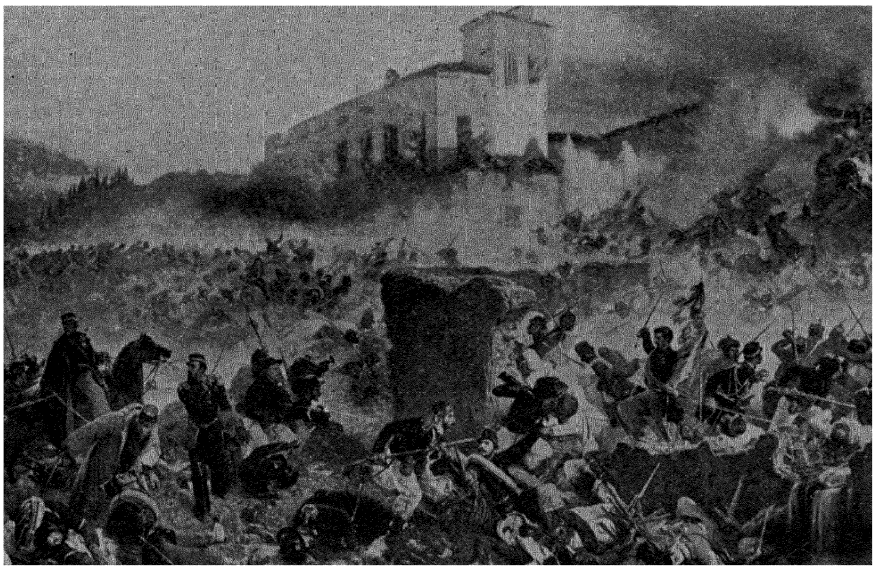
The terrible Battle of Solferino

On June 24th they encountered the enemy advancing in five columns upon the Mincio, and to the surprise of the combatants the Battle of Solferino was begun, one of the bloodiest conflicts of the century, which ended in the retreat of the Austrians, notwithstanding the victory of Benedek over the Piedmontese on the right wing Three hundred thousand men with nearly 800 guns were opposed on that day, and rarely have such large masses of troops been handled in an important battle with so little intelligence or generalship The French had no definite plan of action, and might have been defeated without great difficulty had the Austrian leaders been able to avoid a similar series of blunders The losses were very heavy on either side Twelve thousand Austrians and nearly 17,000 allies were killed or wounded, on the other hand, 9,000 Austrian prisoners were taken as against 1,200 Italians.



VICTOR EMMANUEL AND HIS STAFF AT THE BATTLE OF SAN MARTINO

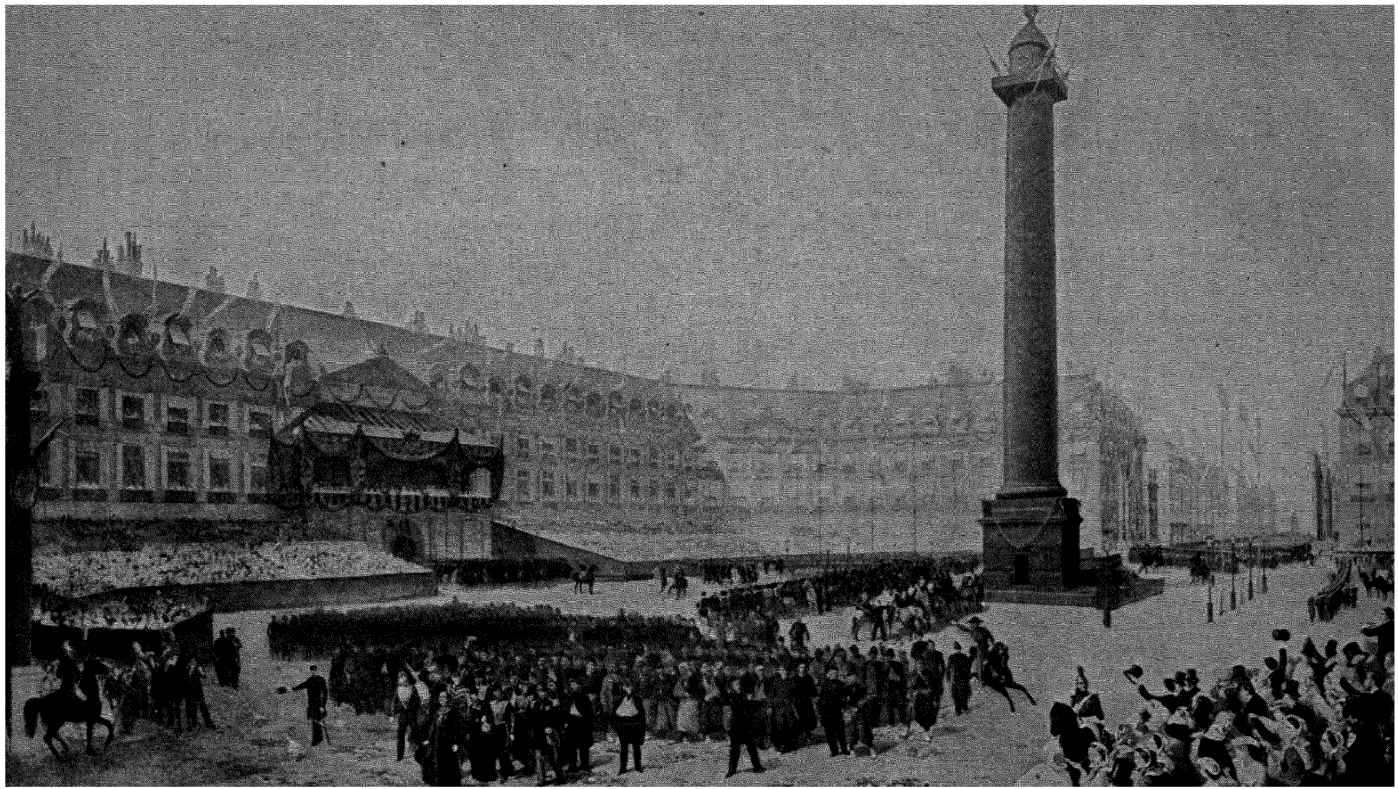
From the painting by Cassioli in the Palace of the Signory at Siena



THE HEIGHT OF THE CONFLICT AT SAN MARTINO ON JUNE 24TH, 1859

While the main battle was in progress at Solferino, other sections of the combatants were engaged in a prolonged and deadly conflict near San Martino, and, ignorant of the fate which had overtaken the Austrian army, Benedek, who had twice repulsed the Sardinians, continued the struggle for several hours after the issue had been decided, retiring at last when a severe storm had broken out. This engagement was noteworthy for the conspicuous part taken in it by Marshal Niel, "who distinguished himself above all the other leaders on the French side."

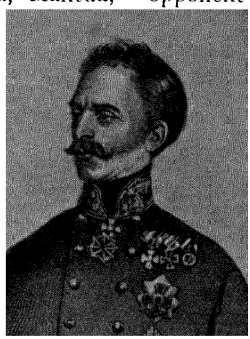
From the painting by Professor Ademollo in the Gallery of Modern Paintings at Florence



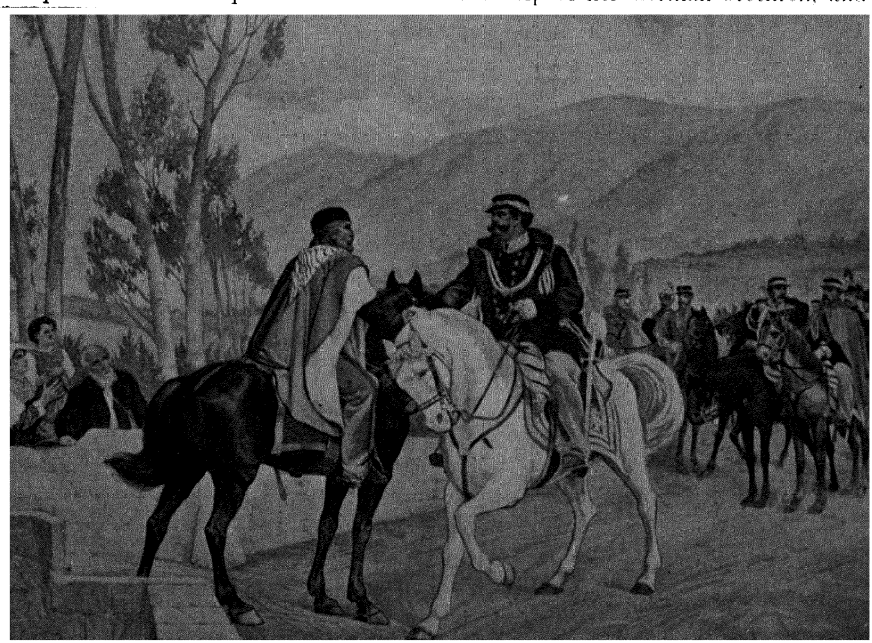
GERMANY'S CONQUERING EMPEROR: THE TRIUMPHAL ENTRY OF WILLIAM I. INTO BERLIN ON JUNE 16TH, 1871

From the painting by Camphausen, by permission of the Berlin Photographic Co.

The Emperor Napoleon had not yet brought the campaign to a successful conclusion; his weakened army was now confronted by the "Quadrilateral" formed by the fortresses of Peschiera, Mantua, Verona, and Legnago, which was covered by 200,000 Austrians. Moreover, Austria could despatch reinforcements more rapidly and in greater numbers than France. Austrian sympathies were also very powerful in South Germany, and exerted so strong a pressure upon the German Federation and on Prussia that a movement might be expected at any moment from that direction. Frederic William IV. had retired from the government since October, 1857, in consequence of an affection of the brain; since October 7th, 1858, his brother William had governed Prussia as prince-regent. He had too much sympathy with the Austrian dynasty and too much respect for the fidelity of the German Federal princes to attempt to make capital out of his neighbour's misfortunes; he had even transferred Bismarck from Frankfort to St. Petersburg, to remove the influence upon the Federation of one who was an avowed opponent of Austrian paramountcy. But he awaited some definite proposal from the Vienna government. Six army corps were in readiness to advance upon the Rhine on receipt of the order for mobilisation. The Emperor Francis Joseph sent Prince Windisch-Graetz to Berlin, to call on Prussia for help as a member of the Federation, although the terms of the federal agreement did not apply to the Lombard-Venetian kingdom; but he could not persuade himself to grant Prussia the leadership of the narrower union, or even to permit the foundation of a North German Union. A politician of the school of Felix Schwarzenberg was not likely to formulate a practicable compromise. Austria thus threw away her chance of defeating France and Bonapartism with the help of her German brethren, and of



GENERAL HESS
Chief of the staff in the Austrian army under Field-Marshal Radetzky, General Hess shared with that great leader many of his victories.



THE MEETING OF VICTOR EMMANUEL AND GARIBALDI AT SESSIA IN 1860
From the painting by Aldi in the Palace of the Signory, Siena

remaining a permanent and honoured member of the Federation which had endured a thousand years, merely because she declined an even smaller sacrifice than was demanded in 1866

During the progress of these Federal negotiations at Berlin the combatants had themselves been occupied in bringing the war to a conclusion The Emperor Napoleon was well aware that the temper of the Federation was highly dangerous to himself, and that Great Britain and Prussia would approach him with offers of intervention He therefore seized the opportunity of extricating himself by proffering an armistice and a provisional peace to the Emperor Francis Joseph

The French Emperor's Peace Terms

After two victories his action bore the appearance of extreme moderation Austria was to cede Lombardy to France, the province then to become Sardinian territory, the Grand Duke of Tuscany and the Duke of Modena were to be permitted to return to their states, but were to be left to arrange their governments for themselves, without the interference of either of the Powers, Austria was to permit the foundation of an Italian Federation, the desire of the Emperor Francis Joseph to retain Peschiera and Mantua was granted On these terms the armistice was concluded on July 8th, and the provisional Peace of Villafranca on July 11th, and Napoleon withdrew

The official account of the war of 1859 by the Austrian general staff attempts to account for the emperor's conclusion of peace on military grounds, emphasising the difficulty of continuing hostilities and the impossibility of placing an army on the Upper Rhine, in accordance with the probable demands of the Federation This is an entirely superficial view of the question Had Prussia declared war on France on the ground of her agreement with Austria, without consulting the Federation, and sent 150,000 men within a month from the Rhine to the French frontier, the anxieties of the Austrian army in Italy would have been entirely relieved Napoleon would certainly have left Verona if the Prussians had been marching on Paris by routes perfectly well known to him

Influence of the Emperor in Europe

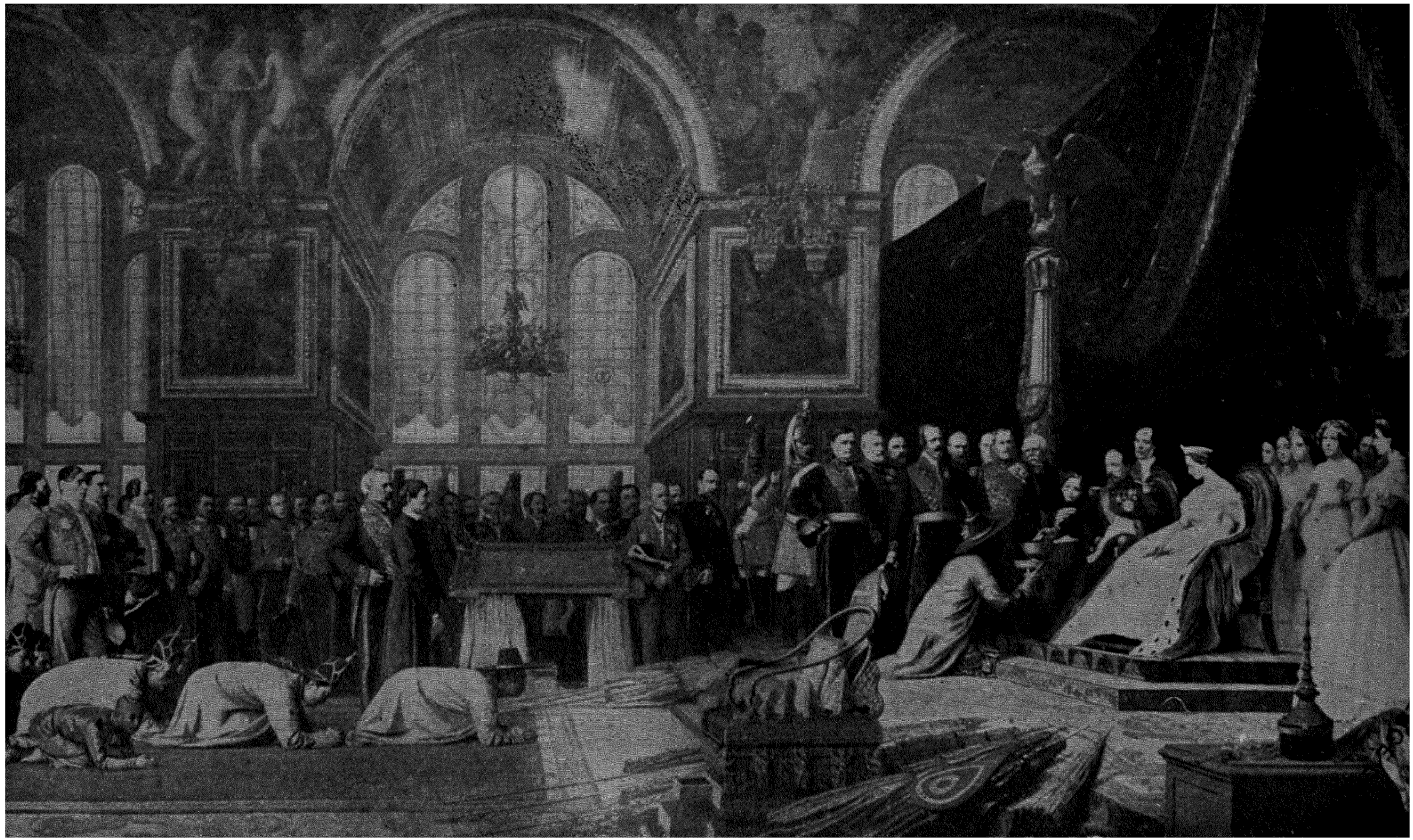
Although the Italian policy of Napoleon III. seemed vague and contradictory, even to his contemporaries, yet he was still in their eyes entitled to the credit of being the creator of the kingdom of Italy, so that in the year 1860 he stood at the zenith of his influence in Europe He successfully concealed from public opinion how much had really been done contrary to his wishes It was discovered that his character was sphinx-like, and what was really weakness seemed to be Machiavellian calculation

Cavour, indeed, saw through him and made full use of his vacillation, and years later the story was told how Bismarck, even in those days, called the French emperor "une incapacité méconnue," an undetected incapable But as against this unauthenticated verdict we must remember that the emperor possessed a wide range of intellectual interests and a keen comprehension of the needs of his age On the other hand, he was lacking in firmness, natures like Cavour and Bismarck easily thwarted his plans, and could lead him towards the goal which they had in view

Outside France, Napoleon's advocacy of the national wishes of the smaller nations of Europe made him popular When Moldavia and Wallachia, contrary to the tenor of the treaties, chose a common sovereign, Alexander Cusa, Napoleon III, with the help of Russia, induced the Great Powers to recognise him, and protected the Roumanians when their principalities were united into a national state Cusa, it is true, was deposed by a revolution on February 23rd, 1866 Prince Charles of Hohenzollern, who was chosen on April 20th, obtained for the youthful state, by the force of his personality, complete independence on May 21st, 1877, and the title of a kingdom on March 26th, 1881

France as the Friend of Small Nations

It was Napoleon's purpose to perform equal services for the Poles The Tsar Alexander II, in order to conciliate them, placed, in June, 1862, their countryman, the Marquess of Wielopolski, at the side of his brother Constantine, the viceroy of Poland Wielopolski endeavoured to reconcile his people to Russia, in order to help his countrymen to win some share, however modest, of self-government But the passionate fury of the Poles frustrated his purpose, and he was unable to prevent the outbreak of the insurrection in January, 1863 He thereupon gave up his post, and the Russian Government adopted the sternest measures In February, Prussia put the Russian emperor under an obligation by granting permission to Russian



GERMANY'S CONQUERING EMPEROR: THE TRIUMPHAL ENTRY OF WILLIAM I. INTO BERLIN ON JUNE 16TH, 1871

From the painting by Camphausen, by permission of the Berlin Photographic Co.

troops to follow Polish insurgents into Prussian territory This compact, it is true, did not come into force, since it aroused the indignation of Europe, but it showed the goodwill of Prussia, and Bismarck, by this and other services in the Polish question, won the Tsar over so completely that Russia's neutrality was assured in the event of a quarrel in Germany Napoleon now induced England, and, after long hesitation, Austria also, to tender to Russia a request that the Poles should be granted a complete amnesty, but this was refused The support of Prussia was peculiarly valuable to Russia, because France, England, and Austria resolved to intercede further for the Poles In a note of June 27th, 1863, the three Powers recommended to Russia the grant of six demands, of which the most important were a Polish Parliament and a complete amnesty

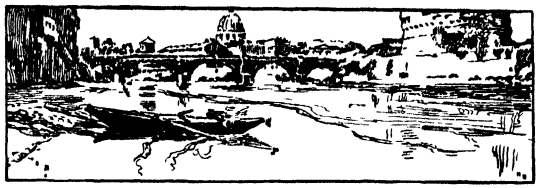
How France Helped the Poles

Palmerston supported these first steps of Napoleon, in the interests of British rule in India In Poland he saw a wound to Russian power, which he determined to keep open But he refused his assent to more serious measures which Napoleon pressed on his consideration, because the Polish question was not so important for the British that they would embark on a war for this sole reason, still less could Austria, since it was one of the participatory Powers, follow Napoleon on his path The Tsar, however, was so enraged at Austria's vacillating attitude that he thereupon immediately proposed to King William an alliance against France and Austria Bismarck advised his sovereign not to accept the Tsar's proposal, because in a war against France and Austria the brunt of the burden would have devolved on Prussia Napoleon then proposed to the Austrian emperor, through the Duc de Gramont, that he should cede Galicia to Poland, which was to be emancipated, but in return take possession of the Danubian principalities Count Rechberg answered that it was strange to suggest to Austria to wage a war with Russia for the purpose of losing a province, when it was customary to draw the sword only to win a fresh one Napoleon thus saw himself completely left in the lurch, and Russia suppressed the rebellion with bloodshed and severity, the Governor-general of Wilna, Michael Muravjev, was conspicuous for the remorseless rigour with which he exercised his power It would be a mistake to consider Napoleon as a sympathetic politician who, if free to make his choice, would have devoted the resources of his country to the liberation of oppressed nations His selfishness was revealed in the expedition against Mexico, and there, too, he tried to veil his intention by specious phrases

The French Emperor in the Lurch

He announced to the world that he wished to strengthen the Latin races in America as opposed to the Anglo-Saxons, who were striving for the dominion over the New World He had originally started on the expedition in concert with Great Britain and Spain, in order to urge upon the Mexican Government the pecuniary claims of European creditors The two allies withdrew when Mexico conceded their request, the French general, Count Lorencez, thereupon, in violation of the treaty, seized the healthy tableland above the fever-stricken coast of Vera Cruz, where the French had landed General Forey then conquered the greatest part of the land, and an assembly of notables, on July 11th, 1863, elected as emperor the Archduke Maximilian, brother of Francis Joseph He long hesitated to accept the crown, because Francis Joseph gave his assent only on the terms that Maximilian should first unconditionally renounce all claim to the succession in Austria After Napoleon had promised, in the treaty of March 12th, 1864, to leave at least 20,000 French soldiers in the country until 1867, the archduke finally consented to be emperor, he did not shut his eyes to the fact that monarchy would be slow to strike root in the land Napoleon, by placing the Emperor Maximilian on the throne, pursued his object of gradually withdrawing from the Mexican affair, since the United States protested against the continuance of the French in Mexico The reader is referred to a later volume for the history of the way in which Napoleon deserted the unhappy emperor, and incurred a partial responsibility for his execution at Queretaro The restless ambition of Napoleon's policy aroused universal distrust in Europe When the war of 1866 broke out, after his failures in the Polish and Mexican affair, his star was already setting, and a growing republican opposition, supported by the younger generation, was raising its head menacingly in France.

The Waning Power of Napoleon



THE UNIFICATION OF ITALY

AND GARIBALDI'S BRAVE FIGHT FOR LIBERTY

THE greatest political event of the nineteenth century on the European Continent is the simultaneous establishment of the national unity of the German and Italian peoples The aspect of Europe was more permanently changed by this than by any event since the creation of an empire by Charles the Great The feeling of nationality is as old as the nations themselves, and the history of the two nations with their divisions and subdivisions records in almost every generation proud exhortations or plaintive appeals to assert their unity by force of arms From Dante and Petrarch, from Machiavelli and Julius II.—"Out with the barbarians from Italy!"—down to Alfieri and Ugo Foscolo, the line is almost unbroken

The Germans show the same sequence. But the appeals of the writers of the German Renaissance, from Hutten to Puffendorf and Klopstock, never had such a passionate ring, since the nation, even when most divided, was always strong enough to ward off the foreign yoke At last the intellectual activity of the eighteenth century raised the spirit of nationality, and the German people became conscious that its branches were closely connected The intellectual culture of the Germans would, as David Strauss says in a letter to Ernest Renan, have remained an empty shell if it had not finally produced the national State

Awakening of German Nationality

We must carefully notice that the supporters of the movement for unification both in Germany and Italy were drawn exclusively from the educated classes, but their efforts were powerfully supported by the establishment and expansion of foreign trade, and by the construction of roads and railways, since the separate elements of the nation were thus brought closer together The scholar and the author were joined by the manufacturer, who produced goods for a market outside his own small country, and by the merchant, who was cramped by custom-house restrictions Civil servants and military men did not respond to that appeal until much later The majority of the prominent officials and officers in Germany long remained particularists, until Prussia declared for the unity of the nation In Italy the course of affairs was somewhat different There the generals and officers of the Italian army created by Napoleon were from the first filled with the conviction that a strong political will was most important for the training of their people, the revolution of 1821 was greatly due to them Similarly, the officers of the smaller Italian armies between 1859 and 1861 joined in large numbers the side of King Victor Emmanuel The movement reached the masses last of all But they, even at the present day in Italy, are indifferent towards the new regime, while in South Germany and Hanover, and occasionally even on the Rhine, they are still keenly alive to their own interests

The New Regime in Italy

When Garibaldi marched against the army of the King of Naples, the soldiers of the latter were ready and willing to strike for his cause, and felt themselves betrayed by generals and officers It is an undoubted fact that the Neapolitan Bourbons had no inconsiderable following among the lower classes The Catholic clergy of Italy were divided, the leaders supported the old regime, while the inferior clergy favoured the movement The mendicant friars of Sicily were enthusiastic for Garibaldi, and the Neapolitan general, Bosco, when he marched against the patriot leader, was forced to warn his soldiers in a general order not to allow themselves at confession to be shaken in their loyalty to their king Pius IX. endured the mortification of seeing that in 1862 no less than 8,493 priests signed a petition praying him to place no obstacles in the way of the unification of Italy.

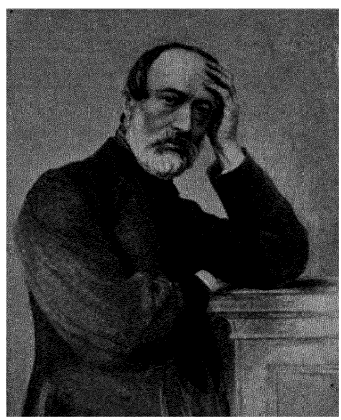
Garibaldi the Patriot Leader

It was from Germany, the mother of so many ideas, that at the beginning of the nineteenth century the modern movement, of which the watchword is national and political unity, took its start. But the impulse was not given by the current of internal development; it came from outside, through the tyranny of Napoleon. The nation recognised that it could only attain independence by union, and keep it by unity.

The conception of emperor and empire found its most powerful advocate in Stein. But he and his friends, as was natural, considered the overthrow of the foreign tyranny more important at first than formal unity. In his memorial addressed to the Tsar in 1812 he pointed out how desirable it was that Germany, since the old monarchy of the Ottos and the Hohenstauffen could not be revived, should be divided between the two Great Powers, Prussia and Austria, on a line corresponding to the course of the Main.

He would, however, have regarded this solution only as an expedient required by existing circumstances. "I have only one fatherland," he wrote to Count Münster at London, on December 1st, 1812 — "that is called Germany; and since I, according to the old constitution, belong to it and to no particular part of it, I am devoted, heart and soul, to it alone, and not to one particular part of it. At this moment of great developments the dynasties are a matter of absolute indifference to me. They are merely instruments." Stein's efforts at the Congress of Vienna, where he vainly stood out for the emperor and the imperial Diet, remained as noble examples to the next generation. The thought of nationality radiated from Germany, where Arndt, Uhland, Körner, and Rückert had written in its spirit. But Napoleon had roused also the Italians and the Poles, the former by uniting at least Central and Upper Italy, with the exception of Piedmont, into the kingdom of Italy; the latter by holding out to them the bait of a restored constitution. It is significant that the first summons to unity was uttered by Murat, who, when he marched against the Austrians in 1815, wished to win the nation for himself, and employed Professor Rossi of Bologna, who was murdered in 1848, when a Liberal Minister of the Pope, to compose a proclamation embodying the principle of Italian unity. The peoples of the Austrian monarchy were subsequently roused by Germany to similar efforts.

There was this distinction between Germany and Italy—in the former the Holy Roman Empire had served to keep alive the tradition of unity, while in Italy no political unity had existed since Roman times. In Italy the movement towards unity had no historical foundation, and the "municipal spirit" was everywhere predominant until the middle of the nineteenth century. When, in 1848, a number of officers, who were not natives, were enrolled in the Piedmontese army, the soldiers long made a sharp distinction between their "Piedmontese" and their "Italian" superiors. So again in the Crimean War, when 15,000 Piedmontese were sent to fight on the side of the French and English, most of them heard for the first time that the foreign nations termed them Italians.



JOSEPH MAZZINI

The Italian patriot who suffered in the cause of liberty and unity, Mazzini devoted his whole life to the furtherance of his ideals, and, taking as his watchword "God and the People," pursued his purpose with passionate zeal.

In Germany, again, it was a question of uniting prosperous states, but in Italy of overthrowing unstable ones—for example, the States of the Church and Naples. In Germany it was necessary to reckon with superabundant forces and the jealousy of two Great Powers; and by the side of them stood a number of prosperous petty states where culture flourished. Italy, on the other hand, was dependent on the Austrians, who were termed Tedeschi, or Germans; in this connection, however, the Italians were forced to admit that an organised government and a legislature, which in comparison with Piedmont itself showed considerable advance, existed only in the Austrian districts. And in addition the Italians had to struggle against the great difficulty that the papacy, as a

Italy's Dependence on Austria

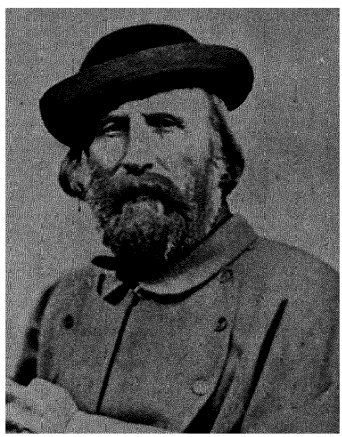
spiritual empire, opposed their unification. The risings of 1821 in Naples and Piedmont, as well as that of 1831 in the Romagna, aimed far more at the introduction of parliamentary forms than at the attainment of national unity. The thought of liberty was stronger then than that of nationality. Only in the background did the secret society of the Carbonari entertain the vague idea of the union of Italy. The followers of the Genoese, Joseph Mazzini, 1805–1872, claim for him the honour of being the first to follow out the idea of unity to its logical conclusion. Certain it is that Mazzini, undeterred by failures, devoted his whole life to the realisation of this idea. "I have just taught the Italians," he said, on one occasion after the war of 1859, "to lisp the word 'unity.'"

Mazzini's Great Work for Unity

It was after his arrest in 1830 by the Piedmontese Government as a member of the Carbonari, when he spent several months as a prisoner in the fortress of Savona, that he formed the plan of founding a league under the name of 'Young Italy," with the object of creating an Italian republic. Animated by a faith which amounted to fanaticism, he took as his watchword "God and the People!" He described later his feelings as a prisoner: "I saw how Rome, in the name of God and of a republican Italy, offered the nations a common goal and the foundation of a new religion. And I saw how Europe, wearied of scepticism, egoism, and anarchy, received the new faith with enthusiastic acclamations. These were my thoughts in my cell at Savona." He did not shrink from employing all the weapons of conspiracy, including even assassination.

All the rebellions and conspiracies which he plotted proved failures; but even under the stress of conscientious scruples as to the right he had to drive so many highly gifted colleagues to death and long years of captivity, he was supported by the thought that only thus could the ideal of nationality be kept before the eyes of the people. In the oath which he administered to the members of his secret league they vowed: "By the blush which reddens my face when I stand before the citizens of other countries and convince myself that I possess no civic rights, no country, no national flag . . . by the tears of Italian mothers for their sons who have perished on the scaffold, in the dungeon, or in exile . . . I swear to devote myself entirely and always to the common object of creating one free, independent, and republican Italy by every means within my power."

The league spread over Italy and every country where Italians lived. Giuseppe Garibaldi heard for the first time of Mazzini in 1833, when as captain of a small trading-vessel he was sitting in an inn at Taganrog on the Black Sea, and listened to the conversation at the next table of some Italian captains and merchants with whom he was unacquainted. "Columbus," he wrote in 1871, "certainly never felt such satisfaction at the discovery of America as I felt when I found a man who was endeavouring to liberate his country." He eagerly joined the fiery orator of that dinner-party, whose name was Cuneo, and, armed with an introduction from him, hastened to Mazzini, who was then plotting his conspiracies at Marseilles.



GARIBALDI

The great champion of Italian liberty, Giuseppe Garibaldi, became associated with Mazzini in the early days of the movement, and was condemned to death, but escaping, he returned later to Italy to lead his people to victory.

From a photograph

Garibaldi took part in one of the futile risings of February, 1834, was condemned to death, and escaped to Argentina, where he gathered his first experiences of war. He long followed the leadership of Mazzini, although the natures of the two men were too different to permit of any very intimate relations between them. Garibaldi called Mazzini the "second of the Infallibles"; but he esteemed him so highly, that at a banquet given in his honour at London in 1864 he toasted him as his master.

Mazzini was the central figure of the Italian movement only up to the middle of the fifties. After that an amelioration

was traceable in the life of his nation. When the middle classes took up the cause of freedom as one man, the importance of the conspiracies disappeared and the entire system of secret societies—for the Carbonari and the Young Italy were opposed by the Sanfedists, the league of the reaction—became discredited. Public life was now more instinct with vitality. A blind and biassed republicanism was no longer the only cry; the leaders of the movement began to take the actual conditions into account, and the Piedmontese, in particular, worked in the cause of constitutional monarchy. Mazzini, on the other hand, hated the house of Savoy equally with every other dynasty. Two of his conspiracies were aimed against Piedmont, so that sentence of death was pronounced on him by the courts of that kingdom.

Mazzini Condemned to Death

The new ideas started from Piedmont. The noble priest Vincenzo Gioberti proposed the plan that all Italy should rally round the Pope, and follow him as leader in the war of independence. A number of Piedmontese nobles, Count Cesare Balbo, Marquis Massimo d'Azeglio, and the greatest of them, Count Camillo Cavour, were filled with the conviction that the government of Italy belonged by right to the constitutional monarchy of Piedmont. They had all grown up in an atmosphere of conservative ideas, respectful towards the monarchy, and filled with admiration for the army and the civil service of Piedmont. The revolutionists of 1848 were united only in their hatred of the foreign yoke; their views for the future were of the most conflicting character, and must have led to dissension if they had been clearly formulated.

The hope that Pope Pius would be permanently won for the great thought soon faded away. In the whole agitation the idea of federalism was still widely predominant. Venice and Rome under Daniel Manin and Mazzini declared for independent republics; even Lombardy felt some reluctance to unite with Sardinia. Rossi, the papal Minister, wished merely for a league of the sovereign princes of Italy, not a united Parliament. In Piedmont the middle-class citizens opposed with suspicion the representatives of the monarchical military state, and Cavour, who defended the royal authority, was in 1849 one of the most unpopular of politicians. Even then he was opposed to Urbano Rattazzi, who was soon destined to become the leader of the bourgeois circles. Italy thus succumbed to the sword of Radetzky. Napoleon, as President of the French Republic, put an end to the Roman Republic, since he did not wish to allow all Italy to be subjugated by the Austrians. The heroic and, for some time, successful defence of Rome by Garibaldi—on the scene of this memorable fight, at the summit of the Janiculum, a colossal monument has been erected in his honour—raised him to be the popular hero of the nation, while Mazzini's republican phrases began to seem vapid to the intelligent Italians.

Cavour in Public Disfavour

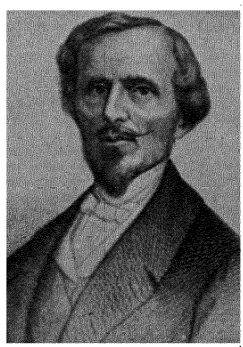
The wars of 1848 and 1849 left the Italians with the definite impression that only Piedmont could have ventured to face the Austrian arms in the open field. King Charles Albert was clearly a martyr to the cause of Italian unity; he died soon after his abdication, a broken-hearted man, in a Portuguese monastery. Since his son, Victor Emmanuel, alone among the Italian princes maintained the constitution granted in 1848, the hopes of Italy were centred in him. In the year 1852, Cavour reached the immediate goal of his burning but justifiable ambition; for after he had allied himself with Rattazzi and the liberal middle class, he was entrusted with the direction of the government. He soon ventured openly to indicate Piedmont, which had been overthrown so recently, as the champion in the next war of liberation. He drew his weapons from the arsenal of the clever Ministers who, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, had helped the Dukes of Savoy to hold their own between France and Austria. He was the heir of the old dynastic policy of Savoy, but in a greater age, dominated by the thought of nationality. He formed an alliance with the man whom the republicans of Italy hated intensely, and against whose life they plotted more than one conspiracy.

Cavour at the Goal of his Ambition

The question may well be asked whether the Italian blood was stirred in the veins of the Bonapartes when, in 1805, the first Napoleon created the kingdom of Italy, and when, in 1830, his nephew entered into a secret Italian alliance, and, finally, as Napoleon III., allied himself with Cavour for the liberation of Italy. It is not an unlikely supposition, although diplomatic reasons and the lust of power were

the primary motives which actuated the nephew of the great conqueror in forming this alliance; for he considered that his uncle had bequeathed to him the duty of destroying the work of the Congress of Vienna, especially in Italy, where Austria had entered on the inheritance of France.

Napoleon won friends for France on all sides when he came forward as the advocate for the idea of nationality. While he did so, there lay in the bottom of his heart the intention of increasing the territory of France on the basis of this idea, by the annexation of Belgium and Savoy, and of thus uniting all French-speaking peoples under the Empire. On the other side, he thought it dangerous to stretch out his hand to the Rhine, where the Germans, whom he called the coming race, might oppose him. He wished to free Italy from the Austrian rule, but only in order to govern it as suzerain. For this reason he declined from the outset to entertain the idea of giving political unity to the peninsula. He only agreed with Cavour at Plombières that Sardinia should be enlarged into a North Italian kingdom with from 10,000,000 to 12,000,000 inhabitants.



BARON RICASOLI
On the flight of the Grand Duke in 1859, he was made dictator of Tuscany, and was at the head of the Ministry in 1861 and again in 1866.

There was to be a Central Italian kingdom, consisting of Tuscany and the greater part of the States of the Church. Naples was to be left untouched. The Pope was to be restricted to the territory of the city of Rome and its vicinity, and in compensation was to be raised to the headship of the Italian Confederacy. Napoleon reserved to himself the nomination of his cousin, Joseph, called Jerome, to the throne of Central Italy, but concealed his intention from Cavour, while he hinted to him that he wished to place the son of King Murat on the throne at Naples. In return for his armed assistance the emperor stipulated for the cession of Savoy and Nice. The story of the campaign of 1859 and of its termination by the Treaty of Villafranca has been told in the last chapter. By the treaty, Napoleon's promises therefore were only partially fulfilled. By allowing Venetia to remain Austrian he belied the proclamation announcing that "Italy shall be free from the Alps to the Adriatic," with which he had opened the war on May 3rd. Cavour felt himself deceived and exposed. His old opponent, Mazzini, had derided his policy before the war, and had warned the Italians not to exchange the rule of Austria for that of France. However unwise this attitude of the old conspirator might be, he now seemed to be correct in the prediction that Napoleon would deceive the Italians. The passionate nature of Cavour, which slumbered behind his half good-natured, half mockingly-diplomatic exterior, burst out in him with overwhelming force. He hurried to the headquarters of Victor Emmanuel and required him to lay down his crown, as his father, Charles Albert, had done, in order to show clearly to the world the injustice perpetrated by Napoleon. Cavour displayed such violence that the two men parted in downright anger. But Cavour, without further demur, resigned his office. That was the wisest step he could take to turn aside the reproach of treachery, which the republican party was already bringing against him. In the course of a conversation with the senator Joachim Pietri, an intimate friend of Napoleon, he gave vent to his displeasure in the most forcible terms, and threw in the teeth of the emperor the charge of deceit. "Your emperor has insulted me," he cried; "yes, sir, insulted me. He gave me his word, and promised me to relax no efforts until the Austrians were completely driven out of Italy. As his reward for so doing he stipulated for Nice and Savoy. I induced my sovereign to consent to make this sacrifice for Italy. My king, my good and honourable king, trusted me and consented. Your emperor now pockets his reward and lets us shift for ourselves. . . . I am dishonoured before my king. But," added Cavour, "this peace will lead to nothing; this treaty will not be carried out."

French Emperor's Promises

Cavour is Deceived by Napoleon III.

One of the causes which led Napoleon to conclude peace so rapidly was the fear that the Italians would go far beyond his original intention and win complete

political independence for themselves Cavour, in spite of his proud words about the integrity of the Piedmontese policy, had really wished on his side to outwit the emperor For, at his instigation and in consequence of the agitations of the National Union, which he had secretly organised, not merely had Parma, Modena, and the Romagna risen against the Pope, but even in Central Italy, in Tuscany, in the Marches and in Umbria, the authorities had been driven out, and everywhere there was an outcry for United Italy Victor Emmanuel had certainly, at the wish of Napoleon, refused this request, and had only accepted the supreme command of the volunteer corps which were forming everywhere

The Demand for United Italy

Napoleon wished to preclude any further extension of this movement Hence the hasty conclusion of the armistice, and the provisions of the Peace of Zurich, November 10th, 1859, that Sardinia might retain Lombardy, but not extend her territory further In Tuscany, Parma, and Modena the old order of things was to be restored, if the people agreed to accept it , and the States of the Church, and this condition was taken as obvious, must once more be subject to the Pope

All Italian States were to form a Confederation, which Austria, as representing Venice, wished to join Cavour, incensed at these fetters imposed on the Italians, said as he left the Ministry " So be it ! they will force me to spend the rest of my life in conspiracies " And in the last letters before his retirement he secretly urged the leaders of the movement in Central Italy to collect money and arms, to wait their time loyally, and to resist the wishes of Napoleon

Rattazzi, Cavour's successor, was an eloquent and practised advocate, of a tractable disposition, and therefore more acceptable to the king than Cavour , he possessed a mind more capable of words and schemes than of action Cavour, speaking of him, said that he was the first among the politicians of the second class. In accordance with the popular feeling Giuseppe Dabormida, the new Minister of Foreign Affairs, declared on July 23rd that Sardinia would never enter into an Italian Confederation in which Austria took any part. This policy was absolutely essential for self-preservation, since Piedmont, in a league with Austria, the Pope, and Naples, would always have been in the minority. The new Cabinet was wavering and insecure, and so dependent on the will of Napoleon that it did not venture to take any forward step without his consent. But at this point the fact became evident that the work of unification was not dependent on the ability of individuals, but on the attitude of the whole nation.

Cavour's Eloquent Successor

It is astonishing with what political tact the several Italian countries struggled for union with Sardinia The Sardinian Government was compelled to recall, immediately after the preliminary peace, the men it had sent to Bologna, Florence, Modena, and Parma to lead the agitation These districts were consequently thrown upon their own resources , but Tuscany found, on August 1st, 1859, in Baron Bettino Ricasoli, and the Romagna and the duchies in Luigi Carlo, a retired physician, leaders who governed the provisional commonwealths with sagacity, and guided the public voting which declared for submission to Victor Emmanuel.

Only in quite exceptional cases was any violence used against the hated tools of the former governments, otherwise order prevailed generally, and a childlike, almost touching, enthusiasm for the unity of Italy The Pope attempted a counter-blow, and succeeded in conquering Perugia on July 20th, 1859, by means of his Swiss mercenaries, who did not shrink from outrage and plunder

The Swiss Mercenaries of the Pope

Thereupon the Romagna, Tuscany, and Modena concluded a defensive alliance General Manfredo Fanti organised in October, 1859, a force of 40,000 men , so that the Pope desisted from further attacks Since the Treaty of Villafranca left the return of the former governments open, so long as foreign interference was excluded, the Pope and the dukes calculated upon an outbreak of anarchy, which would provoke a counter-blow They centred their hopes on the Mazzinists , and Walewski, the Minister of Napoleon, who was unfavourable to the Italians, said that he preferred them to a party which styled itself a government. But this hope faded away before the wise attitude of the Central Italians.

The Emperor Napoleon now saw himself confronted by the unpleasant alternative of allowing the Italians full liberty, or of restoring the old regime by force. But ought the liberator of Italy to declare

war on the country? And it was still more out of the question to allow the interference of the defeated Austrians He repeatedly assured the Italians that he persisted in his intention to carry out his programme of federation

Doubt has been felt whether the letter to this effect which he addressed on October 20th, 1859, to Victor Emmanuel really expressed his true intention. In that letter he repeated his demand for the restoration of the old regime in Central Italy and for the formation of an Italian Confederation with the Pope at its head But it is clear that this was really his own and his final scheme, for he was too wise not to foresee that a united and powerful Italy might one day turn against France.

With this idea, therefore, he said to Marquis Napoleone di Pepoli "If the movement of incorporation crosses the Apennines, the union of Italy is finished, and I do not wish for any union—I wish simply and solely for independence" His programme would have proved the most favourable solution for France, since it would then always have had a hand in the affairs of Italy, from the simple reason that the North Italian kingdom, which owed its existence to him, would have had no other support against Austria and the remaining sovereigns of Italy That was the precise contingency which Cavour most feared, and for that reason he secretly urged the leaders of Central Italy not to comply with the intentions of Napoleon In fact, deputations from the Romagna, Tuscany, and the duchies offered the sovereignty to King Victor Emmanuel He did not dare to accept the offer against the wish of Napoleon, and merely promised in his reply that he would represent to Europe the wishes of the Central Italians

The Italian Dislike of the French

It is a remarkable fact that Victor Emmanuel, in these complications, entertained for a moment the idea of joining hands with Mazzini and raising the standard of revolt against Napoleon By the agency of Angelo Brofferio, the leader of the democratic opposition in the Piedmontese Parliament, and the opponent of Cavour's diplomacy, the king negotiated with the old republican conspirator on whom first his father, and later, he himself, in 1857, had caused sentence of death to be passed on account of his organisation of a revolt in Piedmont Mazzini showed at this crisis how greatly the welfare of his country outweighed with him all other considerations. He sent a message to that effect to the king, and only asked him to break off entirely with Napoleon, whom the Republicans regarded as Antichrist. In return Mazzini offered to raise the whole of Italy, including Rome and Naples, after which would follow the promotion of Victor Emmanuel to be king of the peninsula But then —for Mazzini expressly made this proviso—he intended to fight, as previously, for the republic and for the expulsion of the House of Savoy The king is reported to have said to Brofferio "Try to come to an understanding, but take care that the Public Prosecutor hears nothing of it"

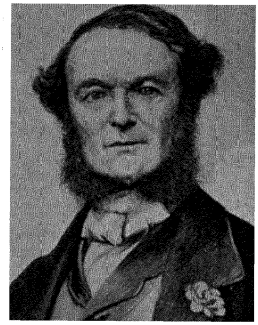
The King's Advice to Brofferio

The negotiations, however, did not lead to the desired goal, for the game seemed to the king to be too dangerous Mazzini certainly promised on that occasion more than he could perform, his schemes could not have been carried into execution against the express wishes of Napoleon, who would not have abandoned the Pope and Rome Italy had only obtained the support of the emperor against Austria because the monarchical policy of Cavour offered a guarantee that in Italy at least the revolutionaries, who threatened his rule in France, were kept in restraint The emperor, as his action in the year 1867 clearly proves, would have certainly employed force against Italy, even though Rome had been raised in rebellion, for since the French Democrats were implacably hostile to him, he was bound at least to have the clerical party on his side

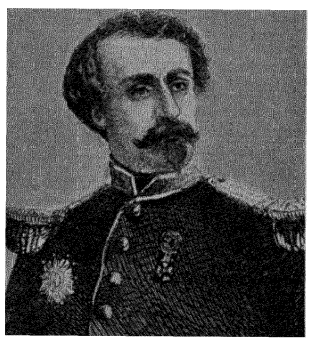
Garibaldi, who then was entrusted by the provisional government with the command of the Tuscan troops, overlooked all these considerations, and was already determined to advance on Rome. But Farini, the dictator of Romagna and of the duchies, thought his enterprise dangerous and, going to meet him, induced him to withdraw from Central Italy Having returned to Turin, Garibaldi was received with consideration by Victor Emmanuel, who was privy to this plot, he then addressed a manifesto to Italy, in which he condemned the miserable, fox-like politicians, and called upon the Italians to place their hopes exclusively on Victor Emmanuel That monarch, under his outward simplicity, possessed natural shrewdness enough to remain on good terms with all who wished to further the unity of Italy

Garibaldi's Call to Italy

In this consists his inestimable services in the cause of the unification of Italy. Towards the end of the year 1859, Napoleon was forced to admit that he could not carry out his programme in Central Italy by peaceful methods. He thus ran the risk of losing Savoy and Nice, which had been promised him as a reward before the war. His own interests and his predilection for the Italian cause combined to induce him to leave a part, at any rate, of Central Italy to Victor Emmanuel. In order to carry out this change of policy, Walewski was dismissed and Edouard Antoine Thouvenel, a liberal who shared Napoleon's preference for Italy, was nominated Foreign Minister on January 5th, 1860. But the new policy was not possible with the Cabinet of Rattazzi, since that Minister did not possess the courage to assume the responsibility for the cession of Savoy and Nice. A bold and broad policy could only be carried out with the assistance of Cavour. The latter was already thirsting for power, while Rattazzi was vainly trying to block his road. It is true that the king was not pleased with the exchange of Ministers; he still cherished some rancour against Cavour for the "scene" which the latter had made with him after the Peace of Villafranca. Public opinion, on the other hand, more especially in Central Italy, looked to Cavour alone for the realisation of its wishes. Since his ambition was fired by the prospect of new and grand exploits, he induced his friends to work vigorously on his behalf, so that the Cabinet of Rattazzi was compelled to make way for him on January 16th, 1860. Rattazzi and his colleagues were not all so candid in their views as Dabormida, the Foreign Minister, who felt he could not compare with Cavour, and wrote at the time: "I was impatient to give up my place to him. But he was still more impatient than I was. I am sorry that he expended so much trouble in bursting the doors that stood open to him. But he has the right to be ambitious."



ADMIRAL PERSANO
Admiral of the Italian fleet, Persano, on the occasion of Garibaldi's bold expedition to Sicily, was ordered by Cavour to place his ships between Garibaldi's transports and the Neapolitan fleet.

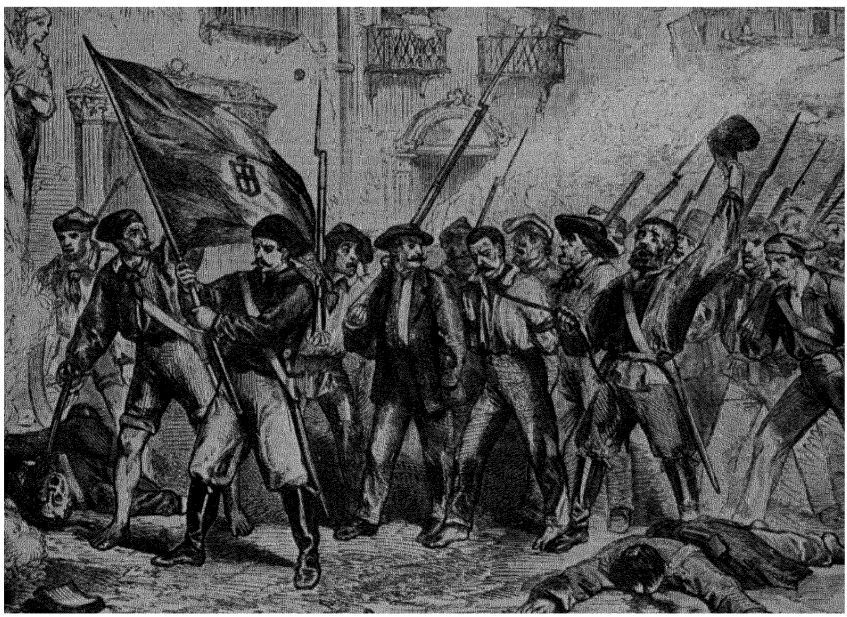


GENERAL LAMORICIÈRE
One of the leaders of the Legitimist party in France, he was appointed commander-in-chief of the papal forces in 1860, when the Pope surrounded himself with an army of 20,000 enlisted soldiers.

Napoleon, although not disposed to a grand and sweeping policy, had the astuteness requisite to disguise his frequent changes of front, and to veil his machinations with a semblance of magnanimity. Since he knew that the British distrusted him, and foresaw that the annexation of Savoy and Nice would appear to them the prelude to an extensive policy of aggrandisement, he lulled their suspicions by concluding a commercial treaty on free-trade principles, January 23rd, 1860. At the same time he informed the Pope that France no longer wished to insist on the restoration of the legations of the Romagna, Bologna, and Ferrara to the States of the Church.

This change in the policy of Napoleon could not have been more unwelcome to anyone than to the Pope. After all, Pius IX. had himself to blame for it, since he opposed the sensible counsels of Napoleon. The emperor had requested him in a letter of July 14th, 1859, to grant to the already rebellious legations a separate administration and a lay government nominated by the Pope. "I humbly conjure your Holiness," so the letter ran, "to listen to the voice of a devoted son of the Church, who in this matter grasps the needs of his time, and knows that force is not sufficient to solve such difficult problems. In the decision of your Holiness I see either the germs of a peaceful and tranquil future, or the continuation of a period of violence and distress." But the Curia continued obstinate, and declared that it could not break with the principles on which the States of the Church had been governed hitherto. The Pope, in fact, protested against

the concession of religious liberty which had been granted by the provisional government at Bologna. Napoleon now adopted a severer tone. He published in December, 1859, a pamphlet, "The Pope and the Congress," in which it was stated that a restoration of papal rule in Central Italy had become impossible. Granted that a secular kingdom was necessary for the Pope in order to maintain his independence, a smaller territory would be sufficient for that purpose. Shortly afterwards, Napoleon addressed a second letter to Pius IX., in which he called upon the Pope on his side also to make some sacrifice for the union of Italy, which was slowly and surely progressing.



THE REVOLUTION IN SICILY: RELEASED PRISONERS IN THE STREETS OF PALERMO
Rebelling against their Neapolitan rulers, the Sicilians looked eagerly for the assistance of Garibaldi, who at last decided to join the movement, sailing on May 5th, 1860, with about a thousand volunteers. In the above picture released prisoners are seen leading their gaoler through the streets of Palermo before putting him to death.

Cavour, meantime, had not reached his goal. On February 17th, 1860, Italy learnt the latest of the constantly changing programmes of Napoleon. According to this, only Parma and Modena were to be incorporated with Sardinia. Victor Emmanuel would rule the legations as Vicar of the Pope; but Tuscany must remain independent; at most a prince of the House of Savoy might be placed on the throne. Cavour, however, met the refusal of Napoleon by a bold move, on which Rattazzi would never have ventured. Without asking the emperor, and against his will, a plebiscite was taken in March, 1860, in all the provinces of Central Italy, including Tuscany, on the question whether they wished for incorporation in the kingdom of Italy. The elections for the Parliament of Upper Italy proceeded at the same time with equal enthusiasm. All the capitals entrusted Cavour with full powers in order to express their confidence. It was no rhetorical figure when Napoleon, in a speech delivered on March 1st, expressed his dissatisfaction at the arbitrary action of Italy. Cavour, however, had cleverly secured the goodwill of Britain, which had quite agreed to the proposal that Italy should withdraw from the influence of Napoleon. Palmerston was malicious enough to praise Cavour in the British Parliament for the boldness of his action.

Now, at length Cavour opened regular negotiations about the cession of Savoy and Nice, which had been promised by the treaty of January, 1858. What was

the emperor to do? Was he, on his side, to risk the loss of the two provinces by his obstinacy? Perhaps even at the eleventh hour he might have prevented the incorporation of Tuscany if he had declared that under these conditions he would be contented with Savoy, but now the expectations and the covetousness of the French had been whetted, and he could not draw back There is no question that Napoleon then abandoned the real interests of France, and was vanquished by Cavour It had often been said, and subsequent events have proved the truth of the statement, that Cavour exercised a positively magical influence on Napoleon's vacillating mind The Italian had probed the soul of the French emperor, and knew how far he might go Having correctly gauged on the one hand the selfish interests of Napoleon, and on the other his sympathetic attitude towards the Italian question, Cavour could venture to play with him up to a certain point

Cavour's Magical Influence

But there were limits to this policy Cavour in vain tried all the arts of his diplomacy, and every expedient which his subtle mind suggested, to save Nice at least for the Italians But here he was confronted by the definite resolution of the emperor, who would have exposed himself in the face of France, had he given in. Cavour and Benedetti signed the treaty on March 24th, 1860. When this was done, the Italian Minister, with a flash of humour, turned round suddenly and whispered in the ear of Benedetti "We are partners in guilt now, are we not?"

But an anxious time was in store for Cavour—the debate in the Italian Parliament The great majority of the people, certainly, understood that King Victor Emmanuel and Cavour could not have acted otherwise. Rattazzi, however, the old rival of Cavour, placed himself at the head of the opposition; and he had a strong supporter in Garibaldi, who took his seat in Parliament with the express object of opposing the cession of Nice, his native town, to France. Henceforth he hated Cavour, who, as he said, had made him an alien in his own country. Garibaldi was not so indignant at the fact itself as he was that Cavour had deceived him; since a year previously, in answer to a direct question, the Minister had denied the cession of Nice In no other way could the crafty statesman have secured Garibaldi's sword for the war of liberation. On the other hand, Garibaldi esteemed the king highly, because some months later to the question, "Yes or no," he had returned the true answer Victor Emmanuel then added that, if he as king submitted to cede Savoy, the country of his ancestors, to France, Garibaldi must be prepared to make equal sacrifices for the sake of the union of Italy.

Garibaldi Deceived by Cavour

We are told that Cavour, at this critical time, in order to soothe Garibaldi's feelings, sent him a note with the brief question, "Nice or Sicily?" He is thus said to have incited the enthusiastic patriot to conquer the island The story is quite improbable, for Cavour would certainly have preferred to mark time for the present, and consolidate the internal and economic conditions of the kingdom of North Italy, which consisted of 4,000,000 Piedmontese, 2,500,000 Lombards, and 4,000,000 Central Italians This state, without the States of the Church, which were in an impoverished condition through bad administration, and without the pauper population of Naples, would certainly have risen to considerable prosperity It would have been well for North Italy not to have been burdened with the task of drawing the semi-civilised districts of the south into the sphere of its higher culture and its greater prosperity "We must first organise ourselves," Cavour said at the time, "and form a powerful army, then we can turn our eyes to Venetia and further to the south, and to Rome." It was certainly, therefore, no hypocrisy when, up to March, 1860, he repeatedly sent envoys to Naples, in order to induce the Bourbons to follow a national policy and enter into an alliance with the kingdom of North Italy

Sicily's Coming Revolt

But here the genius of the Italian people took other paths The wary statesman soon saw himself carried onward by the party of action farther than he himself had wished, for Mazzini and his partisans were incessantly scheming the revolt of Sicily. Under their instructions Francesco Crispi, who had long before been condemned to death by the Neapolitan courts, travelled through the island at great personal risk, collecting on all sides sympathisers with the cause, and preparing for the day of rebellion The Sicilians did indeed rise in various places, but their attempts

were hopeless if Garibaldi could not be induced to invade Sicily He declared to the Mazzinists from the very first that he would only join the struggle under the standard of "Italy and Victor Emmanuel", in spite of his republican leanings he saw with unerring perception that Italy could only be united by means of the Piedmontese monarchy Mazzini also declared, as in the previous year, that he wished first and foremost to conform to the expressed will of the people

But the conscientious Garibaldi still hesitated, he was weighed down by the enormous responsibility of leading the fiery youth of Italy to danger and to death, since all former plots against the Bourbons had miscarried and been drowned in the blood of their promoters King Ferdinand II of Naples, called "Bomba" since the savage bombardment of Messina in September, 1848, understood how to attach the soldiers of his army to his person, he was hard-hearted but cunning, and by his affectation of native customs won himself some popularity with the lower classes on the mainland The Sicilians, indeed, hated their Neapolitan rulers from of old, and the people gladly recalled the memory of the Sicilian Vespers, by which they had wrested their freedom from Naples in 1282 King Ferdinand died on May 22nd, 1859, and was succeeded by his weak son, Francis II, a feeble nature, with no mind of his own Since the outbreak in Sicily was suppressed, and seemed to die away, Cavour urgently dissuaded Garibaldi from his enterprise, even though he later secretly aided it by the supply of arms and ammunition It was Cavour's business then to decline any responsibility in the eyes of the diplomatists of Europe for the unconstitutional proposal of the general

Garibaldi's Heroic Expedition

Garibaldi finally took the bold resolution of sailing for Sicily on May 5th, 1860, with a thousand or so of volunteers. This marks the beginning of his heroic expedition, and also of the incomparable game of intrigue played by Cavour; for the whole body of European diplomatists raised their voices in protest against the conduct of the Italian Government which had allowed a warlike expedition against a neighbouring state in time of peace. Cavour, assailed by all the ambassadors, declared, with some reason, that Garibaldi had acted against the wishes of the Government, and informed the French emperor that the Government was too weak to hinder the expedition by force, since otherwise there was the fear of a republican rising against the king At the same time Cavour adopted measures to avert all danger from Garibaldi Admiral Persano received commands from him to place his ships between Garibaldi's transports and the Neapolitan fleet which was watching for them To this intentionally cryptic order Persano replied that he believed he understood, if need arose Cavour might send him to the fortress at Fenestrelles He must have made up his mind to be repudiated, like Garibaldi, in the event of the failure of the expedition

Insurrection Among the Sicilians

Garibaldi landed at Marsala, the Lilybæum of the ancients, on May 11th, 1860 He obtained but little help from the Sicilians, when he attacked on May 15th, near Calatafimi, the royal troops, the 2,400 Sicilians who had joined him, ran away at the first shot, while he won a splendid victory with his volunteers At Palermo, however, all was ready for the insurrection In concert with his friends there Garibaldi, notwithstanding the great numerical superiority of the Bourbon troops, ventured on a bold attack during the night of the 27th-28th May The people sided with him, the troops of the king were fired upon from the houses and withdrew to the citadel, whence they bombarded Palermo Rebellion blazed up through the whole island, and the scattered garrisons retired to the strong places on the coast, especially to Messina

Alarmed at the revolt of the island, King Francis of Naples changed his tone, in his dire necessity he summoned liberal Ministers to his counsels, and promised the Neapolitans a free constitution He sent an embassy to Napoleon III with a petition for help The attitude of the latter was significant He explained to the envoys that he desired the continuance of the Kingdom of Naples, but that it did not lie in his power to check the popular movement. The Italians, he said, were keen-witted, and knew that, after having once shed the blood of the French for their liberation, he could not proceed against them with armed force He added: "The power stands on the national side, and is irresistible. We stand defenceless before it." He advised the King of

King Francis Appeals to Napoleon III.

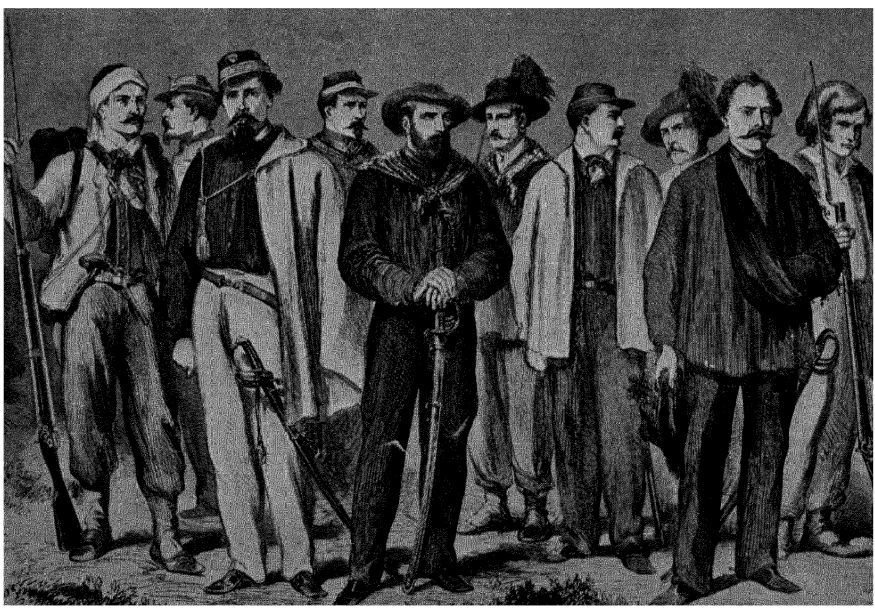
Naples, however, to abandon Sicily, and to offer an alliance to King Victor Emmanuel. Napoleon promised to support his proposal. This was done, and all the Great Powers assented to the wishes of France—even Great Britain, which, with all its inclination to Italy, still wished that the peninsula should be divided into two kingdoms. Cavour was in the most difficult position; it was impossible, in defiance of Europe, to refuse negotiations with Naples, yet he could not but fear to risk his whole work if he offered his hand to the hated Bourbons. He therefore consented to negotiations, for form's sake, and even induced King Victor Emmanuel to write a letter to Garibaldi, calling upon the latter to discontinue landing troops on the mainland of Naples.

Garibaldi thereupon replied to the king on June 27th: "Your Majesty knows the high respect and affection which I entertain for your person; but the state of affairs in Italy does not allow me to obey you as I should wish. Allow me, then, this time to be disobedient to you. So soon as I have accomplished my duty and the peoples are freed from the detested yoke, I will lay down my sword at your feet, and obey you for the rest of my life."

But Cavour was harassed by a still further anxiety. Garibaldi, on his march through Sicily, surrounded himself almost exclusively with partisans of Mazzini, and was resolved, so soon as Naples was liberated, to march on Rome. If then the republican party of action in this way did their best for the liberation of Italy, the fate of the monarchy was sealed. Cavour, therefore, staked everything to provoke a revolution on the mainland, by which not Garibaldi, but Persano or the king himself, should be proclaimed dictator. He entered into a compact with one of the Ministers of the King of Naples, Liborio Romano, who equally with Alessandro Nunziante, Duke of Majano, adjutant-general of Ferdinand II., was ready for treachery. Cavour hoped by aid of the latter to rouse a part of the Neapolitan army to revolt. He wrote to Persano: "Do not lose sight of the fact, Admiral, that the moment is critical. It is a question of carrying out the greatest enterprise of modern times, by protecting Italy from foreigners, pernicious principles, and fools."

Suspicions of the Bourbon Government

But Nunziante, awakening the suspicion of the Bourbon Government, was obliged to take refuge on board the Piedmontese fleet. The king's uncle, Prince Louis,



THE LIBERATORS OF SICILY: GARIBALDI WITH A GROUP OF PATRIOT HEROES



THE MISERABLE HIDING-PLACE OF THE KING AND QUEEN OF NAPLES
During the bombardment of Gaeta by the Piedmontese in 1861, the King and Queen of Naples sought refuge in the damp, unwholesome vaults illustrated in the above picture. "Their fear," says a contemporary account of the siege, "must have been very great indeed to have induced them to live in such a wretched hole. The stench, on entering, is great; and in some chambers through the doorway four generals died during the siege from the bad atmosphere and confinement."

Count Aquila was ordered by his nephew to quit the kingdom. It was thus evident that Garibaldi's services must once more be utilised in order to overthrow the Bourbons. He landed on August 19th, 1860, on the coast of the peninsula near Melito, and marched directly on Naples. The generals who were sent against him were unreliable, since their hearts were in the Italian cause. The soldiers who supported the Bourbons thought themselves betrayed, and murdered General Fileno Briganti at Mileto, August 25th, after he had concluded terms of capitulation with Garibaldi. The latter was received everywhere with enthusiasm; the common people regarded him as an invulnerable hero. When he entered Naples on September 7th, 1860, with his 18,000 volunteers, he was greeted by Liborio Romano as liberator; the king withdrew with his army of 60,000 men into a strong fortress on the Volturno. A momentous crisis had arrived. For the adherents of Mazzini in the train of Garibaldi it was of vital importance to prevent the people of Naples from being called upon to vote whether they wished Victor Emmanuel to be king. They confirmed Garibaldi in the idea of marching immediately on Rome, of driving out the French troops, and of putting an end to the hierarchy. Garibaldi's breast swelled with his previous successes; he was susceptible to flattery, and firmly persuaded himself that it was merely Cavour's jealousy if Victor Emmanuel did not follow the noble impulses of his heart and throw open to him the road to Rome and Venice.

Garibaldi's Entry into Naples

When Cavour sent his trusted envoy, the Sicilian Giuseppe La Farina, in order to put himself in communication with Garibaldi, the latter insulted him by ordering his expulsion from Sicily. At first Garibaldi acquiesced in the dictatorship of Agostino Depretis, who was sent by the king; but on September 18th he replaced him, from suspicion of his connection with Cavour, by Antonio Mordini,

an intimate friend of Mazzini. In this way Garibaldi succeeded in involving Italy simultaneously in a war with France and Austria. The Emperor Napoleon looked sullenly at Naples, where a revolutionary focus was forming that threatened his throne with destruction.

Once more Cavour faced the situation with the boldest determination. He was firmly convinced that the monarchy and the constitutional government of North Italy must contribute as much to the union of the peninsula as Garibaldi; he therefore counselled the king to advance with his army into the papal territory and itself and its immediate vicinity, had surrounded himself with an army of 20,000 enlisted soldiers, at whose head he placed General Lamoricière, one of the leaders of the legitimist party in France. The mercenaries consisted of French, Austrians, Belgians, and Swiss; their officers were partly the flower of the legitimist nobility of France—a fact which could not be very pleasant to Napoleon. But King Victor Emmanuel sent 40,000 men, under the command of General Manfredo Fanti, against the States of the Church; and Lamoricière, who was obliged to leave half his troops

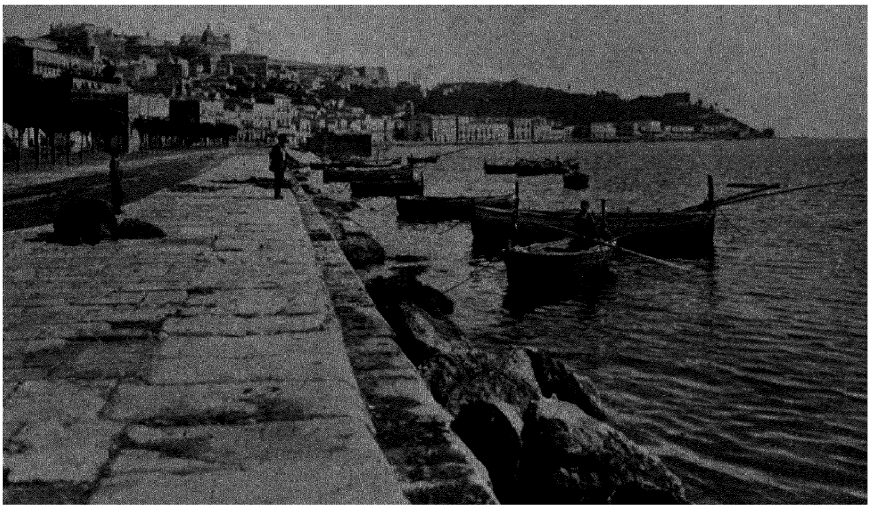


FAREWELL VISIT OF GARIBALDI TO ADMIRAL MUNDY ON THE HANNIBAL AT NAPLES

to occupy it—with the exception of Rome, which was protected by Napoleon—to march on Naples and to defeat the army of the Bourbon king, which was encamped on the Volturno. Matters had come to such a crisis that, when Victor Emmanuel sent his Minister Luigi Farini, from 1859–1860 dictator of the Emilia, and General Cialdini to Napoleon III., to expound his plan, the emperor gave a reply which showed that he was not blind to the necessity of the action taken by Victor Emmanuel.

The Pope, in order not to be entirely dependent on the help of France, which was intended merely to protect Rome to suppress the inhabitants of the States of the Church, was attacked by a greatly superior force. He was so completely defeated at Castelfidardo on September 18th, 1860, that he was only able to escape to Ancona with 130 men, while almost the entire papal army was taken prisoners. Persano received orders to bombard Ancona; it surrendered on September 29th.

The troops of Garibaldi had in the meantime attacked the Bourbon army on the Volturno, but without any success. The Bourbon troops crossed the Volturno in order, in their turn, to attack. Garibaldi boldly held his ground with his men, and



GENERAL VIEW OF CAPRERA, GARIBALDI'S ISLAND HOME



THE RETREAT OF GARIBALDI, NEAR RAVENNA, ONE OF ITALY'S HISTORIC TREASURES

THE HOME AND REFUGE OF ITALY'S GREATEST PATRIOT



ITALY'S TRIBUTE TO GARIBALDI: THE PATRIOT'S MONUMENT ON THE JANICULUM AT ROME

the Neapolitans, although three to one, could not gain a victory; but Garibaldi was far from being able to calculate upon a rapid success. Under these circumstances public opinion was strongly impressed when the army of Victor Emmanuel appeared on the bank of the Volturno; the Neapolitans withdrew behind the Garigliano.

It was high time that King Victor Emmanuel appeared in Naples; for Garibaldi was now so completely under the influence of the opponents of Cavour that he flatly refused to allow the incorporation of Naples and Sicily in the kingdom of Italy to be carried out. Mordini, his representative in Sicily, worked at his side, with the object that independent Parliaments should be summoned in Naples and Palermo, which should settle the matter. Garibaldi actually informed the king that he would not agree to the union unless Cavour and his intimate friends were first dismissed from the Ministry. By this demand, however, he ran counter to almost the entire public opinion of Italy. In Naples especially and in Sicily all prudent men wished for a rapid union with Italy, since the break-up of the old regime, in Sicily especially, had brought in its train confusion, horrors, and political murders. Garibaldi long debated with himself whether he should yield; but when the Marquis Pallavicino—who had fretted away the years of his manhood as a prisoner in the Spielberg at Brünn and was now the leader of the party of action—and with him virtually the whole population of Naples, went over to the other side, the patriot general mastered himself and ordered the voting on the union with Italy to be arranged, October 21st.



GARIBALDI'S STATUE AT FLORENCE

The king would have been prepared to grant his wish and to nominate him lieutenant-general of the districts conquered by him, had not Garibaldi attached the condition to it that he should be allowed to march on Rome in the coming spring. As this could not be granted, he withdrew in dignified pride, although deeply mortified and implacably hostile to Cavour, to his rocky island of Caprera. In his farewell proclamation he called upon the Italians to rally round "Il Rè galantuomo"; but he foretold his hope that in March, 1861, he would find a million Italians under arms, hinting in this way that he wished by their means to liberate Rome and Venice. But a fact, which many years later was disclosed in the memoirs of Thouvenel and Beust, shows how correct the judgment of Cavour was when he kept the Italians at this time away from Rome. When Garibaldi wished to march against Rome, Napoleon told the Vienna Cabinet that he had no objection if it wished to draw the sword against Italy to uphold the Treaty of Zürich—that is to say, for the papacy; only, it could not be allowed to disturb Lombardy again. It is conceivable that Rechberg, the Foreign Minister, dissuaded the Emperor Francis Joseph from a war which could bring no gain to Austria even in case of victory. The Bourbon army could not hold its ground against the troops of Victor Emmanuel, and King Francis threw himself into the fortress of Gaeta. When he surrendered there with 8,000 men on February 13th, 1861, the Union of Italy was almost won. Cavour himself was not fated to see the further accomplishment of his wishes. He was attacked by a deadly illness not long after an exciting session of Parliament, in which Garibaldi heaped bitter reproaches on his head. In his delirium he dreamed of the future of his country. He spoke of Garibaldi with great respect; he said that he longed, as much as the general, to go

to Rome and Venice. He spoke with animation of the desirability of reconciling the Pope with Italy. When his confessor Giacopo handed him the sacrament on June 6th, 1861, he said to him : " Brother, brother, a free Church in a free state " (" Frate, frate, libera chiesa in libero stato "). There were his last words.

Cavour's Dying Words

No problem had engrossed the maker of Italy in the last months of his life so much as the Roman question. There was a section of his friends who considered it necessary to yield Rome to the Pope, in order that the secular power of the papacy might remain undisturbed. Such was the idea of D'Azeglio. Stefano Jacini thought that Rome, on the model of the Hanse towns, might be turned into a Free State, where the Pope might maintain his residence in the character of a protector and suzerain.

Cavour, on the contrary, was convinced that Italy without its natural capital was an incomplete structure. He would have granted the Pope the most favourable conditions if the latter would have met the wishes of the Italians. The Throne of Peter, which so many able statesmen had filled in the past, was now held by Pius IX., a child-like, religious nature, who allowed himself to be enmeshed by the irreconcilable ideas of Giacomo Antonelli and the Jesuits, and by his obstinacy proved the greatest obstacle to the union of Italy.

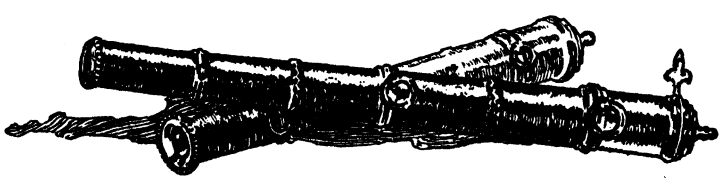
In spite of repeated pressure from the Emperor Napoleon, he refused to admit the introduction of reforms in the administration of the Papal States, or to conciliate the national feelings of the Italians. Victor Emmanuel, even before his march into the States of the Church, professed his readiness to recognise the papal sovereignty within the old territorial limits, provided that the Curia transferred to him the vicariate over the provinces taken from it. It was an equally beneficial circumstance for the infant state that the Pope, by repudiating liberty of conscience and free political institutions in his Encyclical of December 8th, 1864, and in the Syllabus, *Syllabus complectens præcipuos nostræ ætatis errores*, outraged the sensibilities even of those Catholics who wished for the maintenance of the temporal power, but did not wish to plunge back into mediævalism. Liberal ideas would not have been able to continue their victorious progress between 1860 and 1870 in the Catholic countries of Austria, Italy, and France if the Papal Chair had not involuntarily proved their best ally.

The Pope an Obstacle to Union

Baron Bettino Ricasoli, the successor of Cavour, thought that he acted in his predecessor's spirit when he made dazzling proposals to the Pope, on condition that the latter should recognise the status quo. Ricasoli proposed a treaty, which not merely assured all the rights of the papal primacy, but offered Pius, as a reward for his conciliatoriness, the renunciation by the king of all his rights as patron, especially that of the appointment of the bishops. By this the Pope would have completely ruled the Church of Italy ; and that State would have been deprived of a sovereign right, which not merely Louis XIV., but Philip II. of Spain and Ferdinand II. of Austria, would never have allowed themselves to lose. In place of any answer the cardinal secretary, Antonelli, declared, in the official " Giornale di Roma," that the proposal of Ricasoli was an unparalleled effrontery.

Garibaldi Wounded in Battle

This unfortunate attempt overthrew the Ministry of Ricasoli, and under his successor, Rattazzi, Garibaldi hoped to be able to carry out his design against Rome. He mustered his volunteers in Sicily, and landed with 2,000 men on the coast of Calabria ; but the Government was in earnest when it announced that it would oppose his enterprise by arms. Garibaldi, wounded by a bullet in the right foot, was forced to lay down his arms after a short battle at Aspromonte on August 29th, 1862. The road to Rome was not opened to the Italians until the power of France was overthrown by the victories of Germany.





PRUSSIA UNDER KING WILLIAM I.

AND COUNT BISMARCK'S RISE TO POWER

CAVOUR, on his death-bed, spoke unceasingly of the future of his country, and thus expressed himself about Germany: "This German Federation is an absurdity; it will break up, and the union of Germany will be established. But the House of Hapsburg cannot alter itself. What will the Prussians do, who are so slow in coming to any conclusions? They will need fifty years to effect what we have created in three years." This was the idea of the future which the dying statesman, to whom the name of Bismarck was still probably unknown, pictured to himself. It is quite possible that Germany, notwithstanding its efficiency and its culture, would have required, without Bismarck, another half-century for its union. King Frederic William I. had possessed an efficient army, without being able to turn it to account, as his great son did. Twice the tools were procured and ready before the master workman appeared on the scene who knew how to use them. We know precisely the goal which King William I. put before himself in the German question before Bismarck became his Minister. The plans which, as Prince Regent, he unfolded to the Emperor Francis Joseph at the conference at Töplitz, towards the end of July, 1860, were modest.

The Goal of King William I.

He was prepared to form an alliance with Austria which would have guaranteed to that country its existing dominions, thus including Venice. In return he required a change in the presidency of the German Federation as well as the command in the field over the troops of North Germany in future federal wars; the supreme command in South Germany was to fall to Austria. Thus, for the future there would be no possibility of the Federation choosing a general for itself, as Austria had desired on June 6th, 1859, when Germany armed against Napoleon III. Prussia was bound to prevent a majority in the Federation deciding the question of the supreme command of its army. Neither William I. nor his Ministers then aimed at the subjugation of Germany. But even those claims were rejected by Austria. Francis Joseph declared that the presidency in the Federation was an old prerogative of his house, and therefore unassailable. On the other matter no negative answer was returned, and negotiations were opened with the Federal Diet; but Austria was certain that the Assembly would reject the proposition.

The King's Work for the Army

If we leave out of sight the army reforms, the inestimable work of William I., we shall observe, until the appearance of Bismarck on the scene, serious vacillation in the home policy no less than in the foreign policy of Prussia. When the Prince Regent became the representative of King Frederic William IV., he issued on October 9th, 1858, a programme which announced in cautious language the breach with the reactionary method of government. The avoidance of all canting piety produced a beneficial impression; but there were only platitudes on the German question, among others the phrase: "Prussia must make moral conquests in Germany." When the Prince Regent soon afterwards summoned a Ministry of moderate Liberals, with Prince Anton von Hohenzollern at its head, public opinion breathed more freely, and the dawn of a "new era" was expected. The name of Count Maximilian Schwerin, Minister of the Interior, seemed to guarantee a broad-minded policy of reform. Count Alexander von Schleinitz, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, was, on the contrary, still firmly attached to the old system.

Prussia in the Dawn of a "New Era"

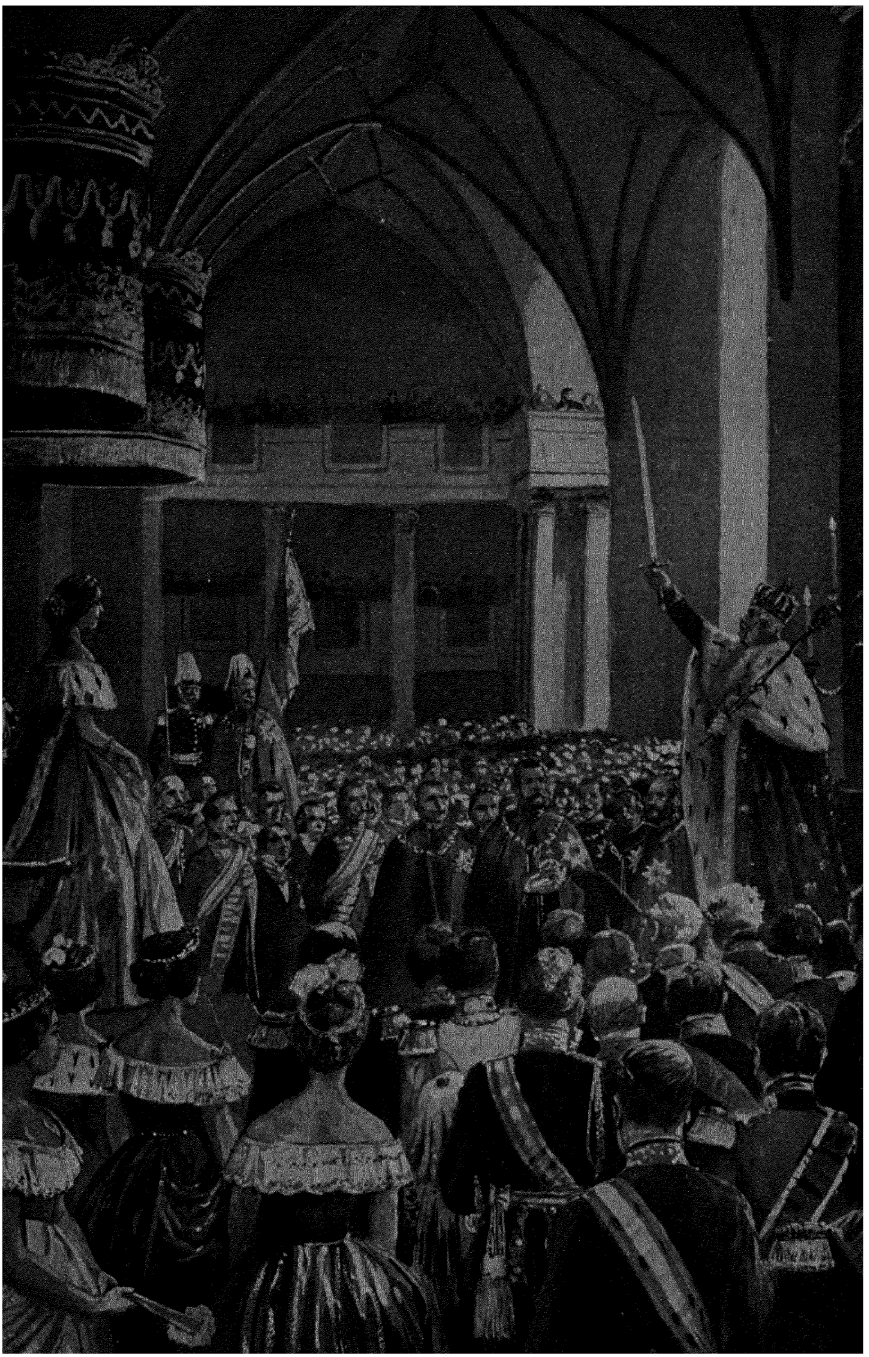
The Prussian people meantime understood the good intention, and the new elections to the Chamber brought a majority of moderate Liberals which was prepared

to support the Government. A number of Liberal leaders intentionally refrained from standing, in order not to arouse in the Prince Regent misgivings lest a repetition of the state of things in 1848 was intended. The leading figure in the Chamber, which met in January, 1859, was Vincke, whose loyalty was beyond suspicion. Commendable political wisdom was shown in this moderation on the part of the constituencies. As a matter of fact, the new Government introduced schemes of reform touching the abolition of the land-tax privileges of the nobility and the abolition of the police powers of the owners of knight-estates. Great efforts were expended to induce the Upper House, where the Conservatives possessed a majority, to accept the reforms. In a matter of German politics, where the conscience of the people chimed in, the new era fulfilled the expectations formed of it. Prussia spoke boldly in the Federal Diet on behalf of the restoration of the constitution of Electoral Hesse, which had been meanly curtailed. The Government could not rise superior to these attacks. The Prince Regent was unable to bring himself to make a clean sweep of a set of unpopular high officials, who had been much to blame in the reactionary period for open violations of the laws. The revolt of Italy had a great and immediate effect on the German people. The founding of the National Society, with Rudolf von Bennigsen at its head, in July, 1859, was a direct consequence of the Italian war. The society aimed at the union of all German-speaking races outside the Austrian Empire under the leadership of a Liberal Prussia. The Regent, far from being encouraged, felt alarmed by the events in Italy; the revolutionary rising in Naples and Garibaldi's march repelled him. He could not convince himself that the national will was entitled to override legitimist rights. His whole policy, both at home and abroad, was thus stamped by conservatism and uncertainty. The Austrian Minister, Rechberg, at the conferences of the Emperor Francis Joseph with the Prince Regent and with the Tsar at Töplitz and Warsaw, succeeded in confirming these two monarchs in the conviction that they, too, were threatened by the national and Liberal tendencies. Austria was no longer isolated in that respect as in 1859.

All these circumstances co-operated to close the ears of the Prussian people when the king, who succeeded his brother on the throne on January 2nd, 1861, came before the Chamber with the plan of army reform. William I. was superior to the majority of his German contemporaries in recognising that a comprehensive Prussian policy could only be carried out with a strong army. Leopold von Ranke says of a conversation which he had with the king on June 13th, 1860: "The sum of his resolution was . . . to leave the German princes undisturbed in their sovereignty, but to effect a union in military matters which would conduce to a great and general efficiency. He fully grasped the idea that the military power comprised in itself the sovereignty." As long before as the preparations which might have led to a war with Austria in 1850, the prince was convinced that the Prussian army, which nominally, on a war footing, numbered 200,000 men with the colours and 400,000 in the Landwehr, was not sufficient for protracted campaigns. The existing organisation had been formed in the critical times when the distrust of Napoleon I. and vexatious treaty obligations compelled Prussia to keep up a small peace army. Under the financial stress of the period subsequent to 1815, she was forced to continue with this defensive army, which in comparison with that of other military states was much weaker than the army which Frederic II. had raised in his far smaller kingdom. The mobilisation of 1859 had shown serious deficiencies in every



KING WILLIAM I. OF PRUSSIA
He was born in 1797, and on the death of his brother, Frederic William IV., succeeded to the throne of Prussia, being the seventh king of that country, and on January 18th, 1871, was proclaimed first German Emperor.



CORONATION CEREMONY OF KING WILLIAM I. AT KONIGSBERG, OCTOBER 18TH, 1861

[illegible]ction. Besides this the Prince Regent [illegible] then, in order to remedy the most crying evils, had instituted an important reform on his own authority. Hitherto there had been few or no permanent staffs for the Landwehr regiments; so that on a fresh mobilisation the troops could not be placed in the ranks as soon as they were called out, but had first to be formed into regiments. Such a state of things seems incredible at the present day.

At the demobilisation of 1859, the Prince Regent directed that the recently formed staffs of the Landwehr regiments should be kept up. This change could not, however, go far enough; for since the members of the Landwehr were bound to be dismissed, those staffs consisted mostly of officers only, and were not sufficient to form the basis of a powerful new organisation. The attention of William I. was now directed to this point. But the War Minister of the day, Bonin, was too timid to undertake the responsibility of the necessary measures, and on December 5th, 1859, Roon had to be summoned in his place.

The new proposal came before the Prussian Diet on February 10th, 1860. One of the great drawbacks of the existing constitution of the army lay in the fact that, while annually, on the average, 155,650 men reached their twentieth year, only 20,000 men were enrolled in the army. Thus twenty-six per cent. of the young men capable of bearing arms bore the whole burden of military service, which was especially heavy, since the obligation to serve in the Landwehr lasted to the thirty-ninth year. The consequence of this was that in the first levy of the Landwehr one-half of the total numbers, and in the second levy five-sixths, were married men. The number of men liable to serve had remained the same for more than forty years, although the population of the country had increased from ten to eighteen millions. The obligatory period of service in the standing army, three years with the colours, two years in the reserve, was too short for the body of the army. The government therefore proposed to levy annually, instead of 40,000 men, 60,000 men—forty per cent., that is, of all those liable to serve; while in return the obligation to serve in the Landwehr was to last only to the age of thirty-five years. Besides this, the three years' service in the reserve was to be raised to five years.



COUNT MAXIMILIAN SCHWERIN

Among the Ministry of moderate Liberals summoned by the Prince Regent in 1858 was Count Schwerin, Minister of the Interior; a "new era" was confidently anticipated, and the public looked to Schwerin for reforms.

This change signified a considerable strengthening of the standing army and a reduction of the Landwehr. This is shown by the figures of the full war footing which it was hoped to reach. The army was intended henceforth to consist of 371,000 men with the colours, 126,000 men in the reserve, and 163,000 in the Landwehr. The scheme demanded the attention of the Diet in two respects. On the one side a money grant was necessary, since it was impossible to enrol the numerous new corps in the old regiments, and thirty-nine new line regiments had to be raised. An annual sum, £1,350,000 sterling, was required for the purpose. Besides this, the existing law as to military service required to be considerably modified. This applied not merely to the division of the period of service between the standing army and the Landwehr, but also concerned the length of compulsory active service. At that time, in order to spare the finances, the soldiers were often dismissed after serving two or two and a half years. King William did not consider this period sufficient, and demanded the extension of the period of service to three, and in the case of the cavalry to four, years. Measures of no less importance had then been taken with regard to the tactics of the infantry. After the war of 1859, there arose the question of the conclusions to be drawn from the experiences of the Italian campaign. The defensive methods of the Austrians had proved inferior to the offensive tactics of the more dashing French. The French had often succeeded, in infantry combats, in rushing with an impetuous charge under the Austrian bullets, which had a very

Reforming the Army of Prussia

curved trajectory, and in thus winning the day. For this reason it was the ordinary belief in the Austrian army that defensive tactics must once for all be given up.

The successes of the French were overestimated, and there was a return in the years 1859–66 to "shock tactics"; these attached little importance to the preliminary musketry engagement, and consisted in firing a few volleys and then charging with the bayonet. Many voices even in the Prussian army advocated a similar plan. Colonel Ollech was sent by the Prussian General Staff to France in August, 1859, in order to investigate the condition of the French army. He returned strongly prejudiced in favour of the system of shock tactics, and advised the king to issue an order, in connection with a similar order issued by Frederic the Great for the cavalry, that "every infantry commander would be brought before a court-martial who lost a position without having met the attack of the enemy by a counter attack."



THE HISTORIAN RANKE
Professor of History at Berlin from 1825 till 1872, Leopold von Ranke was the author of many works dealing with European history.

King William was at all times clever in discovering prominent men for leading positions. The chief of the General Staff, Lieutenant-General Helmuth von Moltke, clearly saw the risk of this advice. In his remarks on Ollech's report he laid great weight on the attacking spirit in an army; but he recognised correctly that the needle-gun, introduced in 1847, secured the Prussians the advantage in the musketry fighting, and that in the reorganisation of the army stress should be laid on that point. Moltke's principle was that the infantry should make the fullest use of their superior firing power at the beginning of the battle, and should for that purpose select open country, where the effect of fire is the greatest. An advance should not be made before the enemy's infantry were shattered, and in this movement attacks on the enemy's flank were preferable. The Prussians fought in 1866 with these superior tactics, and they owed to them a great part of the successes which they achieved.

Moltke's Principle in Warfare

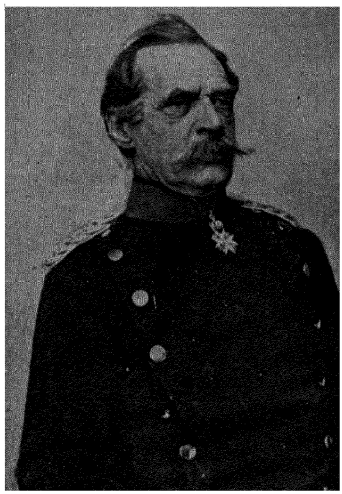
The Prussian Landtag did not mistake the value of the proposals made by the Government, but raised weighty objections. The majority agreed to the extension of the annual recruiting, to the increase of the officers and under-officers, and to the discharge of the older members of the Landwehr. On the other hand, the great diminution in the number of the Landwehr on a war footing, and the resulting reduction of their importance, but especially the three-years' compulsory service, aroused vigorous opposition. General Stavenhagen, who gave evidence for the proposal, characterised the two-years' service as sufficient. The Government recognised that it could not carry the Bill relating to compulsory service, and therefore withdrew it. It was content to demand an increase of 9,000,000 thalers—£1,350,000 sterling—in the war Budget, in order to carry out the increase of the regiments.

The Finance Minister, Baron von Patow, explained in the name of the Government that the organisation thus created was provisional, and would not assume a definite character until the Government and the popular representatives had agreed about the law itself. The Old Liberal majority of the Chamber of Representatives adopted this middle course, and sanctioned the required increase. Thus the yearly budget for the army was raised to 32,800,000 thalers—£4,920,000 sterling, or, roughly, a quarter of the entire revenue of 130,000,000 thalers—£19,500,000 sterling.

This expedient was manifestly illusory. The king at once ordered the disbanding of thirty-six regiments of Landwehr, whose place was taken by an equal number of line regiments. Altogether 117 new battalions and twelve new squadrons were formed. Obviously the king, who presented colours and badges to the new regiments on January 18th, 1861, in front of the monument of Frederic the Great, could not disband these newly formed units or dismiss their officers. The Chamber of Representatives became, in fact, suspicious, but agreed to the

increased army budget once more for the next year. Since the elections to the Landtag were imminent, the final decision stood over for the new House.

It would be a mistake to treat the events which followed in the ordinary manner, relating how the king was prudent but the Chamber petty in the army question, and how in this struggle the wisdom of the Regent fortunately prevailed over the meddlesomeness of the professional politicians. The state of affairs was quite otherwise. The dispute in the matter itself was not indeed beyond settlement. In case of necessity it would have been possible to arrive at a compromise as to the amount of compulsory service, and the Prussian army would hardly have been less effective if the two-years' military service had been introduced then and not postponed until after the death of Emperor William I. This consideration does not in any way lessen the credit due to the king.



FIELD-MARSHAL ROON
Entering the Prussian army in 1821, he revealed a thorough grasp of military matters, and his reorganisation of the army found brilliant justification in the success of the national arms in the wars of 1866 and 1870-1.
From a photograph

But, as the new elections showed, there was another and greater issue at stake. The influence of Liberal ideas in Europe was precisely then at its height, and public opinion tended towards the view that the royal power in Prussia must be checked, exactly as it had been in that model parliamentary state, England. The citizen class had then, it was thought, come to years of maturity, and it possessed a right to take the place of the monarchy and nobility in the power hitherto enjoyed by them. At the new elections, on December 6th, 1861, the Progressive party, in which the members of the movement of 1848 assumed the lead, was formed in opposition to the Old Liberals, who had left their stamp on the former Chamber. This political group had not yet the whole electorate on its side; it carried a hundred seats, barely a third of the whole Assembly. The Old Liberals felt themselves meanwhile outstripped, especially since the king no longer extended his confidence to the Liberal Ministers, who were defeated on the army question. While this change was being effected among the citizen class, the nobility and the Conservative party on the other hand, who had been greatly chagrined at being dismissed from the helm of state after the assumption of the regency by the prince, put forward their claim not less resolutely. The great services of the Prussian nobility to the army and the civil service, to which, both before and after, it supplied first-class men, could not, of course, be disputed. But to justifiable pride at this fact was joined such intense class prejudice that even a man like Roon could not for a long time bring himself to recognise the justification of an elected representation of the people. General Manteuffel, as chief of the royal military cabinet, worked with him in the same spirit. Ernst von Gerlach and Hermann Wagener represented in the "Kreuzzeitung" similar views. Karl Twesten, one of the most prominent members of the Liberal party, called General Manteuffel a mischievous man in a mischievous position—a taunt which Manteuffel answered by a challenge to a duel, in which Twesten was wounded.

Roon's Advice to the King

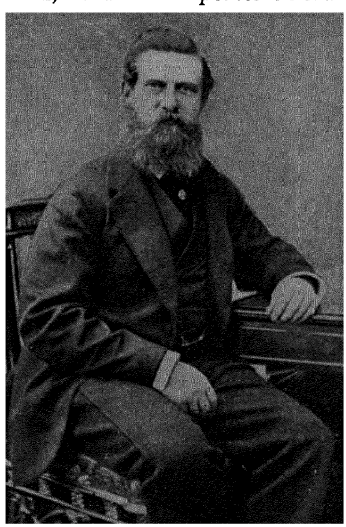
The Liberal Ministers saw with concern how the king inclined more and more towards the paths of the Conservative party. They counselled him, in view of the impending struggle over the military question, to conciliate public opinion by undertaking reforms in various departments of the legislature. Roon vigorously opposed this advice, which he saw to be derogatory to the Crown. He induced the king on March 1st, 1861, to adjourn these Bills, which had already been settled upon. He unceasingly urged the king to dismiss his Liberal colleagues and to adopt strong measures. In a memorial laid before the king, dated April, 1861, he wrote of the Hohenzollern-Schwerin

Cabinet, in which, nevertheless, he himself had accepted a seat, that "it is only compatible with the pseudo-monarchy of Belgium, England, or of Louis Philippe, not with a genuinely Prussian monarchy by the grace of God, with a monarchy according to your ideas. People have tried to intimidate your Majesty by the loud outcry of the day. All the unfortunate monarchs of whom history tells have so fared; the phantom ruined them, simply because they believed in it."

Prussian Conservatives in Power

The opposition was apparent as soon as the new Chamber assembled on January 14th, 1862. Opponents of the proposal were elected on the commission for discussing the Army Bill in a large majority. When the Budget was discussed, a resolution was adopted which called for more precise details of the state finances. This was a reasonable demand, and was soon afterwards conceded by Bismarck. But the Conservative advisers of the king then stigmatised the wish as an encroachment on the rights of the Crown, and the Chamber of Representatives was dissolved on March 18th, 1862, after a short term of life. At the same time the Liberal Ministry was dismissed. Its place was taken by a Cabinet in which officials preponderated, but which, on the whole, bore a Conservative character. It is certainly to the credit of Roon and Manteuffel that their influence on the king paved the way for Bismarck. But they made the beginning of his term of office more difficult for the great Minister, since he was at once drawn into the most violent antagonism to popular representation. The question must be raised whether Prussia, with her great military and intellectual superiority, would not have obtained the same results if there had been no such rupture with public opinion. The Crown Prince Frederic William held this view, and it was shared not only by Albert, the English Prince Consort, but also by the king's son-in-law, the Grand Duke Frederic of Baden, who just then was reforming his country with the help of the Liberal Ministers, Baron Franz von Roggenbach and Karl Mathy. Men of a similar type would have gladly co-operated to help King William to gain the imperial crown. King William himself felt that, in consequence of his quarrel with the Chamber, many sincere friends of Prussia were mistaken as to his country's German mission. This point was emphasised even in the National Assembly.

In order to counteract this tendency, the king had appointed Bernstorff, who advocated the union of Germany under the leadership of Prussia, to be Minister of Foreign Affairs in the place of Schleinitz, who held legitimist views. Bernstorff adopted, in fact, most vigorous measures, when several states of the German Zollverein, on the conclusion of the Free-Trade commercial treaty with France, threatened that they would in consequence withdraw from the Zollverein. They found a supporter in Austria, who would gladly have broken up the Zollverein; but they were forced to yield to Prussia, since their own economic interests dictated their continuance in the Zollverein. Bernstorff furthermore, in a note addressed to the German courts on December 20th, 1861, announced as a programme the claim of Prussia to the leadership of Lesser Germany. By this step the Berlin Cabinet reverted to the policy of union which had been given up in 1850. The party of Greater Germany collected its forces in opposition. Austria resolved to anticipate Prussia by a tangible proposition to the Diet, and proposed federal reforms: that a directory with corresponding central authority should be established, and by its side an assembly of delegates from the popular representatives of the several states. But, before this proposal should be agreed to, steps were to be taken to elaborate a



CROWN PRINCE FREDERIC
The only son of William I., he married Victoria, Princess Royal of England, in 1858. A man of courage, he opposed the reactionary policy of Bismarck, and fought with distinction in the various wars waged by Prussia.
From a photograph

common system of civil procedure and contract law for the whole of Germany Both the Prussian note and the Austrian proposal met with opposition and a dissentient majority in the Federal Diet at Frankfort, for the secondary states did not wish to relinquish any part of their sovereignty in favour of either the Prussian or the Austrian Government The necessary condition for the success of the Prussian policy would have been a majority in a German Parliament on the side of Prussia, as in 1849 But Bernstorff, although in his heart he favoured the plan, could not advise the king to summon a National Assembly, because, as things then stood, its majority would have approved of the opposition of the Prussian progressive party

Ascendancy of Radical Liberalism

In the new elections to the Chamber of Representatives Radical Liberalism gained the greatest number of seats The two sections of this party numbered together 235 members—two-thirds, that is, of the 352 representatives of the Landtag, the Old Liberals under the leadership of Vincke had dwindled to 23 votes The new majority gladly accepted the challenge flung to them, for the idea, which Roon had erroneously termed the ultimate goal even of the moderate Liberals, was actively dominant among them They wished for no compromise, but aimed at the subordination of the king to the Parliament The examples of England and Belgium dominated their plans in every detail

The army question became the outward pretext on which the two constitutional theories came into conflict with each other Since the king did not concede the two years' compulsory service, which the Chamber demanded as a condition of the army reform, the House resolved, on September 23rd, 1862, to strike out entirely the costs of the reform, which was tantamount to disbanding the new regiments In this way a humiliation was laid on the king, which was intended to bend or break him

The Bold Stand of the King

King William was resolved rather to lay down the Crown than to submit to a compulsion by which, according to his view, he would have been degraded to the position of a puppet ruler He seriously contemplated this step, when the Ministry of Hohenlohe, seeing no way out of the difficulty, asked to be dismissed The king doubted whether men would be found bold enough to confront the Chamber of Representatives Whenever Roon and Manteuffel had formerly spoken of Bismarck, the king had hesitated to entrust the government to a man whom he considered to be a hot-head Now, he told Roon, Bismarck would no longer entertain any wish to be at the head of affairs, besides that, he happened to be on leave, travelling in Southern France

Roon, however, could assure the king that Bismarck, who had been already recalled, was prepared to enter the service of the king Soon afterwards the latter learned that Bismarck had, immediately on his return, paid a visit, by invitation, to the Crown Prince King William's suspicions were aroused by this, and he thought, "There is nothing to be done with him, he has already been to my son"

All doubts, however, were dissipated when Bismarck appeared before him and unfolded his scheme of government. The king showed him the deed of abdication, which he had already drafted, because, so he said, he could not find another Ministry

Bismarck's Rise to Power

Bismarck encouraged him by the assurance that he intended to stand by him in the struggle between the supremacy of the Crown and of Parliament On the day when the Chamber of Representatives passed the resolution by which the monarch felt himself most deeply wounded, on September 23rd, 1862, the nomination of Bismarck as President of the Ministry was published.

Bismarck's work is the establishment of the unity of Germany no less than the revival of the power of the monarchy and of all conservative forces in that country His contemporaries have passed judgment upon him according to their political attitudes Those who regarded the advancing democratisation of Great Britain and France as equally desirable for Germany, and as the ultimate goal of its development, were bound to see an opponent in the powerful statesman A difficult legal question was put before Bismarck at the very outset of his activity. He counselled the king to disregard the Budget rights of the Chamber of Representatives

For the historical estimate of Bismarck it is not of primary importance whether the constitutional arguments which he employed on this occasion are tenable or not; this legal question must certainly

be decided against him. He took his stand on the ground that the Budget was, according to the constitution, a law on which the Crown, the Upper Chamber, and the Chamber of Representatives must agree, and that the authors of the Prussian constitution had on this point reversed the practice of England, where money grants are exclusively the province of the Lower House. They had not provided for the event that the three might not be able to agree and the law could thus not be passed, there was therefore an omission. But since the state could not stand still, a constitutional deadlock had resulted, which would be fatal unless the Budget for the year were provided by the arbitrary action of the Crown.

The consequence of this theory was that the Crown could enforce all the larger Budget demands, even though the two Chambers had pronounced in favour of the smaller sum. From this point of view every theory turned on the exercise of the powers of the constitutional authorities. In the great speech in which the Prussian Minister-President explained his views, he confronted the Chamber with his political principles. "The Prussian monarchy has not yet fulfilled its mission, it is not yet ripe to form a purely ornamental decoration of the fabric of your constitution, nor to be incorporated into the mechanism of parliamentary rule as an inanimate piece of the machinery." Even the king wavered for a moment when Bismarck in the Budget commission of the Chamber of Representatives, September 30th, 1862, made his famous assertion that "the union of Germany could not be effected by speeches, societies, and the resolutions of majorities, a grave struggle was necessary, a struggle that could only be carried through by blood and iron." Even Roon considered this phrase as dangerous.

Bismarck's Dangerous Declaration

The state was administered for four years without a constitutionally settled Budget. The Chamber of Representatives declared this procedure illegal, and great excitement prevailed throughout the country. In order to suppress the opposition, strict enactments were published on June 1st, 1863, which were directed against the freedom of the Press and of the societies. At this period the Crown Prince Frederic William joined the opponents of Bismarck, because he thought the procedure of the Ministers might provoke a new revolution in Prussia. He made a speech on June 5th, in the town hall at Danzig when receiving the municipal authorities, which was directed against the Government. "I, too, regret that I have come here at a time when a quarrel, of which I have been in the highest degree surprised to hear, has broken out between the Government and the people. I know nothing of the enactments which have brought about this result." The Crown Prince at the same time sent a memorandum to the king to the same effect, but on June 30th he wrote to the Minister-President a letter full of indignation and contempt, which would have shaken the resolution of any other man than Bismarck. "Do you believe that you can calm men's minds by continual outrages on the feeling of legality? I regard the men who lead his Majesty the king, my most gracious father, into such paths as the most dangerous counsellors for Crown and country."

The Crown Prince Criticises Bismarck

The king was deeply hurt at the public appearances of his son, he contemplated harsh measures against him, and Bismarck was compelled to dissuade him from his purpose. The Minister reminded the king that in the quarrel between Frederic William I. and his son the sympathy of the times, as well as of posterity, had been with the son; and he showed the inadvisability of making the Crown Prince a martyr. Thus the situation in Prussia seemed to be strained to the breaking point. The Representative Chamber adopted in 1863, by a large majority, the resolution that Ministers should be liable out of their private fortune for any expenditure beyond the Budget.

It is marvellous with what independence and intellectual vigour Bismarck guided foreign policy in the midst of these commotions. We need only examine the pages of history from 1850 to 1862 to find clearly how little Prussia counted as a European Power. It played, in consequence of the vacillation of Frederic William IV., a feeble rôle, especially at the time of the Crimean War. Even later, when William I. was governing the country as prince regent and as king, Cavour, who was continually forced to rack his brains with the possibilities which might effect a change in the policy of France and

Prussia's Place in History

Austria, Great Britain and Russia, hardly took Prussia into consideration That state, during the Italian crisis of 1860, had little more weight than a Power of the second rank—only about as much as Spain, of which it was occasionally said that it would strengthen or relieve the French garrison in Rome with its troops

Bismarck an Object of Ridicule

Great as are the services of King William to the army and the State of Prussia, he could not have attained such great successes without a man like Bismarck Considering the feebleness of Prussia, which had been the object of ridicule for years, every one was, at first, surprised by the vigorous language of Bismarck When, in one of the earliest Cabinet councils, he broached the idea that Prussia must watch for an opportunity of acquiring Schleswig-Holstein, the Crown Prince raised his hands to heaven, as if the orator had uttered some perfectly foolish thing, and the clerk who recorded the proceedings thought he would be doing a favour to Bismarck if he omitted the words , the latter was obliged to make the additional entry in his own writing

The newspapers and political tracts of that time almost entirely ridicule the attitude of the new Minister, whom no one credited with either the serious intention or the strength to carry out his programme His contemporaries were therefore only confirmed in their contempt for him when, on November 26th, 1862, he suddenly ended the constitutional struggle in Electoral Hesse, which had lasted several decades, by sending an orderly to the Elector Frederic William, with the peremptory command that he should give back to the country the constitution of 1831

And now came his amazing conversation with the Austrian Ambassador, Count Aloys Karolyi Austria, shortly before, without coming to terms with Prussia, had brought before the Assembly in Frankfort the proposal already mentioned for federal reform Bismarck, in that conversation, taunted Austria with having deviated from the method of Prince Metternich, who came to a previous arrangement with Prussia as to all measures concerning German affairs , and he declared to the count that Austria would soon have to choose between the alternatives of vacating Germany and shifting its political centre to the east, or of finding Prussia in the next war on the side of its opponents This assertion fell like a bombshell on Vienna. Count Rechberg was not so wrong when he talked of the "terrible" Bismarck, who was capable of doing anything for the greatness of Prussia

Bombshell of the "Terrible" Bismarck

The two great parties in Germany were organised at the precise moment when Bismarck entered upon office A Diet of representatives from the different German Parliaments, which was attended by some 200 members, met at Weimar on September 28th, 1862 This assembly demanded the summons of a German Parliament by free popular election, and the preliminary concentration of non-Austrian Germany , to begin with, at any rate, Austria would have to remain outside the more restricted confederation. This assembly and the activity of the National Society led on the other side to the formation of the Greater Germany Reform Society, which came into existence at Frankfort It demanded a stricter consolidation of the German states under the leadership of Austria The narrow particularism of the princes and their immediate followers, who were unwilling to sacrifice for the welfare of the whole body any of the sovereignty of the individual states, kept aloof from these efforts Their underlying thought was expressed by the Hanoverian Minister, Otto, Count Borries, who, when opposing the efforts of the National Society on May 1st, 1860, went so far as to threaten that the secondary states would be forced into non-German alliances in order to safeguard their independence

The Greater Germany Movement

The Greater Germany movement gained adherents not merely by the constitutional struggle in Prussia but also by the movement towards liberalism in Austria The absolute monarchy, which had ruled in Austria since 1849, ended with a defeat on the battlefield and the most complete financial disorder The pressure of the harsh police regulations weighed all the more heavily, as the state organs, since the conclusion of the concordat with Rome, were put equally at the service of ecclesiastical purposes The discontent of every nationality in the empire impelled the emperor, after Solferino, June 24th, 1859, to make a complete change. It would have been the natural course of proceedings if the emperor had at once resolved to consolidate the unity of the

Empire, which had been regained in 1849, by summoning a General Parliament But the Crown, and still more the aristocracy, were afraid that in this imperial representation the German bourgeoisie would come forward with excessive claims For this reason an aristocratic interlude followed. Count Goluchowski, a Pole, hitherto Governor of Galicia, became Minister of the Interior on August 21st, 1859, while Count Rechberg, who had already succeeded Count Buol as Minister of the Interior and of the Imperial House on May 17th, was given the post of President

The administrative business of the entire monarchy was, by the imperial manifesto of October 20th, 1860, concentrated in a new body, the National Ministry, at whose head Goluchowski was placed, while the conduct of Hungarian affairs was entrusted to Baron Nikolaus Bay and Count Nikolaus Szécsen, at the same time orders were issued that the provincial councils —Landtage— and a council of the empire elected from them— Reichsrat—should be summoned These bodies were, however, only to have a deliberative voice, and besides that, a preponderant influence in the provincial bodies was assigned to the nobility and the clergy It was a still more decisive step that the members of the conservative Hungarian haute noblesse, in their aversion to German officialism, induced the emperor once more to entrust the administration of Hungary and the choice of officials to the assemblies of nobles, known as "county courts," as had been the case before the year 1848 These measures produced a totally different result from that anticipated by Bay and Szécsen

Hungary on the Verge of Rebellion

The meetings of the county courts, which had not been convened since 1849, were filled with a revolutionary spirit, and, while offering at once the most intense opposition, refused to carry out the enactments of the Ministers, because, so they alleged, the constitutionally elected Reichstag was alone entitled to sanction taxation, and they chose officials who refused to collect taxes, or only did so in a dilatory fashion The country in a few months bordered on a state of rebellion

As the Hungarian Ministers of the emperor had plunged the Empire into this confusion, they were compelled to advise him to entrust a powerful personality from the ranks of the high German officials with the conduct of affairs Anton von Schmerling was nominated Minister of Finance on December 17th, 1860, in the place of Goluchowski He won over the emperor to his view, which was unfavourable to the Hungarians, and carried his point as to maintaining one united constitution and the summoning of a central parliament He proposed also that a limited scope should be conceded to the diets of the individual provinces These were the fundamental principles of the constitution granted on February 26th, 1861 Schmerling deserves credit for having restored the prestige of the constitution in Hungary without bloodshed, even if severe measures were used

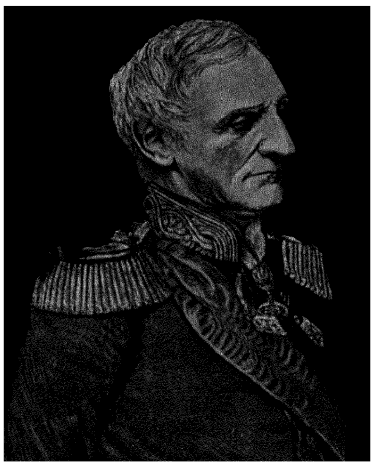
The Magyars' Expectations of Independence

The county assemblies were dissolved, and trustworthy native officials substituted for them The vacillation of the emperor in 1860 strengthened, however, the conviction of the Magyars that in the end the Crown would yield to their opposition, and once more concede the independence of Hungary in the form in which it was won by the constitution of April, 1848 The leadership of this opposition in the Landtag summoned in 1861 was taken by Franz Deák, the Landtag, in the address which was agreed upon, refused to send representatives to the central Parliament, and complete independence was demanded for Hungary

Schmerling advanced unhesitatingly on the road which he had taken At the same time he won great influence over the management of German affairs, and for some period was more powerful in that sphere than the Minister of the Exterior, Count Rechberg The latter considered it prudent to remain on good terms with Prussia, and not to stir up the German question Schmerling, on the other hand, put higher aims before himself, and wished to give Germany the desired federal reform, and to strengthen Austria's influence in Germany by the establishment of a strong central power in Frankfort He hoped to overcome the resistance of Prussia by help of the popular feeling in non-Prussian Germany He enlisted confidence in Germany also by the introduction of constitutional forms in Austria. Austria tried to sweep the German princes along with her in one bold rush. The emperor, in deference to a suggestion of his brother-in-law, Maximilian, the

Austria's Influence in Germany

hereditary prince of Thurn and Taxis, resolved to summon all German princes to a conference at Frankfort-on-Main, and to lay before them his plan of reform. The King of Prussia in this matter was not treated differently from the pettiest and weakest of the Federal princes. The emperor communicated his intention to King William at their meeting in Gastein on August 2nd, 1863, and, without waiting for the stipulated written decision of the king, handed him by an adjutant on August 3rd the formal invitation to the Diet of Princes summoned for August 16th.



KING JOHN OF SAXONY
Under this king, who reigned from 1854 till 1873, and who was distinguished for learning and culture, many schemes for the betterment of the people of Saxony were introduced, while the army was reformed.

The blow aimed by Austria led to a temporary success. Public opinion in South Germany was aroused, and in some places became enthusiastic; the sovereigns and princes gave their services to the Austrian reform. All this made a deep impression on King William; the Bavarian queen, Marie, and her sister-in-law, the widow of King Frederic William IV., urged him on his journey from Gastein to Baden-Baden to show a conciliatory attitude towards the Austrian proposal. Nevertheless he followed Bismarck's advice, and kept away from the meeting at Frankfort. The Emperor Francis Joseph made his entry into the Free Town amid the pealing of the bells and the acclamations of the inhabitants, who favoured the Austrian cause. He skilfully presided over the debate of the princes, and King John of Saxony, 1854–1873, an experienced man of business and an eloquent speaker, confuted the protests which were preferred by a small minority. The Grand Duke Frederic Francis II. of Mecklenburg-Schwerin proposed to invite King William to make the journey to Frankfort. King John assented, but made two additional proposals, which were not quite friendly to Prussia. He first induced the meeting to declare that it considered the Austrian proposals suitable as a basis for reform; and it was also soon settled that the refusal of the King of Prussia was no obstacle to further deliberation. After these resolutions, which were taken on August 18th, King John went to Baden-Baden, in order to take the invitation to the King of Prussia.

King William did not seem disinclined to accept the invitation, and said to Bismarck: "Thirty princes sending the invitation, and a king as Cabinet messenger, how can there be any refusal?" But Bismarck saw that this surprise, planned by Austria, was a blow aimed at Prussia, and he would have felt deeply humiliated by the appearance of his monarch at Frankfort. Germany was to see that any alteration of the German constitution must prove abortive from the mere opposition of Prussia. Bismarck required all his strength of will to induce William to refuse; he declared that if the king commanded him, he would go with him to Frankfort, but that when the business was ended he would never return with him to Berlin as Minister. The king, therefore, took his advice. What Bismarck had foreseen now occurred. It is true that the Austrian proposal was in the end discussed and accepted, against the votes of Baden, Schwerin, Weimar, Luxemburg, Waldeck, and the younger line of Reuss. But since the meeting only pledged itself in the event of an agreement with Prussia as the basis of these resolutions, Austria had failed in the achievement of her main result.



ANTON VON SCHMERLING
Minister of Finance, he restored the prestige of the constitution in Hungary without bloodshed.



PRUSSIA & AUSTRIA ON THE EVE OF WAR

THE FATE OF SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN

ALL these debates and intrigues between Prussia and Austria sank into the background when the fate of Schleswig-Holstein was destined to be decided by arms The occasion for this was given by the death of the Danish king, Frederic VII , on November 15th, 1863, with whom the main line of the royal house became extinct The collateral line of Holstein-Glucksburg possessed the hereditary right to Denmark, while the House of Augustenburg raised claims to Schleswig-Holstein All Germany thought that the moment had come to free Schleswig-Holstein from the Danish rule by supporting the Duke of Augustenburg The two great German Powers were, however, pledged in another direction by the Treaty of London

Denmark had expressly engaged by that arrangement to grant Schleswig-Holstein an independent government , on this basis the Great Powers on their side guaranteed the possession of the duchies to the King of Denmark and all his successors The two great German Powers were to blame for having compelled the inhabitants of Schleswig-Holstein in 1850 to submit to Denmark From hatred of Liberalism and all the mistakes it was supposed to have made in 1848, they destroyed any hopes which the inhabitants of Schleswig-Holstein might have formed for the future, after the royal house should have become extinct Duke Christian of Augustenburg sold his hereditary rights to Denmark for 2,250,000 thalers—£500,000—although his son Frederic protested But Denmark did not think of fulfilling her promise The German Federation was content for years to remonstrate and propose a court of arbitration Finally, the Federal Council resolved on armed intervention against Denmark Hanoverian and Saxon troops occupied Holstein, but they were forced to halt on the Eider, as Schleswig did not belong to the Federation.

Denmark's Claim on the Duchies

In Copenhagen the Eider-Danish party drew peculiar conclusions from these circumstances , since, they said, Schleswig did not belong to the Federation, the Treaty of London might be disregarded, the bond between Schleswig and Holstein dissolved, and Schleswig, at any rate, amalgamated into the unified State of Denmark Threatening crowds forced the new monarch, Christian IX , in spite of his superior insight, to consent to the united constitution The Treaty of London was to all intents and purposes broken

Duke Frederic and His Supporters

The claim of Duke Frederic of Augustenburg to Schleswig-Holstein was thus unanimously applauded by the popular voice of Germany He declared himself ready to follow loyally the democratic constitution which the duchies had given themselves in 1848, and surrounded his person with liberal counsellors A large proportion of the governments of the petty German states recognised the duke as the heir, and the majority of the Federal Council decided in his favour

Prussia and Austria, indeed, as signatories of the Treaty of London, felt themselves bound by it towards Europe They possessed, according to it, the right to compel Denmark to grant to the duchies independence and union under one sovereign , but they could exempt themselves from recognising the hereditary right of King Christian IX Austria in particular, whose stability rested on European treaties, did not venture to admit that the right of nationality could undo those treaties Was Prussia able to confront the other Great Powers with her unaided resources ? Bismarck, with all his determination, thought such a move too dangerous The stake in such a struggle would have been too trivial , for, as Bismarck showed the Prussian House of Representatives, Prussia would have lent its arms to establish the claims of a duke who, like the other petty

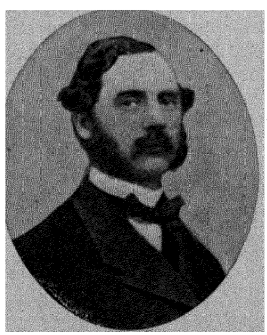
Prussia Against the Powers

states, would have mostly voted with Austria at Frankfort. "The signing of the Treaty of London," so Bismarck said on December 1st, 1863, in the Prussian House of Representatives, "may be deplored; but it has been done, and honour as well as prudence commands that our loyal observance of the treaty be beyond all doubt." These reasons did not, however, convince the House. It pronounced in favour of the hereditary right of the Duke of Augustenburg. Bismarck vainly put before the Opposition that, as soon as Prussia abandoned the basis of the Treaty of London, no pretext whatever could be found for interfering in Schleswig, which stood entirely outside the German Confederation.



KING FREDERIC VII.
King of Denmark from 1848, his tyrannous rule in Schleswig-Holstein was bitterly resented, and by his death, in 1863, the main line of the royal house became extinct.

The violent opposition of the House of Representatives to Bismarck's methods was due to the fact that the Conservative party, to which Bismarck had belonged, had in 1849 and 1850 condemned the rebellion of Schleswig-Holstein against Denmark; and there was the fear that the supporters of legitimacy would once more in the end make the duchies subject to Denmark. As a matter of fact, the two great German Powers had tolerated the infringements of the Treaty of London by Denmark since 1852, and had not contributed at all to preserve the rights of the duchies. This explains the blame laid upon the two Great Powers by the committee of an assembly of representatives at Frankfort on December 21st, 1863, in an address to the German people. For twelve years, it said, the Danes had been allowed to trample under foot the Treaty of London. Now, with the extinction of the royal house, and the revival of the hereditary right of Augustenburg, the possibility had come of getting rid of the shameful treaty. "Now, when the execution of that treaty would be fatal to the cause of the duchies, armies were being put into the field in order to enforce its execution." This reproach against the Prussian policy would have been justified if Bismarck had still been, as he was in 1848, a man of exclusively Conservative party politics. The German people could not know that he had become a far greater man. He had now fixed his eye on the acquisition of the duchies by Prussia, and steered steadily towards that goal which King William still considered unattainable. Just now he won a great diplomatic triumph. Austria, on the question of the duchies, was divided from the German minor states, her allies, and Bismarck widened the breach. He explained to the Vienna Cabinet that Prussia was resolved to compel Denmark to respect the Treaty of London by force of arms, and, if necessary, single-handed. Austria now could not and dared not leave the liberation of Schleswig to her rival alone, otherwise she would have voluntarily abdicated her position in Germany. Rechberg, who in any case was favourably disposed to the alliance with Prussia, induced his master, under the circumstances, to conclude the armed alliance with Prussia; Francis Joseph was, however, disappointed that the Diet at Frankfort and the anti-Prussian policy had borne no fruits. The two Great Powers pledged themselves in the treaty of January 16th, 1864, to attack Denmark, and settled that after the liberation of the duchies no decision should be taken about them except by the agreement of the two Powers. Austria thus felt protected against surprises on the part of Prussia. The treaty met with the most violent opposition both in the Prussian and the Austrian representative assemblies. The money for the conduct of the war was actually refused in Berlin. The Austrian Chamber did not proceed to such extreme measures, but the majority held it to be a mistake that Austria adopted a hostile position against the minor states, and neglected the opportunity to make a friend of the future Duke of Schleswig-Holstein.



KING CHRISTIAN IX.
He succeeded to the throne of Denmark in 1863, on the death of Frederic VII. His eldest daughter, Alexandra, married King Edward VII. of Great Britain and Ireland.
From a photograph

The army to conquer Schleswig consisted of 37,000 Prussians and 23,000 Austrians, who were opposed by 40,000 Danes. The supreme command of the invading force was held by Count Wrangel. The Danes hoped to the last for foreign help, but the threats of England to the German Powers were smoke without a fire. The Danes first attempted resistance along the Danewerk. But the Austrians in the battles of Jagel and Okerselk, on February 3rd, stormed the outposts in front of the redoubts and pursued the Danes right under the cannons of the Danewerk. Since there was the fear that the strong position would be turned by the Prussians below Missunde, the Danish general, De Meza, evacuated the Danewerk on February 5th, and withdrew northwards. The Austrians followed quickly and came up with the Danes the next day at Oeversee, and compelled them to fight for their retreat. Schleswig was thus conquered with the exception of a small peninsula on the east, where the lines of Düppel were raised, which were in touch with the island of Alsen and the powerful Danish fleet. Prussia proposed then to force the Danes to conclude peace by an investment of Jütland. The Austrian Cabinet could not at first entertain this plan. General Manteuffel, who was sent to Vienna, only carried his point when Prussia gave a promise that Schleswig-Holstein should not be wrested from the suzerainty of the Danish crown; on the contrary, the independent duchies were to be united with Denmark by a personal union. The allies thereupon conquered Jütland as far as the Liim Fiord, and by storming the lines of Düppel, on April 18th, the Prussian arms won a brilliant success, and the blockade of the mouths of the Elbe was relieved by the sea-fight of Heligoland on May 9th, 1864.

The future of the duchies was now the question. Popular opinion in Germany protested loudly against their restoration to the Danish king, and Bismarck now fed the flame of indignation, since he wished to release Prussia from the promise she had made. But he would not have attained this object had not the Danes, fortunately for Germany, remained obstinate. A conference of the Powers concerned met in London on April 25th, 1864. The Danish plenipotentiaries, still hoping for British support, rejected on May 17th the proposal of Prussia and Austria for the constitutional independence of the duchies, even should their possession be intended for their King Christian. The matter was thus definitely decided. Austria was now compelled to retire from the agreement last made with Prussia. The Vienna Cabinet, making a virtue of necessity, resolved to prevent Schleswig-Holstein from falling to Prussia by nominating the Duke of Augustenburg. King William had long been inclined to this course, if only Duke Frederic was willing to make some arrangement with Prussia about his army, as Coburg had already done; if he would grant Prussia a naval station and allow the North Sea Canal to be constructed; and if the duchies

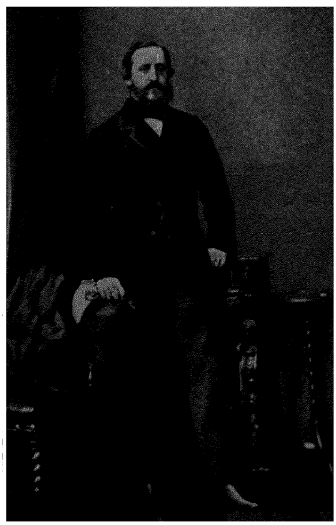


FREDERIC VII. OF DENMARK AND HIS CONSORT
From a photograph

entered the Zollverein. The duke would certainly have agreed to these terms in order to obtain the sovereignty had not Austria on its side made more favourable promises. There was a strong wish at Vienna to prevent Schleswig-Holstein becoming a vassal state of Prussia. The duke, encouraged by this, promised the king indeed to observe those conditions, but he added the qualification that he could not know whether the Estates of Schleswig-Holstein would assent to the treaty. If not, he was ready to withdraw in favour of his son.

This additional proviso filled Bismarck with misgivings; for the farce might be repeated which had been played before, when Duke Christian of Augustenburg sold his claims to Denmark, and his son Frederic then came forward with his hereditary right to Schleswig-Holstein. The determination of the Prussian Prime Minister not to give in until the countries were incorporated into Prussia grew stronger day by day. The first step in that direction was the conclusion of peace with Denmark on October 30th, 1864; the two duchies were unconditionally resigned to Austria and Prussia, without any consideration being paid to the hereditary claims of the Houses of Augustenburg and Oldenburg. Bismarck did not want to break with Austria yet. He was sorry, therefore, to see that Count Rechberg retired on October 27th, 1864, from his office as Minister of the Exterior; the charge was brought against him in Austria that the policy of alliance with Prussia which he followed was to the advantage of the latter state only. His successor, Count Alexander Mensdorff, had, it is true, the same aims as Rechberg; but since he was less experienced in affairs, the opponents of Prussia gained more and more influence among his higher officials. This circumstance was the more mischievous since the two Great Powers were administering the duchies jointly—an arrangement which in any case led to friction. In February, 1865, Prussia came forward with the conditions under which she was willing to nominate the Duke of Augustenburg to Schleswig-Holstein. They contained in substance what had already been communicated to the duke. But Austria did not agree to them. Weight was laid in Vienna on the argument that the German Confederation was a union of sovereign princes, and no vassal state of Prussia could be allowed to take its place in it.

Prussia thereupon adopted stricter measures and shifted her naval base from Danzig to Kiel. Bismarck then openly declared, "If Austria wishes to remain our ally, she must make room for us." The war cloud even then loomed ominously. The Berlin Cabinet inquired at Florence whether Italy was prepared to join the alliance. The two German Powers still, however, shrank from a passage at arms immediately after a jointly conducted campaign. The result of prolonged negotiations was the Treaty of Gastein on August 14th, 1865. The administration of the duchies, hitherto carried on in common, was divided, so that Nearer Holstein was left to Austria, and Further Schleswig to Prussia. Lauenburg was ceded absolutely to Prussia for 2,250,000 thalers—£500,000. Prussia was clearly advancing on a victorious career, and the acquisition of the duchies was in near prospect. The Prussian Representative Chamber, which eighteen months previously had spoken distinctly for the hereditary right of the Duke of Augustenburg, once more in the summer of 1865 debated the affair. But now the friends of the scheme of incorporation were already so numerous that it could no longer agree to a resolution by a majority. It was seen that the foreign policy of the Progressives in Prussia had been wrecked. The king, as a recognition of his services, raised Bismarck to the rank of count, September 15th, and thus proclaimed



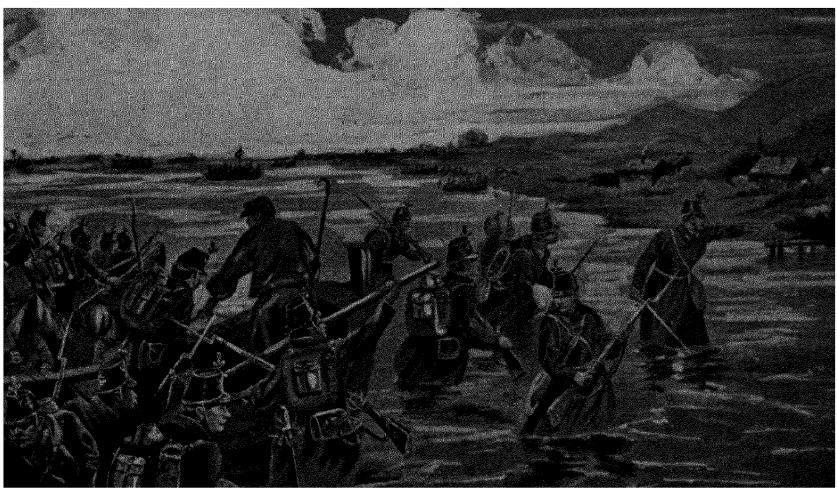
DUKE OF AUGUSTENBURG
On the death of the Danish King in 1863, the Duke of Augustenburg raised claims to the duchies of Schleswig-Holstein, but by the war of 1864 these went to Prussia and Austria.
From a photograph

to the outside world that he had absolute confidence in his conduct of affairs. Bismarck called the Treaty of Gastein a patching of the crack in the building. In reality the Premier had long determined on a war with Austria. Since Austria favoured the partisans of the Duke of Augustenburg as much as ever, and afforded opportunity for their agitations against Prussia, the Prussian note of January 26th, 1866, complained of the "means of rebellion" which Austria employed. It was announced in this document that Prussia claimed henceforward complete liberty for her policy. Bismarck still kept the door of peace open to himself, in case Austria was willing to withdraw from Schleswig-Holstein. But the course of proceedings at the Prussian Cabinet Council of February 28th, 1866, shows that the king was familiar with the idea of war. The Minister-President developed at this council the thought that no war was to be kindled for the sake of Schleswig-Holstein only; a greater goal, the union of Germany, must be contemplated. It was resolved, first of all, to open negotiations with Italy for a defensive and offensive alliance. In this council of war, Moltke gave his unqualified vote for the war, while the Crown Prince uttered an emphatic warning against such a policy, for the reason that it rendered probable the interference of foreigners. An important change had occurred in Austria in July, 1865. Schmerling had failed to win the emperor over permanently to his political views. Francis Joseph was dissatisfied because the Parliament raised excessive claims to a share in the government, and went too far in reducing the war Budget. The Austrian and Hungarian aristocracy joined the opponents of the united constitution, and Count Moritz Esterházy, Minister without portfolio since July 19th, 1861, used the dissatisfaction of the emperor to undermine the German Cabinet.

The Austrian Emperor Dissatisfied

Moltke in Favour of War

On July 30th, 1865, the "Counts' Ministry," under the presidency of Count Richard Belcredi, was nominated in the place of Schmerling; an imperial manifesto on September 20th, 1865, proclaimed the suspension of the constitution and adjournment of the Imperial Council. The high nobility was favoured in every branch of the government, Slavism pitted against Germanism, and the way prepared for the settlement with Hungary. Prince Esterházy in this Cabinet was the dominant figure in foreign policy, and he was influenced in an anti-Prussian direction by Biegeleben of the Foreign Office, while the weak Minister of the Exterior, Count Mensdorff, vainly spoke for the maintenance of peace.



THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST JÜTLAND: AUSTRIANS CROSSING THE LIIM FIORD



GERMANY'S CONQUERING EMPEROR: THE TRIUMPHAL ENTRY OF WILLIAM I. INTO BERLIN ON JUNE 16TH, 1871

From the painting by Camphausen, by permission of the Berlin Photographic Co.



THE ADVANCE OF PRUSSIA

VICTORIOUS CAMPAIGN AGAINST AUSTRIA

ALARMED by the warlike intentions of the Prussian Government, the Austrians thought it advisable in March, 1866, to take measures for arming. Some ten battalions were transferred to Bohemia, in order to strengthen the corps stationed there, and several cavalry regiments from Hungary and Transylvania were ordered to move into the province which was first menaced. Count Károlyi, the Austrian ambassador in Berlin, was at the same time commissioned to ask if Prussia really intended to attack Austria. This precipitate procedure of Austria rendered it easier for Bismarck and the generals, who were advising war, to induce King William also to make preparations. The measures taken by the Cabinet Council of March 28th comprised the supply of horses for the artillery, the repair of the fortresses, and the strengthening of the divisions quartered in the south of the country.

Bismarck Promises Reform

Bismarck answered the really objectless inquiry of Count Károlyi in the negative, but sent a circular to the German courts, in which he accused Austria of wishing to intimidate Prussia by her preparations, as she had done in 1850. He further announced that Prussia would soon come forward with a plan for the reform of the German Federal Constitution.

But more important than these measures and notes, which caused so much public uneasiness, were the secret negotiations for the conclusion of the alliance with Italy. These did not proceed smoothly at first, since Italy was afraid of being made a tool, since Prussia might use the threat of an Italian alliance to induce Austria to give way. The Italian Government, in order to avoid this, declared it could only consent to a formal and offensive alliance for the purpose of attacking Austria-Hungary. King William could not agree to this, since he did not contemplate an invasion of Austria, for which indeed there was no pretext. The Prussian Government was only prepared for a friendly alliance, which should prevent either party forming a separate convention with Austria and leaving the other in the lurch. The result was the compromise of a defensive and offensive alliance, to be valid for three months only, in case war was not declared by Prussia before that date. Italy hesitated to agree to it, and applied to Napoleon III for advice.

The Advice of the French Emperor

The French emperor desired nothing more ardently than a war in Germany, in order, during its continuance, to pursue his schemes on Belgium and the Rhine districts.

He knew that William I would not be persuaded by Bismarck to fight unless he were previously assured of the alliance of Italy, otherwise the king thought the campaign would be dangerous, since nearly the whole remaining part of Germany stood on the side of Austria. It may be ascribed to the advice of Napoleon that the hesitating Italian Premier, La Marmora, concluded a treaty, to hold for three months, on April 8th, 1866.

Bismarck wished to employ this period in pushing on the German question. He intended to show the nation that it must look to Prussia alone for the fulfilment of its wishes for union. Prussia proposed on April 10th, in the Diet of Frankfort, to summon a German Parliament on the basis of universal suffrage. In order to separate Bavaria from Austria, a proposal was made to the former state that the supreme command of the German federal troops should be divided, Prussia should command in the north, Bavaria in the south. But Bismarck's intention, sincere as it was, did not meet with the approval of the majority of the German people.

Liberal Mistrust of Bismarck

The Liberals asserted that the conversion of Bismarck to the idea of a German Parliament with universal suffrage was not genuine, and derided the idea that a government which did not respect the

right of popular representation in its own country would unite Germany under a Parliamentary constitution So rooted was the distrust of Prussia that Bavaria refused this favourable proposal Pfordten, the Minister, was in his heart not averse to the plan, but the court, especially Prince Charles, the uncle of the young King Lewis II, urged an alliance with Austria When Austria saw that her prospects of winning over to her side the minor German states had improved, the war party in Vienna gained the ascendancy, and the cautious counsels of Mensdorff were disregarded During the course of April, however, negotiations were begun between Vienna and Berlin for a simultaneous disarmament on both sides, and, as the result of a conciliatory note of Austria, prospects of peace were temporarily disclosed King William thought that Prussia ought not to be obstinate in resisting all attempts at an understanding

Austria's Improved Prospects

This more peaceful tendency was nullified by the preparations of Italy, which watched with uneasiness the inauguration of better relations between Prussia and Austria By command of King Victor Emmanuel some 100,000 men were enrolled in the army during the month of April As a result of this, the Emperor Francis Joseph, disregarding the warnings of Count Mensdorff, ordered the mobilisation of the southern army on April 21st, and that of the northern army on the 27th.

The counsellors of King William, who were urging war, thus were given weighty reasons why Prussia could not remain behind in her preparations The king was in any case already convinced of the necessity of crossing swords with Austria, since he contemplated even in April a sudden attack on the still unprepared imperial capital But since he was unwilling to appear in the eyes of Europe as the breaker of the peace, he had waited for the mobilisation of Austria Now the same steps were taken by him between May 5th and 12th. War was thus almost inevitable The Vienna Cabinet, which did not underrate the dangers of an attack from two sides simultaneously, resolved at the eleventh hour on a complete change of policy towards Italy Of late years the sale of the province of Venetia had been refused, as detrimental to the honour of Austria; she was now willing to relinquish the province, in order to have a free hand for a war of conquest against Prussia. Prince Metternich, the Austrian ambassador at Paris, was commissioned to call in the mediation of Napoleon III.

On the Verge of War

The Vienna Cabinet was willing to pledge itself to cede Venetia, on condition that Italy remained neutral in the coming war and that Austria was then able to conquer Silesia. Napoleon thought it a stroke of good fortune to have received simultaneous proposals from Prussia and Austria By a skilful employment of the situation the aggrandisement of France in the north or east was virtually assured

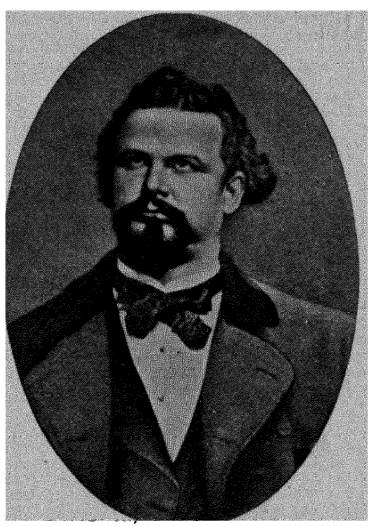
When he communicated the offer of Austria to the Italian Government, the latter justly retorted that the conditional promise of a cession of Venetia did not present the slightest certainty; the conquest of Silesia by Austria was doubtful, and if it did succeed, Austria's position would be so much improved that she would certainly not feel disposed to redeem her pledge Thereupon Austria professed readiness to sign a treaty which should secure Venetia unconditionally to the Italians This offer presented a great temptation to Italy, but could only be accepted at the expense of a flagrant breach of faith towards Prussia The Italian Cabinet, after a debate of several hours, resolved on May 14th to refuse the offer, since the wish for war was already kindled in Italy, and the acceptance of the gift would certainly have been attributed by the republican portion of the population to the craven and dishonourable policy of the House of Savoy

Italy Tempted by Austria

The negotiations, nevertheless, were so far profitable to Austria that Italy was no longer arming for a war to the knife, since she was almost certain to gain Venetia even if the result of the war was less favourable Austrian diplomacy further succeeded in establishing closer relations with France Napoleon once more attempted to induce Prussia to give a distinct undertaking with reference to cessions of territory on the Rhine Bismarck, however, put him off with general promises; his "dilatory" diplomacy, as he afterwards expressed himself, aimed at rousing in Napoleon the belief that he was quite ready to be somewhat of a traitor to his country, but that the king would not hear

a word of any cession of German territory to France. His policy was both bold and astute; he secured the neutrality of the emperor, without giving him the slightest pledge which compromised Prussia.

Napoleon, like almost all Frenchmen of that time, was convinced that Austria in the struggle with Prussia had the military superiority. For that reason the emperor had induced Italy to form an alliance with Prussia, in order to restore the balance of power; and similarly, he wished to secure his position for the probable event of an Austrian victory. Napoleon, therefore, concluded a secret treaty with the Vienna Cabinet on June 12th, in which Austria undertook to cede Venice, even in the event of a victory, to Italy, which the emperor always favoured. The scheme which he had now made the goal of his policy was as follows: Venetia was to be ceded to Italy, Silesia to Austria, Schleswig-Holstein and other North German districts to Prussia, which, in turn, would have to give up considerable territory on the Rhine to France. But instead of arming in order to carry out this desirable solution, Napoleon thought he would pose as arbitrator of Europe after the exhaustion of his rivals. That was his mistake. The Italy of 1860, unprepared and poorly armed, had been easily forced to give up Nice and Savoy; but Napoleon never suspected that Prussia after the war would be strong enough to refuse the claims of France. His mistake lay in adopting one and the same line of policy with Cavour and Bismarck, with Italians and Germans.



The history of this monarch, who succeeded to the throne of Bavaria in 1864, is a particularly sad one. He was in constant opposition to his Ministers and family, and in 1886, in a fit of insanity, drowned himself near his castle of Berg.

From a photograph

The nearer the war came the more unfavourable became the diplomatic situation of Prussia. The ambassador at Paris, Count Goltz, warned his countrymen not to depend on the neutrality of Napoleon. The governments of the German secondary states felt themselves menaced by the propositions for federal reform, and public opinion in South and West Germany was averse to Prussia. Any hope that Bavaria and Hanover would remain neutral disappeared; Saxony was closely united with Austria. It was peculiarly painful to King William that he was besieged with petitions from Prussian towns and communities praying for the maintenance of peace. Intense aversion to the war prevailed, especially in the Catholic districts on the Rhine; when the members of the Landwehr were called up, there was actual insubordination shown in some places. The king, therefore, considered it advisable to entertain the proposals for mediation which were being mooted.

When Anton von Gablenz, a Saxon landowner and brother of the Austrian general, came to Berlin, to recommend a partition of Germany between the two Powers, he received full authority to place this proposal before the Vienna Cabinet. But the Austrian Ministry rejected that mediation, obviously because the Government had already decided for a war, and because Austria could no longer desert the minor German states, with which she practically had come to terms, and let them be partitioned at the last moment. It was Austria now who urged on the war and rendered Bismarck's steps easier. The Vienna Cabinet thus refused the proposal, emanating from Napoleon, to send representatives to a congress, on the ground that the fate of Venetia would form the object of the negotiations; one Great Power could not allow other states to decide on its rights of ownership.

King William still hesitated to give the signal for war. By June 5th all Prussian army divisions on the southern frontier had taken up their posts. Moltke thought that the Prussian corps should advance concentrically into Saxony and Bohemia and attack the Austrians, who could hardly be ready to fight for another three weeks. But the king preferred to await the progress of the hostile measures which the Vienna Cabinet was already

taking in Schleswig-Holstein and Frankfort. Indeed, great impetuosity was shown at Vienna The Austrian Government summoned the Estates of Holstein to discuss the fate of the country, although by the terms of the treaty the duty was incumbent on them of exercising no control over Holstein without the assent of Prussia

Prussian Troops in Holstein

When Prussia retorted by marching troops into Holstein, the Vienna Cabinet called upon the German Confederation to order the mobilisation of the Federal Army against the violation of the Federal Treaty by Prussia The decisive sitting of the Federal Diet was held on June 14th

Prussia had explained to the minor states that she would regard the resolution to mobilise as a declaration of war. Nevertheless a motion of Bavaria was voted on, which, even if not expressly aimed against Prussia, still had for its object the formation of a federal army When the motion was carried by nine to six votes, the Prussian plenipotentiary, Savigny, announced the withdrawal of Prussia from the Confederation King William immediately afterwards gave the order for the invasion of Saxony, Hanover, and Electoral Hesse

At the outbreak of the war some 290,000 Prussians were ready to march into Austria and Saxony, only 48,000 were intended to fight the minor states The latter, indeed, could put about 120,000 soldiers in the field, but Moltke went on the principle that the decisive blow must be struck on the chief scene of war with superior forces The first blow was aimed at Hanover, Electoral Hesse, and Nassau, whose sovereigns had refused to promise neutrality The blind King George V of Hanover declared to the Prussian ambassador that compliance with the demand of Prussia was equivalent to his being mediatised, but that he would never allow himself to be mediatised—

Hanoverians Retire Before the Austrians

he would rather die an honourable death Manteuffel thereupon advanced with his division into Hanover from Holstein, while Goeben and Beyer advanced from the west General Vogel von Falckenstein held the supreme command of these troops The Hanoverians, 18,000 strong, retreated before this superior force towards the south, and were successful in escaping the first plan, which calculated that they would still be at Gottingen, so that Falckenstein actually believed they had slipped from him He abandoned the pursuit for a time, the troops of King George might have thus reached the forest of Thuringia by way of Gotha and Eisenach, and escaped to Bavaria in safety

It was only on Moltke's urgent warnings that Falckenstein finally sent Goeben's division to Eisenach, the road by way of Gotha was barred to them by General von Flies King George thus saw himself surrounded Flies, who was nearest to him, attacked him on June 27th, with 9,000 men at Langensalza The outnumbered Hanoverians bravely held the field, but immediately afterwards the net was drawn closer round them, and King George was forced to surrender on June 29th

The Prussian main army was faced by 248,000 Austrians, who were joined by 23,000 Saxons The Austrian commander was Lewis von Benedek, who had reaped a rich harvest of honours in the campaigns of 1848, 1849, and 1859, in the battle of Solferino he held the field on the right wing, and did not retire until the rest of the army had left the scene of action He

Limitations of the Austrian Commander

had been commander-in-chief of the Austrian army in Italy, which he expected to command in the next war He was imperturbable, experienced, and high-minded, but he recognised the limitations of his abilities He knew that he was only adapted to be a general under less important conditions, such as on the scene of war in Upper Italy, he was lacking in the intellect and thorough military education requisite for the leader of a large army

When finally against his will he accepted the supreme command against Prussia, he had to receive lectures from one of his officers on the military geography of Germany Since popular opinion, not merely in Austria but also in South Germany, expected his nomination to the command of the northern army, the Emperor Francis Joseph begged him to overcome his scruples He refused, and only gave way after the emperor had represented to him that he could not be allowed to desert the dynasty at a crisis The army was stationed in Moravia, resting on Olmutz, and Bohemia was occupied only by a small number of troops In this latter country barely one army corps was stationed, under Count Eduard von Clam-Gallas, the Saxons thereupon retreated Moltke's original plan to open the war

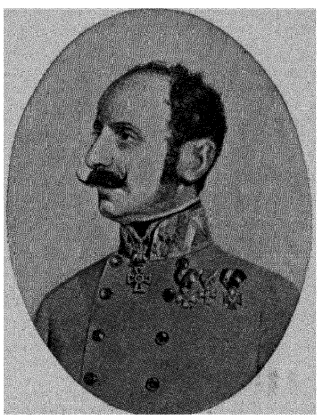
by an attack, and by June 6th to invade Bohemia from all sides, had not been put into practice. The divisions of the Prussian army were at this time posted in a long line of 250 miles from Halle to Neisse. According to Moltke's plan, they were to unite their forces in the enemy's country. But when the attack had to be postponed, and it was reported at the Prussian headquarters that the Austrians were in Moravia, it was thought that Benedek was aiming a blow at Silesia. The divisions of the Prussian army, therefore, which were stationed to the east, pushed towards the left and took up a very strong position on the Neisse.

This delay in taking the offensive was turned to account as soon as war was determined upon. On June 15th the advance guard of the army of the Elbe, 49,000 men, under Bitterfeld, marched into Saxony. The first army of 97,000 men assembled in Lusatia under Prince Frederic Charles; the second army, finally 121,000 strong, was stationed in Silesia under the Crown Prince Frederic William. The corps of Von der Mülbe, 25,000 men, mostly militia, followed as a reserve. All the divisions were ordered to enter Bohemia on June 21st, and the district of Jitschin was fixed as the rendezvous, where they were to meet on June 28th. In consequence of the shifting of the Silesian corps towards the south-east on the Neisse, the distance which the army of the Crown Prince had to traverse to Jitschin was longer than the lines of march of Prince Frederic Charles and of the army of the Elbe. The separate advance of the Prussian divisions into Bohemia was thus attended with considerable danger. Moltke, whose hands had been hitherto tied by diplomatic considerations, knew this; and, remaining behind at first with the king in Berlin, he directed the movements of the three armies with marvellous foresight.

Moltke's Marvellous Foresight

The Austrians received the order on June 20th to march out of their quarters in Moravia. Benedek, accurately informed by his intelligence department of the detached position of the Prussians, wished to lead his army opportunely between the advancing divisions and to defeat one after the other before they combined. The first army reached Reichenberg on June 23rd and pressed on towards the Iser; the army of the Elbe marched parallel to it. The second army was still on Silesian soil, advancing towards the passes of the Riesengebirge—the Giant Mountains. As Benedek established his headquarters at Josefstadt in Bohemia on June 26th, and Prince Frederic Charles had already traversed Northern Bohemia, the Austrian leader selected him for his first opponent.

The Plans of Austria's Commander



LEWIS VON BENEDEK
In the campaigns of 1848, 1849, and 1859 this Austrian commander greatly distinguished himself, but in the war against Prussia, when in chief command of Austria's army, he suffered humiliating defeat.

He ordered the two corps which he had stationed in Bohemia—the Austrian under Clam-Gallas, and the Saxon, 60,000 men in all—to face Prince Frederic Charles on the Iser in order to detain him. He himself put the main body of his army in movement towards the Iser. The troops of the Crown Prince crossed the Bohemian frontier in the passes of the Riesengebirge on June 26th; Benedek, therefore, while wishing to attack Prince Frederic Charles with six army corps in all, sent back two corps under Gablentz and Ramming to guard the mountain passes against the second army. Since the movements of the Prussians were admirably combined, and one army was eager to relieve the other, these two Austrian corps were vigorously attacked on June 27th. Thus the Prussian I. corps under General Adolf von Bonin was pitted against the Austrian corps of Gablentz at Trautenau, while General Steinmetz met Ramming's force at Nachod. These sanguinary encounters resulted in a defeat of the Austrians at the latter place, and a victory at the former.

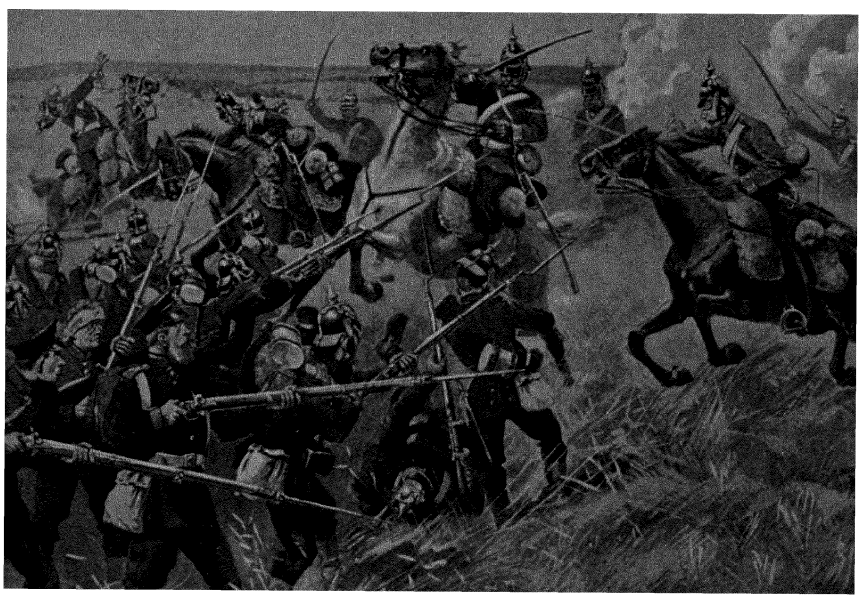
Nevertheless, it was already clear that the Prussian tactics were far superior to those of Austria. The Prussian needle-gun fired three times as fast as the Austrian muzzle-loader; and, apart from this, the "shock tactics" of the Austrians, who tried to storm heights and belts of forest with the bayonet, were to a high degree

disastrous. The Prussians brought the enemy's attack to a standstill by rapid firing; they then threw themselves in smaller divisions on the flanks of their adversary, and completed his overthrow. Hence the terrible losses of the Austrians even after a successful charge. At Trautenau, although victors, they lost 183 officers and 4,231 men killed and wounded, the Prussians only 56 officers and 1,282 men; at Nachod 5,700 Austrians fell and only 1,122 Prussians. The superiority of the Prussians was manifest in the preparations for the war, in tactics, and in the better education of the officers and men.

On the evening of June 27th the gravity of these facts was not yet realised in the Austrian headquarters. Benedek therefore adhered to his plan of continuing his advance against Frederic Charles. This was, however, dangerous, because the nearer enemy, the Crown Prince, would certainly put himself more in evidence on the next day. The Austrian's alternative was to abandon the attack on the first army and to hurl himself with all available troops against the second army. If this had been done, the Crown Prince would have had to contend against an attack by superior numbers. This was known at the Prussian headquarters, and Frederic William and his chief of the general staff, Leonhard von Blumenthal, made up their minds that they would have hard fighting on their further advance through the mountain passes. Bonin, after his reverse of June 27th, had returned to Prussian territory, whereas the Guards advanced on the road to Eipel, and Steinmetz from Nachod towards Skalitz.

The Crown Prince in Battle

The Crown Prince waited with his staff in the middle between these two columns, ready to hasten to the post of danger. The coolness and caution of the generalship, considering the difficult position, could not be surpassed. Benedek, however, obstinately held to his original plan. He actually inspected, on the morning of June 28th, the three corps concentrated against Steinmetz, without striking a blow at him with these superior numbers. On the contrary, he ordered the greater part of these troops to march against Frederic Charles, and commissioned the Archduke Leopold in particular to take up a strong position behind the Elbe. By so doing he abandoned a favourable chance and made a miscalculation, for that very day the troops of the Crown Prince came up with the



HANOVERIAN VICTORY OVER THE PRUSSIANS AT LANGENSALZA

Attacked by the Prussians at Langensalza, on June 27th, 1866, while on their way to join the Bavarian forces, the Hanoverians held the field and gained a notable victory, the Prussians having a thousand men killed and wounded.



THE BATTLE OF SKALITZ: PRUSSIAN CAVALRY CAPTURING THE AUSTRIAN CANNON
This battle, fought on June 28th, 1866, between the Prussians and the Austrians, ended in a severe defeat of the latter, who left behind on the field no fewer than 5,000 men out of a total of 20,000 taking part in the fight.

combined Austrian forces both at Skalitz and Trautenau. Archduke Leopold, contrary to Benedek's orders, offered battle at Skalitz, and brought a complete defeat on himself; out of the 20,000 Austrians, 5,000 were left on the field of battle. At the same time Gablenz, who had been victorious on the previous day at Trautenau, was defeated by the Guards under Prince Augustus of Würtemberg near Trautenau. The Crown Prince had thus forced his way through the passes on June 28th, and as a result of this the way to the Elbe was free. Meanwhile, the advance guard of Prince Frederic Charles reached the Iser on June 26th. The army of the Austrians and Saxons tried unsuccessfully to dispute the passage in a sanguinary night encounter at Podol; but the prince followed up his victory somewhat slowly, and allowed his advance to be checked by the rear-guard action, unfavourable indeed to the Austrians, at Münchengrätz on June 28th. A message from Moltke, however, made him press forward more rapidly.

Benedek Depressed by Defeat

Benedek had meantime learnt with deep inward perturbation that his three corps, which had been moved against the Crown Prince, were defeated. This news produced such an effect on him that he gave up the offensive which he had intended to assume against Prince Frederic Charles. He resolved, on the advice of Krismanic, the "strategist of positions," to take up a naturally strong defensive position on the hills above the Elbe, and to await there subsequent attacks. He also sent to the combined Austrian-Saxon army an order to retire on to the main army. But unfortunately the intelligence department at his headquarters was so dilatory that this order had not arrived when the troops of Prince Frederic Charles attacked the Saxons and the corps of Clam-Gallas on the afternoon of June 29th, at Jitschin.

The commanders of the allies must have thought that the main army was near at hand, and that they ought therefore to defend Jitschin, the junction of the roads. They accepted the battle, and at first successfully resisted. Then about seven o'clock the Austrian officer arrived and handed in the order to retreat. The Austrians now wished to discontinue the battle, but were involved in disastrous engagements by the keen advance of the Prussians and were completely beaten.

The Saxons of the Crown Prince Albert withdrew in good order; but the corps of Clam-Gallas broke up on the retreat, which lasted the whole night and the following day, and they reached the main army in a deplorable condition.

The strong position occupied in the meantime by the Austrian main army was thus rendered untenable, for the two army corps which were supposed to form the left wing were defeated, and Prince Frederic Charles could attack the Austrians in flank and rear Benedek was therefore forced to give the order for retreat in the night of June 30th to July 1st. Since the Prussians did not follow him at once, they did not know how far he had led his army back. King William and Moltke had meanwhile reached the army of Prince Frederic Charles on July 1st.

Austria in a Sad Plight

Moltke believed that the Austrians had occupied a strong position behind the Elbe, and were waiting behind the fortresses of Josefstadt and Koniggratz for the attack They were, however, already halting behind the Bistritz, a tributary of the Elbe, where they had arrived exhausted by a disorderly night march Benedek, through these events, had lost all hope of victory, and decided on a further retreat behind the Elbe, and, if necessary, even to Olmutz or towards Vienna

This gloomy state of affairs was expressed in a telegram which was sent immediately afterwards by the Austrian commander to the emperor, urgently advising him to conclude peace at any price A disaster for the army was inevitable Francis Joseph believed, however, that he could not own himself conquered without a pitched battle He therefore answered "Peace is impossible We must retreat if necessary Has any battle taken place?" This expression of the emperor's will seems to have determined Benedek to accept a pitched battle, and as the Prussians were rapidly advancing he made instant preparations for it.

Late in the evening of July 2nd the news was brought to the Prussian headquarters that the Austrians were still in front of the Elbe, ready to accept the challenge It was determined by King William and Moltke, after deliberation, to attack the enemy at once in full force, and orders were sent that night to the Crown Prince to summon him to start at once Blumenthal had lately advised the two Prussian armies, who were no longer prevented from joining forces, to concentrate tactically to the west of the Elbe, in order thus to obviate the danger of being separated in a pitched battle Moltke, however, ordered that the plan of separating the armies should still be observed, but in such a way that the armies on the day of battle might join forces by a rapid march He wanted to be able to attack the Austrians in the front with one army, and on the flank with another The greatness of Moltke lies in this bold strategy, which aims at the complete annihilation of the enemy by enclosing him between broad advancing masses, the application of this method enabled him in 1870 to capture entire armies

Prussians Ready for Attack

The Austrians and Saxons on the morning of the battle of Koniggratz, July 3rd, were 215,000 men strong, drawn up in close formation The great disadvantage of their position was that they had the Elbe in their rear, but, of course, several bridges had been thrown across it The centre and the left wing pointed west, and awaited the attack of Prince Frederic Charles, the right wing, consisting of the fourth and second corps, was ordered to face north, since the advance of the second army might be expected from that quarter

The Crown Prince, following the orders given him, started immediately at early morning, but he did not reach the battlefield before noon In the meantime the first army attacked the centre, the Elbe army, the right wing of the Austrian army The Elbe army made good progress, on the other hand, Prince Frederic Charles vainly exhausted his efforts against the strong centre of the Austrians The Austrian artillery was planted in tiers on the hills of Chlum, Lipa, and Langenhof, and at once precluded any attempt at an infantry attack Since Prince Frederic Charles was compelled to wait until the Crown Prince joined his left wing, the weak spot in his line was there, for the Austrians, temporarily superior in numbers, might outflank him

The great Battle in Progress

It was fortunate for the Prussians that the seventh division was stationed there under Fransecky, who covered the weakness of his position by a determined and splendid offensive He advanced into the Swiepwald, drove out the Austrians, and from that position harassed their right wing, which was ordered to hold its ground against the expected attack of the Crown Prince The Austrians thereupon, in the hope of overwhelming Fransecky, made a counter attack, which was at first



KING WILLIAM OF PRUSSIA AT KÖNIGGRÄTZ LEADING THE PURSUIT OF THE DEFEATED AUSTRIANS

At the battle of Königgrätz, or Sadowa, the Austrians were completely defeated on July 3rd, 1866, and were forced to beat a retreat, King William himself leading the pursuit.

From the painting by Sell, by permission of the Berlin Photographic Co.

repelled with loss, and the wood could not be captured by the Austrians until a part of the second corps turned against Fransecky. Hitherto eleven Prussian battalions had held their ground against fifty-nine Austrian battalions

The battle, however, at noon was extremely favourable to the Austrians

Anxious Moments in the Fight

King William looked anxiously towards the north, where the Crown Prince had long been vainly expected Benedek deliberated whether he ought not now to bring up his strong reserves and win a victory by a vigorous assault on the Prussian centre But he felt crippled by the news, which reached him three hours earlier than King William and Moltke, that the Crown Prince was approaching Benedek saw also, with uneasiness, how his right wing, intent upon the struggle in the Swiepwald, left great gaps towards the north

It thus happened that the second army, when it came on the scene at noon, was able at the first onset to overlap the Austrian right wing The Prussian Guards and the sixth corps were in the first line, the corps of Bonin and Steinmetz followed after The Guards, after a short fight, captured the key of the Austrian position, the village of Chlum, and soon afterwards Lipa also Startling as was this onslaught of the Prussians, and great as was its success, Benedek still thought it possible to retrieve the day He brought up his reserves in order to retake Chlum The Austrians, charging bravely, actually drove back the Guards by their superior force They were on the point of entering Chlum when, rather late, the Prussian corps under Bonin appeared, repulsed the Austrians, and soon afterwards assured their defeat

The army of Prince Frederic Charles, hitherto kept in check, now advanced, and the Prussian cavalry was called upon to complete the victory. Although the

The Victory with the Prussians

Austrian cavalry stopped this pursuit in the battle of Streschewitz, the masses of infantry, abandoning all order, poured down on the Elbe, looking for the bridges over the river. It was fortunate for them that they were not pursued by the Prussian infantry The Austrians, although terrible disorder prevailed in places among them while crossing the Elbe, were able to reach the left bank of the river in the night of July 4th Their losses were terrible; they amounted in all to more than 44,000 men, some half of whom, wounded or unwounded, were taken prisoners The Prussians had 1,335 killed and 9,200 wounded Most of the Austrians had fallen during their fruitless attacks in dense masses on the Prussian needle-guns This crushing disaster was only slightly compensated by the victory which the Austrians won over the Italians at Custoza, ten days earlier.

Francis Joseph thought it necessary after the battle of Koniggratz to call in the mediation of France The official Paris journal announced on July 5th, 1866, that Venetia had been ceded by Austria to the Emperor Napoleon Austria counted confidently that the French Emperor would urge Italy to neutrality, and would check the victorious career of Prussia by stationing an army on the Rhine. Advice to this effect was given to the emperor by his Minister of the Exterior, Drouyn de l'Huys But France was not prepared for war, the emperor was at that time incapacitated by a torturing disease, and he therefore allowed himself

France Falls from Power

to be persuaded by Prince Jerome, as well as by his Ministers, the Marquis de Lavalette and Eugène Rouher, to abandon the idea of hostilities against Prussia, in order to win territorial concessions from King William by negotiations The Prussian ambassador, Count Goltz, adroitly represented to him how much more favourable an amicable arrangement with Prussia would be for him From this moment France had played for the last time her rôle as leading power in Europe

Prussia was energetic in reaping the fruits of her victory Goltz kept Napoleon in suspense by courteous hints, without pledging the Prussian Government in any matter When the French diplomatist, Benedetti, appeared at the Prussian headquarters in Moravia, with a commission from Napoleon, the circumstance aroused fear in Bismarck that Napoleon would now come forward with his claims, but it appeared that Benedetti had none but vague orders, and was only intended to hinder the entry of the Prussians into the Austrian capital Meantime Benedek in his rapid retreat had reached Olmutz with his army The second army was ordered to watch and follow him, while the first marched southward on Vienna. Since Austria thought its southern

frontier was secured by the cession of Venetia, the larger part of the field army stationed in Italy, 57,000 men, was ordered to the northern theatre of war Archduke Albert assumed the supreme command Benedek was instructed to withdraw from Olmutz to the Danube, in order that the newly collected army might be on the defensive behind the river But the defeated general loitered so long in Olmutz that detachments of the army of the Crown Prince were able to get in front of his army Benedek's marching columns were attacked on July 15th, near Tobitschau, south of Olmutz, and suffered a serious reverse, eighteen cannon fell into the hands of the Prussians Benedek was thus forced to abandon his march southward, and withdrew towards Hungary, in order to reach the Danube by a détour along the Waag In consequence of this, the Prussians were able to appear on the Danube earlier than he could

Meantime the Prussians were fighting successfully against the minor states The Bavarians were attacked and defeated by Goeben's division at Kissingen on July 10th,

Conquering Army of Prussia

1866 Although Moltke now ordered General Falckenstein to pursue at once the main body of the enemy, the Bavarians, and crush them, Falckenstein thought it better to capture Frankfort first He defeated the Federal Corps in the engagements of Laufach and Aschaffenburg, and entered the Free City victoriously But since by so doing he had disobeyed the orders from the king's headquarters, he was deprived of the supreme command, and on July 19th General Manteuffel took his place Once more the Prussians were enabled to attack individually their disunited opponents, and to defeat, first the Federal Corps at Bischofsheim and Wertheim, and then the Bavarians at Neubrunn and Rossbrunn.

Goltz, yielding to the pressure of Napoleon, had concluded with him, on July 14th, preliminary agreements as a basis for peace The withdrawal of Austria from the German Confederation was fixed as the first condition, but the dominions of the Austrian monarchy were not to suffer any loss except that of Venetia. Prussia, in addition, stipulated for the right to form a North-German Confederation under her own military supremacy, and to annex Schleswig-Holstein A South-German Confederation was to be organised, with an independent position on every side. Napoleon intervened with these proposals between the two belligerent states Bismarck would have been glad if he could have concluded peace with Austria without Napoleon, since there was always the fear that France would come forward during the negotiations with demands of territory

Austria's Serious Mistake

for herself Bismarck explained this to the Vienna Cabinet, and added that Prussia in this case would renounce any claim for indemnification of the costs of the war But Austria made the mistake of regarding France as a friend, and declined the offer This was a serious error, since Napoleon was solely animated by the wish to win, through good offices to Prussia, the consent of the latter to his designs on Belgium and the Rhenish provinces

Napoleon therefore, when King William declared that the terms agreed upon by his ambassador in Paris on July 14th were insufficient, and demanded the annexation of extensive districts of North Germany, lost no time in giving his assent to the demand, he would have sacrificed even Saxony on these grounds without compunction Prussia had now secured the prize of victory, and concluded an armistice with Austria Immediately before that, Moltke wished to make another successful coup General Fransecky was ordered to occupy Pressburg, in order that on any outbreak of war the Prussian army might secure the passage of the Danube An engagement was fought at Blumenau on July 22nd, but it was left undecided, since at noon both sides received the news that an armistice had been concluded

The preliminary peace was signed in Nicholsburg The parties were soon agreed, since Austria, after her severe defeat, was forced to consent that Prussia should have a free hand in Germany King William would indeed gladly have acquired for Prussia some Austrian territory,

Peace after the War

especially Austrian Silesia and parts of Northern Bohemia He only gave way at the representations of Bismarck that if he pressed his claims too much he would risk what he had already won. The last difficulty disappeared when Prussia consented to a condition laid down by Austria and recognised the inviolability of the kingdom of Saxony The preliminary peace was concluded on this basis on July 26th. The Treaty of Prague followed on August 23rd.

The convention between Austria and Italy presented more difficulties The Italian admiral, Persano, at the outset of the war received orders to secure a pledge for Italy by occupying the Dalmatian island of Lissa During the bombardment of the capital of the island the Austrian admiral Tegetthoff appeared on the scene, attacked the Italian fleet on July 20th 1866, and the "Rè d'Italia" with his own flagship, and forced the Italian fleet to retire Since Garibaldi also, on invading the Italian Tyrol, was defeated by the Austrian general Kuhn in several engagements, Italy was compelled to be satisfied with the treaty concluded on October 3rd, by which Venetia was ceded

Bismarck's Superior Diplomacy

The superior diplomacy of Bismarck was now able, under the impression caused by the Prussian victories, to unite non-Austrian Germany, hitherto torn by factions, at any rate against the contingency of a war Above all, he induced the king to terminate the conflict with the Prussian House of Representatives by offering the hand of friendship to it in his speech from the throne on August 5th, 1866 There were irreconcilable Conservatives who urged the king to use the foreign victory for the complete overthrow of the Liberal party; but the royal speech expressly recognised that the expenditure incurred for military purposes would have subsequently to be sanctioned by the Landtag, and therefore asked an indemnity for such expenses

In this point the king followed, not without hesitation, the advice of Bismarck In the conversation with the President of the House of Representatives he declared that in a similar case he would not be able to act otherwise than he had done before, but this statement, for which Bismarck declined responsibility, was, fortunately, not made public until later Not less clever was his treatment of the conquered secondary states Bismarck set up the principle that full incorporation or a complete amnesty to the individual states was the just course, the entry of those who were chosen members of the new federation ought not to be burdened with hard conditions Hanover, Hesse-Cassel, Nassau, and Frankfort-on-Main were fully incorporated, by which means the Prussian territory was enlarged by 27,638 square miles On the other hand, the demands for a war indemnity imposed by Prussia on the remaining states were moderate The greatest triumph of his negotiations was that Wurtemberg, Baden, and Bavaria concluded, between the 13th and 21st August, 1866, a defensive and offensive alliance, on the basis of which their military forces were, in case of war, to be under the command of Prussia These provisions, which were kept secret for the moment, constitute the foundation of the union of Germany

Enlarging the Prussian Territory

This favourable event had been chiefly effected by the action of Napoleon, who had unwisely let the right time slip past, and only now stretched out his hands to German territory Bismarck, with the most subtle diplomatic skill, had fed the king with false hopes until the war was decided The emperor now demanded the price of his neutrality His ambassador, Benedetti, in an interview with Bismarck on August 5th, demanded the Rhenish Palatinate with Mainz, as well as the district on the Saar Bismarck then haughtily opposed him He threatened that, if France insisted upon these claims, he would at once, and at any cost, make peace with the South Germans and advance in alliance with them to conquer Alsace and Lorraine Napoleon was alarmed, since his forces were no match for the gigantic war equipment of Germany Prussia alone had 660,000 men with the colours

France Approaching Disaster

But Bismarck took care that the demands of France were published in a Paris journal, so that the national feeling of the Germans was intensely aroused On the strength of these impressions, the above-mentioned alliances with the South German states were brought about Germany was thus put in a sufficiently strong position to defend every inch of national soil against East and West Napoleon III was diplomatically defeated before he was conquered on the field of battle Drouyn de l'Huys, since the emperor would not listen to his proposals for forcing on a war, took farewell, and said "I have seen three dynasties come and go I know the signs of approaching disaster, and I withdraw."

HEINRICH FRIEDJUNG



THE PRUSSIAN ASCENDANCY AND THE AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN EMPIRE

ON October 3rd, 1866, King William formally took possession by letters-patent of Hanover, Hesse-Cassel, Nassau, and Frankfort-on-Main, which the Peace of Prague had assigned to him by the law of nations, and whose incorporation into Prussia had been sanctioned by the Landtag of the monarchy in September The king declared in his speech to the Hanoverians on the same day that he honoured the grief which they experienced in tearing themselves from earlier and endeared connections, but that the interests of the nation dictated the firm and lasting union of Hanover with Prussia, and that Germany should be the gainer by the acquisitions of Prussia

However correct these principles were, a large part of the Hanoverians were little inclined to recognise them and to submit to the inevitable Devotion to the Guelfic house, above all to the king, George V, whose blindness made him an object of universal pity, and his spouse, the universally beloved Queen Mary, the consideration that the gentry of the country would be ousted from the exclusive possession of the high offices of state, that the capital would be severely injured by the loss of the court, that antiquated but familiar methods of business would be broken down on all sides by the Prussian freedom of trade and freedom of movement, the traditional dislike of the Hanoverians for the Prussians, especially for the Berliners, who were decried as supercilious and empty-headed, in short, personal feeling and practical interests combined in producing the result that the Prussian rule was only endured by the nobility, the clergy, and a large part of the citizens and peasants, with a silent indignation

The Blind King George V

The king, who had fled to the Castle of Hietzing, near Vienna, added fuel to the discontent by a manifesto to his people on October 5th, in which he declared, in opposition to the warrant of William I., that the incorporation of his land into Prussia was null and void, and expressed his confidence in the Almighty that He would restore Hanover to the Guelfic house "as He had done sixty years ago, when the same injustice from the same quarter was not allowed to continue" Societies were secretly formed throughout the country whose aim was this restoration, and it was proposed to hold a "Hanoverian Legion" in readiness, which, should a crisis arise, might be on the spot sword in hand The hatred of the people towards Prussia was shown in the abuse showered on individuals, especially on Prussian soldiers

Hanoverian Hatred of Prussia

It is interesting to hear that Bismarck entertained the idea, which had once been successfully realised by Cleisthenes at Athens, of breaking up the existing combinations, and creating out of them new forms of political life, which should facilitate the fusion of the old and new parts of the country According to his speech in the House of Representatives on February 5th, 1867, he wished to redivide all the country west of the Elbe into four large provinces, which should correspond to the mediæval tribes, and be called Old Franconia Westphalia, Lower Saxony, and Thuringia Old and New Prussia were to be merged in these provinces as a means of softening the contrast between them and the rest of the Prussian state Bismarck did not succeed in carrying out this idea, the states, gradually created by political events, showed themselves stronger than the original tribes No course was left but to govern the province of Hanover, which remained unaltered in itself, with a benevolent but firm hand, and to trust in the all-effacing power of time Dictatorial powers in the new territorial divisions had been granted to the Government until September 30th, 1867, and the Prussian

Hanover Governed with a Firm Hand

constitution was to come into force in those parts on October 1st, 1867. Advantage was taken of this circumstance to send an order to the governor-general, Von Voigt-Rhetz, that all officials on whose implicit co-operation no reliance could be placed should without further delay be removed from their posts, a number of Guelf agitators also were confined in the fortress of Minden This measure was so far effective that outward tranquillity was restored, but there were indications that among the people loyalty to the Guelfs was by no means predominant

Punishment of Guelf Agitators

On October 1st, thirty-nine representatives to the Second Chamber, and seventy delegates from the communes, declared that they accepted the annexation as an unalterable fact brought on by the obstinacy of the former Government itself, and when, on October 11th, a special Hanoverian corps, the tenth, was raised, 425 out of 660 Hanoverian officers—that is to say, almost two-thirds—at once went into the Prussian service, a circumstance which, it may be well understood, caused a bitter disappointment to the banished king

Things went far more smoothly in Electoral Hesse and Nassau than in Hanover, in the former the despotic rule of Elector Frederic William I, and in the latter the inconsiderate exercise of forest rights and the refusal to grant the Liberal constitution of 1849, whose restoration the Landtag vainly demanded, had caused the subjects to dislike their sovereigns so that the end of the system of petty states was universally felt to be a release from unendurable conditions. The feeling in Frankfort was very bitter, since the town where the ancient emperors were elected, one of the most important commercial capitals of South Germany, was reduced from a Free City to a provincial Prussian town; even the enormous development of the city, which, as soon as it was freed from its isolation, outstripped all the other South German towns except Munich, could not banish the mortification felt at the loss of independence

The Bitter Feeling in Frankfort

Bismarck and the king were indefatigably busy in meeting, so far as was feasible, the wishes of the annexed districts in order to win them over to the new order of things. Electoral Hesse owed to the personal intervention of the monarch the fact that half of its state treasure was left in 1867 as a provincial fund to provide for workhouses, the maintenance of the poor, and for the national library, and the province of Hanover received in February, 1868, the yearly grant of a sum of £75,000 for purposes of local administration. Ample pecuniary compensation was also made to the deposed sovereigns The Elector of Hesse received in September, 1867, the other moiety of the state treasure, which had accumulated from the subsidies paid by England in 1776 for the troops sent to America

The Duke of Nassau was assigned, in September, 1867, some castles and £1,500,000 sterling, and King George received in the same month a capital sum of £2,400,000, the income of which was to be paid him in half-yearly instalments, though the sum itself remained in the hands of trustees until an agreement had been made with his relations as to its administration

It was naturally supposed, in view of these friendly concessions, which were only sanctioned by the Prussian Landtag after a hard contest, that the three princes would tacitly, if not expressly, waive all claims to their former territories But since King George, in February, 1868, and Elector Frederic William, in September, 1868, publicly made violent attacks upon Prussia, the sums due to the two sovereigns in March and September, 1868, were sequestrated Since George brought his Guelf legion to 750 men, and kept them in France unarmed, as "fugitives," a law of spring, 1869, provided that the interest of the sequestrated £2,400,000 should be applied to warding off the schemes devised by the king and his emissaries to disturb the peace of Prussia. From Bismarck's saying: "We will pursue these obnoxious reptiles into their holes," the sum of money in question was soon universally called the Reptile fund, it was mostly employed on newspaper articles in support of the new order of things It was not until 1892 that the sequestration was ended in favour of Duke Ernest Augustus of Cumberland, son of George V.

Bismarck and the "Reptiles"

In Schleswig-Holstein the feeling in favour of Duke Frederic still continued, but the certainty that the Prussian eagle would once for all protect the duchies against the detested Danish yoke, and the propaganda of a Danish nationality, which was now awakening in the Danish border districts

of Schleswig, contributed slowly but surely to the end that the largely predominant German population learnt to adapt itself to the new conditions. The brave spirit of the duke, who saw his fondest hopes blighted, and scorned to foment a useless resistance to the detriment of the duchies, helped much to tranquillise men's minds and prepared them for the day when his daughter Augusta Victoria should wear the imperial Crown.

Prussia, at the moment when it withdrew from the German Confederation and began the war against Austria, had invited all the North German states to conclude a new league. In August, 1866, nineteen governments which had fought on Prussia's side in the war professed their readiness to take that step. Meiningen and the elder line of Reuss, which had stood on the side of Austria, did the same after some hesitation, and the old anti-Prussian Duke Bernhard of Meiningen abdicated in favour of his son George. Ministerial conferences were opened in Berlin on December 15th, under the presidency of Bismarck, to which representatives were sent by all the North German governments, and by Saxony and Hesse-Darmstadt for their territory right of the Main. The fundamental principles of the new federal constitution were settled in these conferences. According to it the presidency of the Confederation should belong to the King of Prussia in so far that he should represent the Confederation in foreign politics, declare peace and war in its name, superintend the execution of the Federal resolutions, nominate all officials of the Confederation, and command its army and fleet.



GEORGE V. OF HANOVER
On the annexation of Hanover by Prussia in 1866, George V. fled to the Castle of Hietzing, near Vienna, and issued a manifesto to his people declaring the incorporation of his land into Prussia to be null and void. The king died at Paris in 1878.
From a photograph

The Federal Council was to represent the governments, and in it, on the basis of the voting conditions in the former German Confederation, seventeen votes should be given by Prussia, four by Saxony, two each by Mecklenburg-Schwerin and Brunswick, one by each of the remaining eighteen states, making forty-three votes in all. The Federal Council shared in the whole work of legislation, and represented the sovereigns of the Confederation.

The people were to share in the legislation by means of a Reichstag springing from the direct universal suffrage. This Reichstag possessed also initiative rights; it was not proposed to pay the deputies. The following were declared to be Federal matters: The army and navy, in which connection the peace strength of the army was fixed at 1 per cent. of the population of 1867, and the right of increasing it every ten years was reserved; then foreign policy, posts and telegraphs, tolls and trade. The finances were to be based on the tolls, the compulsory taxes, and the profits of the posts and telegraphs. To supply any deficit in the revenue the individual states were pledged to "register contributions" in proportion to the numbers of their population. The Federal Budget was to be sanctioned for periods of three years; the expenses of the army were estimated at the rate of £33 15s. a head in perpetuity. After different objections had been successfully raised against certain of these provisions, they were approved on February 2nd, 1867, and in that form submitted to the Constituent Reichstag elected on February 12th.

It was a matter of the greatest importance for the party conditions in this Reichstag that in the autumn of 1866, when an effort was being made to get rid of the Prussian dispute, two new parties appeared on the scene. The National Liberal party, which, breaking away from the Progressive party—now sinking more

and more into a policy of barren negations —aimed at a confidential and vigorous association with the great statesman who had shown by his actions that he was not the bigoted country squire—Junker—which, according to the outcry of the Progressives, he always had been and still was Similarly the moderate Conservatives founded the Free Conservative party—since 1871 called also the "German Empire party"—which proposed to unite the observance of sound conservative principles, respect for authority, and support of the monarchy with wise progress and the maintenance of civil liberty

"German Empire Party" Founded

In the Constituent Reichstag the Conservatives numbered 59 deputies, the Free Conservatives, 36, the Old Liberals, who stood near them, 27, the National Liberals, 79, Progressives, only 19 In addition there were 18 Particularists, 12 Poles, 2 Danes, 1 Social Democrat, Aug Bebel, and a number of "wild" politicians The decision lay with the two parties whose principles brought them into touch, and who, in the phrase of the day, were termed the Right and Left Centre, the Free Conservatives, and the National Liberals

The Reichstag chose for president Eduard Simson, who had presided at the National Assembly in Frankfort, 1848–1849, and thus was outwardly connected with the traditions of the Hereditary Imperial party The feeling prevailed in the debates that, whatever might be the private views of the representatives, it was impossible to disregard the wishes of the state governments, and that, under all the circumstances, something must be effected by mutual concessions

Bismarck gave vigorous expression to his feeling in his speech of March 11th, 1867, one of the most powerful which he ever made, when he appealed to those who would not sanction any diminution of the Prussian Budget rights in the case of army estimates "The mighty movements which last year induced the nations from the Belt to the Adriatic, from the Rhine to the Carpathians, to play that iron game of dice where royal and imperial crowns are the stake, the thousands and thousands of victims of the sword and of disease, who by their death sealed the national decision, cannot be reconciled with a resolution ad acta Gentlemen, if you believe that, you are not masters of the situation! . . How would you answer a veteran of Koniggratz if he asked after the results of these mighty efforts? You would say to him, perhaps, 'Yes, indeed, nothing has been done about German union, that will come in time But we have saved the Budget right of the Prussian Chamber of Deputies, the right of endangering every year the existence of the Prussian army; for this we have fought with the emperor under the walls of Pressburg Console yourself with that, brave soldier, and let the widow, too, who has buried her husband, find consolation there' Gentlemen, this position is an impossibility! Let us work quickly, let us put Germany in the saddle, and she will soon learn to ride"

Bismarck's Powerful Appeal

In the course of the conferences some forty amendments to the Bill were discussed by the Reichstag Thus the Confederation acquired the right of levying not only indirect but direct taxes, every alteration in the army and the fleet was made dependent on the express sanction of the president Criminal jurisdiction, legal procedure, and in private law contract rights at least, were transferred to the Confederation The Federal Chancellor was to accept by his signature the moral, not legal, responsibility for the enactments of the President

The Functions of the Confederation

The voting for the Reichstag was to be secret, the eligibility of officials as candidates was to be recognised Accurate reports of the public sittings of the Reichstag were to be secure against prosecution The deputies were to be paid The Federal Budget was to be passed for one year only, instead of three In military matters the proviso that one-hundredth of the population of 1867 should serve with the colours in peace time, and that the rate should be £33 15s per head was only to be in force until December 31st, 1871 The Confederation was given the right to raise loans in urgent cases, in the case of denial of justice in any state the Confederation was bound—if a remedy could not be obtained by legal methods—to interfere and afford lawful help As regarded the entry of one or more of the South German states into the Confederation, it was settled that this should be effected on the motion of the President, by means of a legislative act. Finally, alterations of the constitution

were treated in the same way, but a two-thirds majority in the Federal Council was requisite The federal governments accepted nearly all of these resolutions, Bismarck, in their name, lodged protests against two of them in the Reichstag on April 15th First, against the grant of daily pay to the representatives in the Reichstag In the eyes of the governments, the limitation of eligibility imposed by the non-granting of allowances was an indispensable counterpoise to universal suffrage The Reichstag accordingly abandoned the daily allowances Secondly, the governments regarded it as thoroughly inadmissible that the existence of the army after December 31st, 1871, should be dependent on the annual votes of fluctuating majorities, while the expenditure on the civil administration was legally fixed Rudolf Gneist, a deputy, called attention to the fact that the Lower House might well refuse the expenses of a professional army, such as existed in England, but that a national army, like the German, must be regarded as a permanent institution The governments would have preferred that, according to the original scheme, the minimum strength of the army should have been settled once for all, and a permanent provision voted for maintaining it They finally, on April 17th, declared their agreement to the proposal of the Free Conservatives and of the National Liberals, which provided that the present peace strength of the army, fixed until December 31st, 1871, at one-hundredth of the population, and the lump sum of £33 15s per head of the army, should be kept in force beyond that date, but only so long as they should not be altered by federal laws, but the disbursement of sums for the entire national army was to be annually fixed by state law On April 17th, 1867, the king closed the Constituent Reichstag with a speech from the throne which expressed his satisfaction that the federal power had obtained its necessary authority, and that the members of the Confederation had retained freedom of movement in every department where it might be advantageous for them

Closing of the Constituent Reichstag

After the Landtags of the individual states had declared their assent, the constitution became a reality on July 1st, 1867. Only about four-fifths of the German people were now united in the "North German Confederation", but this union was closer, and hence more powerful, than any previous one in Germany, and for the first time in their history the German people possessed the assured right of co-operating in the framing of their fortunes by the mouths of freely elected representatives The South Germans, indeed, still held aloof, but the universal feeling was expressed by a Hanoverian: "The line of the Main is no longer a spectre, but only a halting-place for us, where we can take water and coal on board, and can recover our breath in order soon to proceed further on our route"

The French Emperor's Compensations

During the deliberations of the Reichstag a heavy storm-cloud had gathered, but had happily been dispersed The French Emperor, Napoleon III, had attempted on August 5th, 1866, to obtain "compensations" for the aggrandisement of Prussia and the union of Northern Germany by demanding Rhenish Hesse with Mainz and the Bavarian Rhenish Palatinate Having met with a flat refusal, he had claimed, as his reward for leaving Germany to Prussia, both Belgium and Luxemburg

Bismarck prolonged the negotiations in this matter, since he did not wish to irritate France beyond endurance, and so drive her into the arms of the enemies of Prussia He did not return any definite answer to the offer which he simultaneously received of an offensive and defensive alliance with the French Empire, but, so far as Luxemburg was concerned, left no doubt in the mind of Count Benedetti, the French ambassador, that King William would decline to give France any active assistance in acquiring it, and at most would passively tolerate the proceeding

But to give timely intimation to friend and foe that war would find Germany united, Bismarck published on March 19th, 1867, the offensive and defensive alliances which Prussia had concluded in August, 1866, with Bavaria, Wurtemberg, and Baden, and which were joined also by Hesse-Darmstadt on April 11th, 1867 Three points were established by these treaties (1) North and South Germany supported each other in case of war with their entire military force, (2) this force stood under the single and supreme command of the King of Prussia, (3) all the states guaranteed to each other the integrity of their respective territories.

Germany Ready for Emergencies

Napoleon, indeed, persuaded King William III. of the Netherlands to conclude a treaty, in virtue of which the latter ceded to the emperor his right to Luxemburg, in return for a compensation of £200,000, but the king, who very reluctantly surrendered Luxemburg, insisted on Prussia's formal assent to the treaty, and, as already mentioned, this assent was not forthcoming, the whole nation was unanimously resolved to prevent at all hazards the smallest encroachment on German territory, even on territory which was only connected with the body of the nation by the bond of the Zollverein, as had been the case with Luxemburg after the dissolution of the German Confederation

Napoleon III. Gives Way to Germany

Napoleon, whose military resources were not ready for a collision with Germany, finally recoiled before this determined opposition, and all the more so because Austria, where, since October 30th, 1866, the Saxon Baron von Beust presided at the Foreign Office, was not induced, even by the offer of Silesia, to form an armed alliance against Prussia Austria had felt, too recently and too acutely, the military superiority of Prussia to venture on a new war, especially one against the entire German nation.

On the proposal of the Tsar Alexander II. a conference of all the Great Powers was summoned at London, and this decided that Luxemburg should be left to the house of Nassau-Orange, but be declared neutral Prussia accordingly had to withdraw her garrison from the former federal fortress, Luxemburg, and to allow the destruction of its fortifications. But Luxemburg remained in the Zollverein as before. The inglorious termination of a matter far from glorious in itself was very detrimental to Napoleon's reputation; the victories of Prussia and the formation of the North German Confederation, just as the creation of the Kingdom of Italy some few years before, were reckoned by all supporters of the doctrine of France's natural and "legitimate" hegemony in Europe as severe defeats to France "Now," exclaimed Thiers, half in menace, half in warning, before the Chamber in March, 1867, "no further blunders may be committed" The emperor felt himself deeply injured that Prussia had refused the enlargement of France, which he so ardently desired. "Bismarck has attempted to deceive me," he afterwards said to Heinrich von Sybel, "but an emperor of France may not let himself be deceived." Even the Catholic party was indignant with him, because he had allowed the revolution a free hand and had left the Pope to be despoiled The Republican opposition completely outdid itself in most venomous attacks on the emperor, of which Victor Hugo and A Rogeard made themselves the mouthpieces

France's Severe Defeats

And now, to crown all, there came the crash of the Mexican expedition. The emperor gave way before the threat of the United States that they would treat the continued presence of a French army on American soil as a casus belli The desperate entreaties of the empress, Charlótte, who came to Europe in July, 1866, to plead her husband's cause, were useless, when she realised her position, her reason gave way. Between the end of January and the middle of March, 1867, the French troops withdrew from Mexico, and Maximilian, who was too proud to desert his followers in the hour of danger, and still hoped to strengthen the fading influence of his party by liberal concessions, was taken prisoner at Querétaro, together with Generals Miguel Miramon and Tomas Mejia, brought before a court-martial, and shot as a rebel, on June 19th, 1867.

The French Withdraw From Mexico

In order to conciliate French public opinion, Napoleon determined upon liberal measures which ran counter to the despotic traditions of the Second Empire He granted to the senate and the legislative body in January, 1867, the right to interpellate the Government, and gave permission that not merely the "Minister of State"—that is, the hitherto all powerful Premier—but every Minister might present the case for his policy before the Chamber, but only under "instructions from the emperor."

This concession was regarded, however, as a fundamentally important step, by which the emperor wished to introduce, in the place of his own exclusive irresponsibility, ministerial responsibility; that is to say, he wished to pass from a despotic to a constitutional, or even parliamentary, method of government That was not, indeed, Napoleon's intention, but one step leads to another, and the emperor's failing health made it more and more incumbent, on him to

relieve himself of the business of government. The politicians, who thought they must contest a change of system on political or personal grounds, now combined into a reactionary club under the name of the "Cercle de la rue de l'Arcade" The intellectual leader of these "Arcadians" was the "Vice-Emperor," the Minister of State, Rouher, while the liberalising party, le Tiers parti, which grew up in 1866 between the "Arcadians" and the Republicans, was led by the former Republican, but now "freethinking Imperialist," Emil Ollivier, a talented but ambitious and weak character.

The Paris International Exhibtion of the summer of 1867 shed a transitory brilliance over France and the emperor, but the murderous attempt of a Pole, Anton Bereszowski, on the life of the Tsar Alexander II on June 6th, struck a discordant note in the midst of the festivities, and comments were made on the absence of the Emperor Francis Joseph, who was in mourning for his brother Maximilian, the victim of Napoleon's bad faith, and kept away from the French capital Napoleon and his consort therefore journeyed, in August, 1867, to Salzburg to express their sympathy to Francis Joseph, they stayed there from August 18th to the 23rd, and although Napoleon had only come accompanied by General Fleury, yet through him and Beust a better understanding was brought about between the two empires—a step which was universally regarded in Germany as aimed at Prussia But although the two parties had merely agreed that Prussia should be prevented from crossing the Main, and Russia from crossing the Pruth, yet now two camps were formed in Europe Prussia and Russia stood in the one, Austria and France in the other. Francis Joseph paid his return visit to Paris on October 23rd On his way he had exchanged a "flying and formal" greeting with the King of Prussia, at the latter's wish, in Oos; but he said to General Ducrot in Strassburg "I hope that we shall some day march side by side"

Friendly Meeting of Emperors

The Treaty of Prague, according to the French conception of it, implied that Prussia by its terms was restricted to North Germany, and might not venture to form any union with the South German states, unless the assent of every Power participating in the treaty was obtained. France reckoned herself one of these Powers, because she had intervened in July, 1866, but she had not signed the treaty—indeed, she could not have been allowed to do so, since she had taken no share in the war—and therefore possessed properly no right to superintend the execution of the treaty Bismarck adhered strictly to the principle that Austria alone was entitled to take any action in this matter, but that even Austria might not raise any objections if all the states of the South, combined into a union, wished to form a national bond with the North. The only doubtful point was whether any single state was competent to join the North German Confederation

The Abortive Southern Confederation

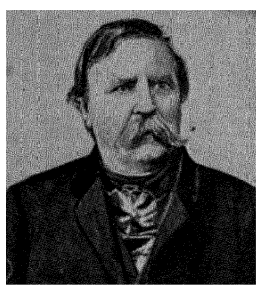
But it very soon became clear that the "Southern Confederation," planned at Prague in 1866, would not come to pass Bavaria, as by far the largest state, would naturally have obtained the predominant position, but King Charles of Wurtemberg was still less willing to acknowledge the superiority of King Lewis II than that of the King of Prussia The Grand Duke Frederic of Baden, son-in-law of the King of Prussia, a liberal and patriotic prince, was resolved to enter the North German Confederation at the next opportunity, and his views were shared by the majority of his subjects His Ministers, Karl Mathy and Rudolph von Freydorf, were staunch German patriots like himself Mathy had written to Bismarck on November 18th, 1867, asking for Baden's entrance into the Federation, but was put off with hopes for the future, and died before attaining his object, on February 4th, 1868.

In spite of all democratic and ultramontane opposition, the South and North were drawing closer to each other. Agreeably to the spirit of the treaties, all the states south of the Main introduced in 1868 universal conscription and armed their infantry with the Prussian needle-gun, in consequence of this they obtained Prussian instructors for their troops, and Hesse-Darmstadt concluded, in April, 1867, a military treaty with Prussia, by the terms of which its troops were completely incorporated into the army of the North German Confederation The royal Saxon army, however, by virtue of the convention of February 7th, 1867, constituted from July 1st onwards the

Conscription in the Southern States

Twelfth North German Army Corps, under its own administration. In Würtemberg the new War Minister, Rudolf von Wagner, proceeded to reform the army on the Prussian model; and the example was followed in Bavaria, despite the particularism of that kingdom by the War Minister, Sigmund von Prankh. The preparation for a united German army proceeded without interruption. The treaty of federation with Prussia was accepted by the Chambers in the autumn of 1867, in Baden without any struggle, but in Würtemberg after violent parliamentary disputes, although the democratic party of Würtemberg foretold that the new policy of "militarism" would impose an intolerable burden on the people without securing them against France. The treaty, according to the Bavarian constitution, did not require the approval of the estates. Owing to this union of all German races in a common system of defence with such safeguards, the Zollverein, which had been renounced by Prussia, was once more established on a new basis. First of all, the so-called liberum veto of each particular state—the right to repudiate any resolution of the majority as not legally binding on the non-assenting state—was abolished; in its place was introduced the principle that resolutions passed by the majority were binding on the minority. The work of legislating for the Zollverein was to be carried out by the Federal Council and Reichstag according to this principle.

Organising a United German Army



FRANCIS DEAK
A Hungarian politician prominent in his country's struggles for liberty, he led the movement against the sending of representatives to the Reichsrat in Vienna.

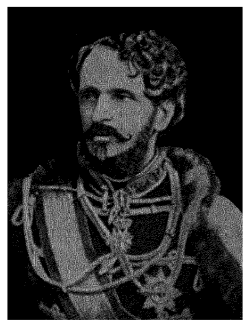
Besides matters connected with customs, the taxation of the salt obtained within the Zollverein, and of the tobacco produced or imported into the Zollverein, fell within the competence of the Reichstag, sitting as the Customs Parliament. The duration of the customs treaty was once more fixed for twelve years, with the proviso that, if notice was not given, it would continue as a matter of course for another twelve years.

These treaties also met with opposition in Würtemberg and Bavaria from the protectionists and the particularists, who not only feared heavy economic loss from the free-trade principles prevailing in Prussia, but also disliked the customs union with the North as a preliminary step to political amalgamation. Yet the interests of trades and industries, which obviously could not exist without the Zollverein, were so important that in the Bavarian Representative Chamber, on October 22nd, 1867, 117 votes against 17, and on the 31st, in the Würtemberg Chamber, 73 against 16, were given for the customs union.

The First Chamber in Bavaria, that of the Imperial Councillors, made a futile attempt to preserve the Bavarian "liberum veto"; but as Bismarck declared that he would sooner renounce the customs treaty itself than allow this limitation on it, the Chamber gave way. Hungary, after the suppression of the Hungarian rebellion of the year 1849, was deprived of independence, and was, as far as possible, reduced to the constitutional status of a crown demesne, which in the last resort was governed from Vienna. The proud Magyar people had not resigned itself in silence to this lot, but continuously demanded the restoration of its independence. It absolutely refused to send representatives to the Reichsrat in Vienna, the central Parliament of the monarchy created by the constitution of February 26th, 1861. The leader of the Opposition was Francis Déak, 1803–1876, originally a lawyer and judicial assessor in his own county of Szala. He had been Minister of Justice in 1848, and became later a parliamentary politician by profession; he was a man of shrewdness, determination, and integrity, of temperate views, resolute in advocating the rights of his people and yet unwilling to interfere with the undoubted rights of the Crown. He was opposed to the feudal abuse of serf labour no less than to the communist views rife among the Hungarian peasantry, whose supporters would have most gladly divided the property of the nobles among themselves. Some reputation was also enjoyed by Count Julius Andrássy, whose inclinations led him into the region of foreign policy. The defeat of Austria in the year 1859

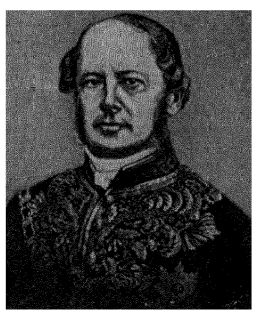
Leaders in Hungarian Movements

broke the ice both in the western and eastern half of the Empire. Schmerling, the creator of the February constitution, consented in April, 1861, to summon once more the Hungarian Landtag, which had been dissolved in 1849. But since Déak demanded a return to the state of things which had existed before 1848, no understanding was reached, and in the year 1866 General Klapka, with Bismarck's support, organised a "Hungarian legion" to fight on the side of Prussia against the House of Hapsburg-Lorraine. The defeat of 1866 convinced the Emperor Francis Joseph that a reconciliation with Hungary was absolutely essential if Austria was not to be completely crippled by internal feuds and prevented from maintaining its already tottering position as a Great Power. "In the East," said Andrássy, "no power is less important than Austria, and yet it ought, in the interests of civilisation, to have great influence there." The Germans in Austria came to the help of the Magyars when they declared at a meeting in Aussee on September 10th, 1866.: "Dualism, but not Federalism! no joint monarchy, still less a mere Federation, but two halves of the empire, compact in themselves and closely united together against the outside world."



COUNT JULIUS ANDRASSY
For his share in the revolutionary movement of 1848 he was exiled from Hungary; returning to his own country in 1857, he became Prime Minister ten years later.

The new Foreign Minister, Friedrich Ferdinand, Baron Beust, 1809-1866, an excessively energetic statesman, whose pride did not blind him to the needs of the time, worked towards the same end. He wished to restore Austria to its old position by settling the dissensions and by modern legislation, and to leave its forces free for a strong foreign policy, which might limit the encroachments of Prussia and Russia. The circumstance that Beust was a foreigner and a Protestant enabled him to act with greater impartiality towards the affairs of Austria than a native statesman engaged in party struggles could usually manifest, but it roused much prejudice and distrust against him. When he had already declared to the reassembled Hungarian Reichstag on November 19th, 1866, his willingness to conform with the wishes of the nation, having been nominated on February 7th, 1867, Prime Minister of Austria in place of Count Belcredi, he succeeded in obtaining the imperial decrees of February, 1867. According to these, Hungary recovered its independence, receiving a responsible Ministry of its own under Andrássy. Croatia, the military frontier, and Transylvania were united with it; the "Court Chancery," which existed for Hungary and Transylvania in Vienna, as well as the office of Hungarian Viceroy, were abolished from the moment the new Ministry began its official activity. The western half of the empire, for which, unofficially, the name Cis-Leithania, or the country west of the border-river Leitha, was soon adopted, naturally also received its special government.



BARON BEUST
To this Austrian statesman belongs the credit of reconciling Hungary to Austria. Born at Dresden in 1809, he died in 1886.

It was proposed that foreign policy, the army—the German language to be used for words of command—the excise, and the national debt should be regarded as joint concerns of the "Austrian-Hungarian monarchy," as the official title ran. According to this agreement three imperial Ministers were created for foreign affairs, the army, and the finances. The imperial Minister for Foreign Affairs was to preside in the imperial Ministry and bear the title of Imperial Chancellor, this office being conferred on Baron Beust, as the promoter of the compromise with Hungary. The imperial Ministers were responsible to the so-called Delegations for their measures; these Delegations were bodies of thirty-six deputies each, which were elected by the Parliaments of the two halves of the kingdom, on a fixed proportion to the First and Second Chambers, and met alternately at Vienna and Pesth. They discussed the

governmental proposals separately and independently; valid resolutions could therefore only come into force by the agreement of the Delegations. The share of Hungary in the joint expenditure was fixed in 1867 at thirty per cent., that of Austria at seventy per cent. The Compromise, and also the Customs and Commerce Treaty of the two halves of the empire were to be valid for ten years. On June 8th, 1867, the solemn coronation of Francis Joseph and his consort Elizabeth took place. The Magyars felt themselves victors and masters in their own country. The Roumanians and the Saxons in Transylvania were destined soon to feel the heavy hand of the ruling people, which wished by conciliation or by force to make Magyars of the whole population of Hungary. The Croats, on the other hand, who formed a compact nation of two millions, and were inveterate enemies of the Hungarians, received from the Hungarians on June 21st, 1868, the concession that a special Croat Minister should sit in the Ministry at Pesth, and that forty-five per cent. of the revenues of the country should remain reserved for the country itself. Accordingly, on December 29th, 1868, the twenty-nine Croat deputies appeared in the Hungarian Reichstag, from which they had been absent for fully twenty years.

Coronation of Francis Joseph



FRANCIS JOSEPH OF AUSTRIA
Born in 1830, he became Emperor of Austria in 1848, on the death of his uncle, Ferdinand I., and on June 8th, 1867, on the formation of an Austro-Hungarian State, he was crowned at Pest with the crown of St. Stephen.

The disputes between parties and nationalities in Austria were strained to the utmost. The Germans defended the centralised constitution of February 25th, 1861, and with it the predominance of their race, for which they claimed superiority to other nationalities in intellectual gifts and achievements; politically, the majority of them were Liberals. The Slavs, on the other hand, but, above all, the Czechs, were for a form of Federalism, which would guarantee more liberty of action to the several crown lands; and the Feudals and Clericals supported the same view. But Beust induced the Poles by concessions at the cost of the Galician Ruthenians, who compose 43 per cent. of the 7,000,000 of Galician population, and of the other crown lands, to take their seats in the Reichsrat; and he also succeeded in procuring a German majority in the Landtags of Bohemia and Moravia. Thus, on May 22nd, 1867, the regular "inner" Reichsrat, composed of deputies of the several Landtags, could be opened; but the Czechs refused to sit in it.

The Ministry of Beust, in conformity with the universal change in opinion, piloted through the two Houses of the Reichsrat a series of laws during the course of the year 1867 which received the force of statutes by the imperial sanction given on December 21st, 1867. By this means, Austria, once the promised land of despotism, was changed into a modern constitutional state. Thus ministerial responsibility was introduced, and a state court of twenty-five members was created for the trial of impeached Ministers; equality of all citizens in the eyes of the law, equal eligibility to all offices, freedom of migration, liberty of the Press and of association, liberty of conscience and religion, the inviolability of private houses, and the secrecy of letters, freedom of religion, freedom of education, the separation of the administration of justice from the government, in short, all the blessings of a modern state, were bestowed at one blow on a people which a few months before had been governed like a herd of cattle. The House of Representatives received the right of electing a president, the right of voting taxes and recruits, the right of legislation in all important matters; it was to be summoned annually, and its debates were to be public. The powers of the Landtags were proportionately limited.

Changes in the Government of Austria

These achievements were accompanied by a law, based on the eleventh article of the law as to the representation of the empire, dealing with the supervision of the primary schools, Volksschule, by

which local, district, and national school-boards were constituted, and to all three of them not merely representatives of the Church, but also of the state and of education, were nominated. The Concordat of the year 1855 had dealt with education and given the Church full power over the schools, but, by one of the few invariable laws of history, the reaction was only the more violent.

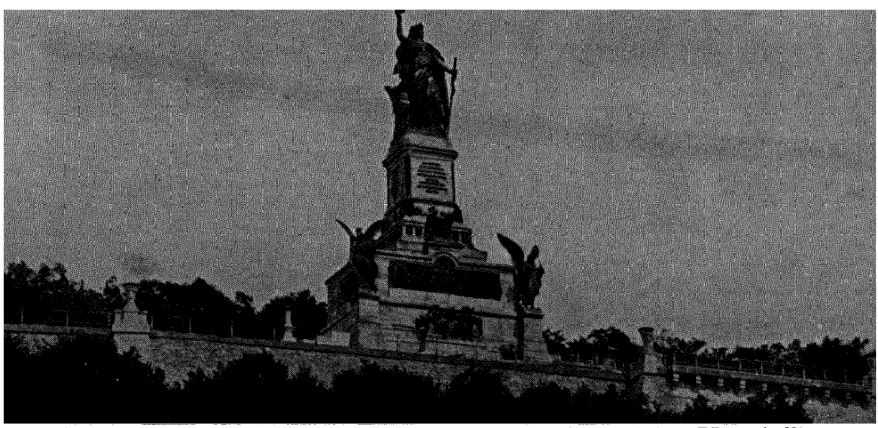
Emperor Blames the Bishops

The emperor, in a letter to the Archbishop of Vienna, blamed the bishops because, instead of being conciliatory, they had roused intense animosity, and thus rendered the task of the Government more arduous. A new Ministry, with the especial support of Beust, who in this connection assured the papal nuncio that according to his conviction the Austrian monarchy and the Catholic Church were sisters, carried in the Upper House in March, 1868, the laws which had been determined upon by the Lower House in 1867. By these laws (1) civil marriage was granted in the case where a priest, for reasons not recognised by the state, refused to put up the banns of an engaged couple; (2) the supreme management of a school, with exception of the religious instruction, was reserved to the state, and the post of teacher was open to every citizen of the state without distinction of denomination; (3) in mixed marriages the sons were to accept the religion of the father, the daughters that of the mother, and every citizen should have the right to change his religion on completing his fourteenth year. The emperor signed the laws on May 25th, 1868. But when Pius IX., on June 22nd, denounced them in the most bitter terms as abominable, absolutely null, and once for all invalid, the feud between Church and State became most acute. The Pope, in view of the legislation directed against the omnipotence of the Church, felt himself only strengthened in his long-cherished intention of claiming doctrinal infallibility for the papal chair. When, however, on July 18th, 1870, this attribute was awarded him by the Vatican Council, Austria replied by a revocation of the Concordat on July 30th, and the restoration of the "placitum regium"—royal consent—as an essential condition for the validity of any papal enactment in Austria.

During these struggles the finances of Austria were reorganised by a somewhat violent measure. The proposal of Ignaz Edlen von Plener, Minister of Commerce, was accepted by a large majority in the Lower House in June, 1868; by this the entire public debt was to be transformed into one unified 5 per cent. stock, but as the interest was to pay a tax of 20 per cent., the rate of interest payable by the state was in fact reduced to 4 per cent.

Austria's Army Re-organised

The army was reorganised in December, 1868, on the basis of universal conscription, and the war strength fixed for ten years at 800,000 men. The Landwehr was to comprise not merely the older members of the line troops, but also those persons who, though available, had been rejected as superfluous, and had thus not enjoyed any thorough training in the ranks.



"GERMANIA": THE NATIONAL MONUMENT OF THE FRANCO-GERMAN WAR



GERMANY'S CONQUERING EMPEROR: THE TRIUMPHAL ENTRY OF WILLIAM I. INTO BERLIN ON JUNE 16TH, 1871

From the painting by Camphausen, by permission of the Berlin Photographic Co.



THE DECLINE OF NAPOLEON III.

APPROACH OF THE FRANCO-GERMAN WAR

THE Roman question was one of the most difficult with which Napoleon III. had to deal. The emperor had withdrawn his troops from Rome in September, 1864, after the Italian Government had pledged itself to remove the seat of the monarchy from Turin to Florence, which promise implied a certain abandonment of claim to the capital, Rome, and neither to attack Rome itself nor to allow it to be attacked by any other Power. The Ultramontanes in France were beside themselves at this agreement; they saw in it the withdrawal of French protection from the still existing fragment of the temporal power of the Pope, the beginning, therefore, of its end; and if they regarded this end as a heavy blow to the Church, the Chauvinist party, headed by Adolphe Thiers, which held the French leadership in Europe to be part of the order of the universe, regarded a complete victory of the Italian national state as an irrevocable hindrance to that leadership on the south side of the Alps, just as the establishment of the German national state seemed to be the end of that predominance on the east bank of the Rhine.

The French Chamber and the Pope

In February, 1866, the French Chamber under these two influences adopted the resolution that the secular sovereignty of the Pope was essential for his spiritual reputation; and after the reversion of Venice to Italy Ultramontane attacks were showered upon Liberal conceptions in general and Italy in particular. The Radical Minister of Public Instruction, Victor Duruy, who brought the Orders which concerned themselves with education under the common law, claimed for the state the education of girls, and founded national libraries of a Liberal character; but he had to guard against the pronounced hostility of the Clericals, and could not prevent, in July, 1867, the temporary closure of the "École Normale," the teachers' training institution, in which Liberal views were active.

The effect of these occurrences was, on the Italian side, that the democratic Minister Rattazzi, a friend to the French, hoped for a revolution in Rome itself, in the course of which Victor Emmanuel might come forward, as in 1859, to restore order. If his troops occupied Rome in this way, the Roman question might be solved very simply, without direct violation of the September Treaty. But Garibaldi, overflowing with fiery zeal, tore in pieces this delicate web of statecraft by entering the states of the Church in September, 1867, at the head of a band of volunteers, in order to overthrow the Pope. When Rattazzi, on being required by Napoleon III. to take counter measures in virtue of the treaty, preferred to tender his resignation, the emperor sent an army from Toulon to Rome under Failly.

Victory of the Pope's Army

This, together with the papal soldiers under General Hermann Kanzler, overtook the Garibaldians, who had immediately begun to retreat on Monte Rotondo, near Mentana, north-east of Rome, and dealt them a crushing blow, November 3rd. "The chassepots have done wonders," Failly wrote to the king. The French army was now compelled to remain in Rome, since otherwise the rule of the Pope would have immediately collapsed. A part of Napoleon's power was again firmly planted in Italy, the indignation of all opponents of the papacy against the guardian of the Pope was once again unloosed, and the dislike of the Italians for the man who prevented the completion of their unity was accentuated. The emperor vainly tried to submit the Roman question to the decision of a European congress, which he proposed to call for this purpose. No other Great Power wished to burn its fingers in this difficult affair.

Napoleon III. the Guardian of the Pope

Napoleon, meantime, conscious that France, from the military point of view, was far behind Prussia, had devised all

sorts of plans to equalise this disproportion The first scheme, which really effected some result and went to the root of the evil, simply aimed at the introduction of a universal conscription after the Prussian model, but the emperor encountered in this the opposition, both of his generals—who for the most part were sufficiently prejudiced to consider a professional army as more efficient than a national army—and of the politicians, who, partly out of regard for the popular dislike of universal military service, partly on political grounds, would hear nothing of such a measure All Radicals shrank from "militarism" and every measure which might strengthen the monarchy

The Radicals in Fear of Militarism

Thus the keen-sighted and energetic War Minister, Marshal Niel, was forced in the end, against his better judgment, to be content with a law which proclaimed, in principle, universal military service, and fixed its duration at nine years, but, as a matter of fact, at once neutralised this reform, since each individual had the admitted right to buy himself off from service in the line Only the duty of forming part of the militia, or "garde mobile," was incumbent on everyone But, from considerations of economy, this "garde mobile" was allowed to exist on paper only, without any attempt to call it into existence beyond the form of nominating the officers, the men were not organised or even called out for training It thus happened that the North German Confederation, with 30,000,000 souls and an annual levy of 90,000, could put an army of 540,000 into the field, but France, with 36,000,000 inhabitants, raised only 330,000 men.

In armament, however, the French infantry enjoyed a considerable advantage, since it was equipped with the Chassepot rifle, which had a range of 1,200 paces, compared with which the needle-gun, with a range of 400 paces only, became at long distances as useless as a stick, in addition to this, the French weapon was superior to the German by reason of a smaller bore, a better breech, and its handiness On the other hand, the North German artillery, whose shells only burst on striking, was superior to the French, whose missiles burst after a certain time, often difficult to calculate exactly, and sometimes exploded in the air before reaching their mark. The mitrailleuse, on which the French founded great hopes, proved itself in 1870 to be by no means a serviceable weapon, and it was not considered necessary on the German side to adopt it.

Deadly Missiles of Warfare

The necessity of again finding stronger support in the nation suggested to the emperor in January, 1869, the plan of securing the purchase and management by the French Eastern Railway of the Belgian private railways to Brussels and Rotterdam In this way Belgium would become, first economically, and subsequently politically, dependent on France. But the Belgian Liberal government of Frère-Orban refused assent to the treaty for sale, and since in this question they were backed by their otherwise deadly enemies, the Ultramontane party, this attempt also of the emperor to restore his prestige proved a failure

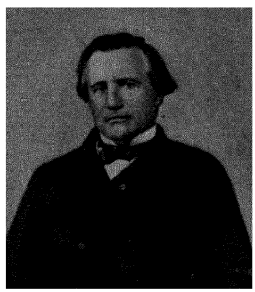
Although Prussia had entirely kept away from any share in the whole matter, she was accused by several French papers of having instigated the Belgian Government to opposition Even the treaty with Baden, by which Badeners were allowed to pass their terms of military service in Prussia, and Prussians in Baden, could not successfully be represented as an infringement of the Treaty of Prague Nevertheless, France, Austria, and Italy, since the summer of 1868, had vigorously prosecuted the negotiations for a triple alliance directed against Prussia But Beust was restrained by several considerations — the embarrassed condition of Austrian finances, the incompleteness of the army reform, the many difficulties of the domestic situation, the reluctance of 10,000,000 Germans in Austria to make war on their compatriots, the aversion of Hungary to every project for restoring the Austrian predominance in Germany

Austria's Embarrassed Finances

He saw himself quite unable to undertake a war immediately, however much a war might have suited his inveterate hatred of Prussia Such a war, according to his view, ought to arise from a non-German cause, some collision of Austria and Russia in the East, when Prussia would go over to the Russian side, and thus any appearance of the war being waged against German union would be avoided; otherwise, war was the best method of effecting an immediate reconciliation between North and South A war against German unity was unacceptable to the

Italians also, since in all probability it would have been followed by a war against their own unity, and this they did not wish to see destroyed, but completed; and probably a portion of the Conservative party would only have been induced to fight against Prussia by the surrender of Rome. But the emperor, who did not venture to inflict a further wound upon the susceptibilities of his Catholic subjects, could not in any case fulfil this condition; and the majority of the Italians stood on the side of the Ministers, who declared to King Victor Emmanuel in July, 1869, that they could not be parties to obliterating the events of the year 1866.

Light is thrown on the situation by the anxiety of Beust lest Napoleon should not be playing an honourable game, but in the last instance, if Prussia, intimidated by the Triple Alliance, was inclined to concessions, should make an agreement with Prussia at the cost of Austria. Since the negotiations thus met insuperable difficulties everywhere, their continuance was, in September, 1869, indefinitely postponed, to use Napoleon's words to Francis Joseph. No terms, according to Beust's statements, had yet been signed, but a verbal agreement had been made on three points: (1) That the aim of the alliance, if ever it was concluded, should be protection and peace; (2) that the parties should support each other in all negotiations between the Great Powers; and (3) that Austria, in a war between France and Prussia should remain at least neutral.



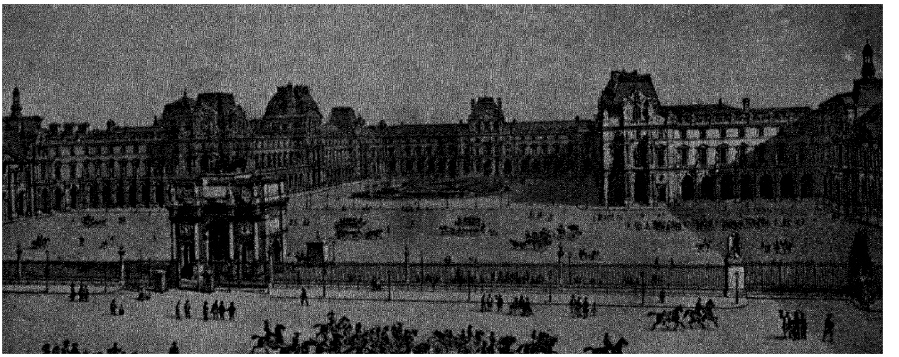
VICTOR DURUY
Historian and educationist, he became Minister of Public Instruction in France, and did much for the advancement of education by the founding of national libraries.
From a photograph

At the moment when these negotiations had come to a standstill a great change had taken place in the internal affairs of France. At the new elections to the legislative body on May 23rd, 1869, a great shrinkage of the Royalist votes was apparent; while the opposition in 1857 had received only 810,000, and in 1863 had reached 1,800,000, it now swelled to 3,300,000, and the figures of the Government party receded from 5,300,000 in the year 1863 to 4,600,000. Ollivier's "Third Party" obtained 130 seats in the Chamber of Deputies, and, combined with the forty votes of the Republican Left, formed a majority against the followers of Rouher. Napoleon III. need not have regarded the result of the elections as a sign of popular hostility to himself; even the Third party was imperialist. But the result was bound to endanger his position if he declared his agreement with Rouher and the "Arcadians." He therefore veered round, dissolved the "National Ministry" on July 17th—Rouher was compensated by the presidency in the Senate, which, on August 2nd, in a solemn session, accepted the scheme of reform settled by the Cabinet—and submitted on September 6th, 1869, comprehensive constitutional reforms to the approval of the Senate. By these, the legislative body acquired the rights of electing all its officials, of initiating legislation, of demanding inquiries, and of appropriating the supplies which it voted to specific branches of the public service. Although the constitutional responsibility of the emperor himself was not given up, yet the principle of ministerial responsibility was introduced, and provision made for the impeachment of Ministers before the Senate. The emperor himself, when speaking to the Italian ambassador, Constantin Nigra, characterised the scope of these reforms as follows: "I had the choice between war and personal rule on one side, and peace with liberal reforms on the other side. I decided for the latter." The circumstance that his experienced War Minister, Niel, died on August 14th, 1869, had at first the effect of making every warlike expedition seem doubly hazardous; it was destined to be seen that his successor, Marshal Lebœuf, possessed neither the experience nor the foresight of Niel.

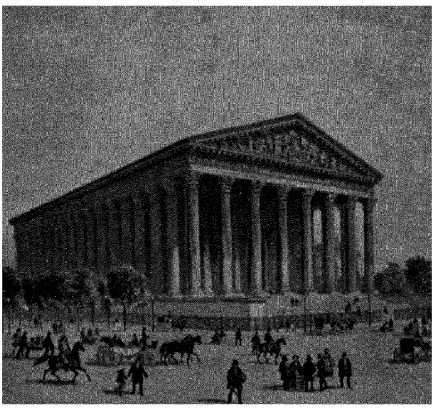
Election Changes in France

"National Ministry" Dissolved

The emperor summoned on January 2nd, 1870, the Ministry, which, in virtue of the decree of the Senate, was to undertake the responsible conduct of business. Its head was Emile Ollivier, who became Minister of Justice and Public Worship; Count Daru, a clever and cautious man of marked personality, received the Foreign Office; the Home Office went to Chevandier de Valdrôme, the Finances to Buffet. But since the Left demanded that the



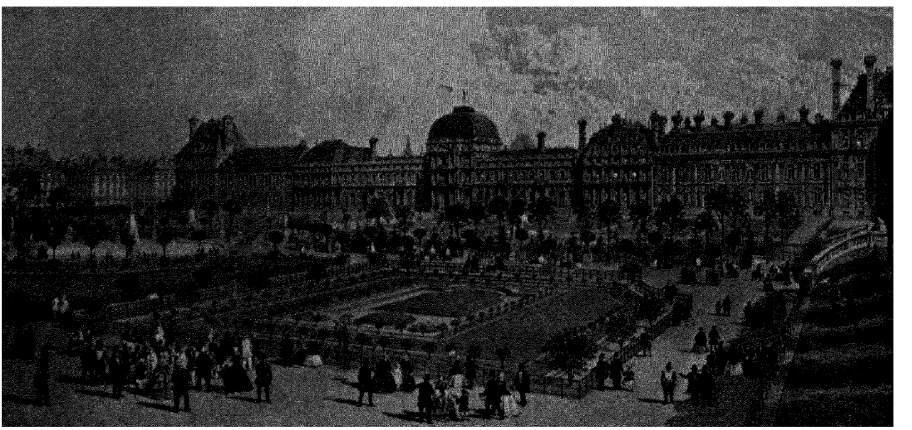
General view of the buildings of the Louvre as seen from the **Tuileries Palace.**



Outside the Church of the Madeleine.



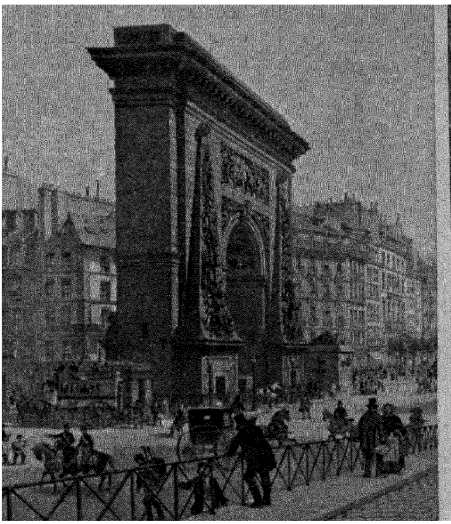
Facade of the Arc de Triomphe towards the city.



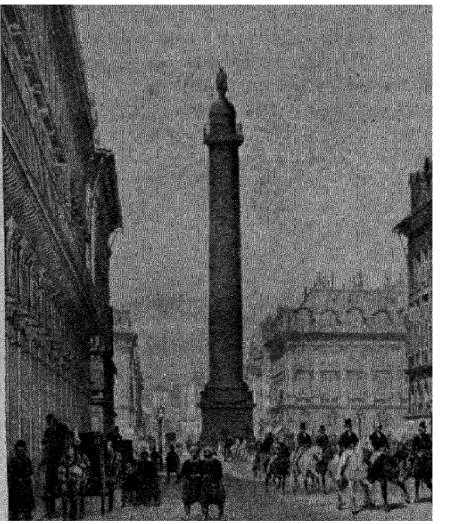
General view of the Tuileries Palace as seen from **the Gardens.**



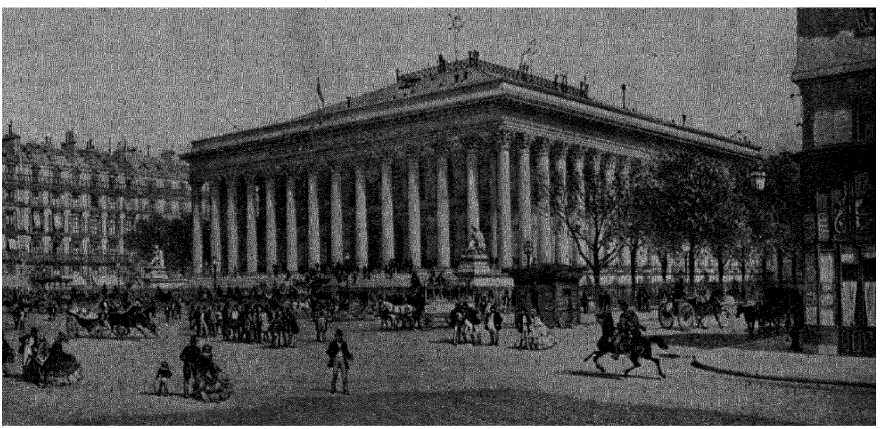
General view of the Place de la Concorde, showing the Rue Royale and the Madeleine in the distance.



cene around the Gate and Boulevard of St. Denis.

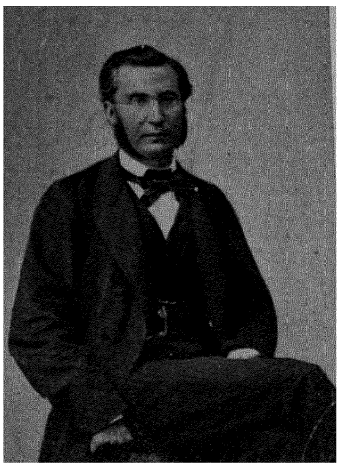


Column of the Grande Armée in the Place Vendome

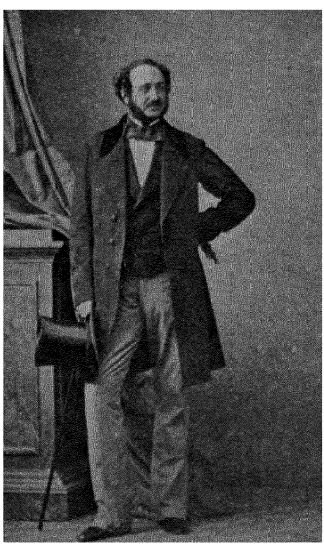


In the heart of the business quarter: The Bourse and the Place de la Bourse.

Chamber should receive the right of co-operating in any future alteration of the constitution, as otherwise a resolution of the Senate might recall one day what it had granted the previous day, the emperor without demur submitted the constitutional changes to a plebiscite on the ground that the nation had in his time, in 1852, approved the constitution of the empire, and had therefore a claim to say if this constitution was to be altered. The question put to the people was whether it approved of the decree of the Senate on September 6th, 1869, and whether it wished by this means to facilitate the future transmission of the crown from the emperor to his son. The answer of 7,350,142 electors was in the affirmative, that of 1,538,825 in the negative; in the army, which was also allowed to vote, 285,000 answered "Yes," 48,000 "No." Although opposition was considerable, yet it was split up into an Absolutist part, for which the decree of the Senate went much too far, and a Republican, for which the decree did not go far enough, since it not only allowed the Empire to stand, but even assisted Napoleon to consolidate his power. Against this divided opposition the majority, which in any case was five times as large, showed to prodigious advantage, and the emperor was justified in seeing in the plebiscite of May 8th, 1870, a strong proof of the confidence of quite five-sixths of the French in his person, in his dynasty and his rule. Soon afterwards the Ministry underwent an important change by the substitution of the Duc de Gramont for Daru. The latter had two motives for resignation. In the first place he had not been able to carry his point that the emperor alone was not entitled to order any future plebiscites, but that the legislative body must also be first heard in the matter. Secondly, Daru was much concerned about the Vatican Council, which Pius IX. had opened in Rome on December 8th, 1869, in order that, at the very moment when the temporal power of the papacy was diminished and even threatened with complete destruction, the spiritual power might be made unlimited through the proclamation of the Pope's infallibility in matters of faith and morals. The Bavarian Prime Minister faced, as far back as April 9th, 1869, the serious danger which threatened the independence of states if this doctrine of the papal infallibility were received, and called upon all states which had Catholic subjects to adopt a common policy towards the papal claim; but for various reasons he only found support in Russia, which forbade its Catholic bishops to attend the Council, and he was defeated by the ultramontane and particularist majority of the Bavarian Landtag on February 15th, 1870. Daru fared no better with his warnings; his own colleague, Ollivier, declared that the infallibility affected only the internal administration of the Church and did not concern the State—as if the Church on her side



EMILE OLLIVIER
At the head of the Ministry summoned by Napoleon III. at the beginning of 1870 was Emile Ollivier, against whom the accusation has been made that "with a light heart" he "rushed his country into war with Germany."
From a photograph

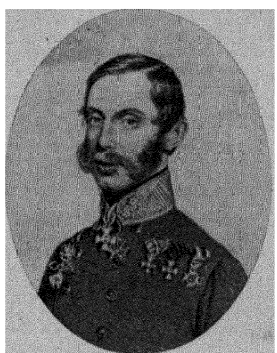


THE DUC DE GRAMONT
Soon after the formation of the Ministry in 1870, Count Daru resigned his seat at the Foreign Office, and was succeeded by the Duc de Gramont, whose policy as Foreign Minister precipitated the war with Germany.
From a photograph

would recognise any sphere of human action as entirely belonging to the State!—and put him off with the dubious assurances of the papal Secretary of State, Count Giacomo Antonelli: "In theory we soar as high as Gregory VII., and Innocent III.; in practice we are yielding and patient." No effect was produced by the warnings of the noble Montalembert, once so extolled by the Ultramontanes. He blamed the oppression of the State by the Church no less than that of the Church by the State. "We ought," he said, "to stem in time the stream of flattery, deceit, and servility which threatens to flood the Church." He died before his warning cry was justified by events, and Daru's successor, Gramont, was a thorough-going Ultramontane who, as such, hated heretical Prussia. The peace of Europe seemed, on June 30th, 1870, to be absolutely assured; Ollivier could declare in the Chamber that no disturbance threatened it from any quarter, and Lebœuf, the War Minister, proposed to enlist in the army for 1871 only 90,000 instead of 100,000 recruits. The deputies of the Left committed themselves to the statement that the 40,000,000 Germans who had united under the leadership of Prussia were no menace to France, and Ollivier himself can almost be described as a friend of German unity. Archduke Albert of Austria, however, had visited Paris in April, 1870, on the pretext of an educational journey to the south of France, and, in view of the possible admission of Baden to the North German Confederation, had spoken of the necessity of common measures for the observance of the Treaty of Prague. He unfolded, in this connection, the plan that if war became necessary, a French army should push on past Stuttgart to Nüremberg, in order to unite there with the Italians, who would advance by way of Munich, and with the Austrians, who would come from Bohemia; they would then fight the Prussians in the region of Leipzig. The archduke was therefore playing with fire; but he declared that the transformation of the Austrian army would not be completed for one or two years, and emphasised the necessity that, since Austria required six weeks to mobilise, France should strike the first blow alone, at any rate in the spring, in order that the Prussians might be settled with before autumn came with cold, long nights and before Russia could interfere. A council of war which Napoleon held on May 17th declared that the demand that France should first make the effort single-handed could not be entertained. General Lebrun, who was then sent to Vienna, did not find Francis Joseph inclined to waive the demand which Prince Albert had made. The Austrian emperor held it to be essential, not merely from the military but also from the political standpoint, since if he declared war simultaneously with France, the Prussians would make full use of the "new German idea" and sweep the South with it. He would have to wait for the course of the war, and then, when the French had advanced into South Germany and were welcomed as liberators from the Prussian yoke, he would take the opportunity and join in the war. The course of events in South Germany gave France room to hope for a change in popular opinion. In Bavaria, Hohenlohe had been turned out in February, and had been replaced by Count Otto Bray-Steinburg, a staunch Particularist. In Würtemberg the most inveterate Democrats gave out the watchword: "French rather than Prussian," and a mass petition, which received 150,000 signatures, demanded the introduction of a militia army on the Swiss model.

War Plans of Archduke Albert

The French Emperor's War Council



ARCHDUKE ALBERT
As field-marshal he commanded in Italy, and afterwards reorganised the Austrian army. Foreseeing the Franco-German war, he advised France to strike the first blow.

King Charles replied in March, 1870, by the dismissal of Gessler, Minister of the Interior, who was accused of weakness, and by summoning Suckow to the War Ministry. The latter declared his readiness to make a reduction in the war Budget—a step to which his predecessor, Wagner, had not consented—but in other respects to maintain the army organisation on the Prussian system, which had only been introduced in 1868. A keen-sighted French observer, the military plenipotentiary, Colonel Stoffel,

himself warned the Emperor Napoleon against overestimating the Particularist forces. In any case, it was very dubious whether the French could and would fulfil the conditions on which Austria made its co-operation depend—in the event, that is, of its being forced into war by the breach of the Treaty of Prague, which it postulated as the preliminary condition for any military action. The impression thus won ground even there, that, in spite of the tension in the European situation, in spite of the passions and personal influences which were making towards a war, the maintenance of peace, for the year 1870 at least, still seemed probable at the beginning of July.



ISABELLA II., QUEEN OF SPAIN
Under the rule of this queen the government of Spain fell into disrepute owing to her unworthy character, and at last, in 1868, she was expelled to France, abdicating in favour of her son, Alfonso XII. She died in 1904.
From a photograph

The government of Queen Isabella II. of Spain had long fallen into complete disrepute owing to the unworthy character of the queen, who had openly broken her marriage vows. Since Isabella abandoned herself entirely to the reactionary party, the Liberals rose, under the leadership of Francisco Serrano and Juan Prim, on September 20th, 1868. After the defeat of the royal army at the bridge of Alcolea on the Guadalquivir, in which the commander-in-chief, General Pavia, was severely wounded on September 28th, the queen, who was just then staying at the seaside watering-place, San Sebastian, was obliged to fly, with her family and her "intendant," Carlos Marfori, to France.

The idea which the bigoted queen had still been entertaining of sending Spanish troops to Rome in place of the French was thus destroyed. The victorious Liberals did not contemplate relieving the Emperor of France from the burden of protecting the Pope. They held fast to the monarchy, nevertheless; and as all attempts to obtain as king either Duke Thomas of Genoa, the nephew of the King of Italy, who was still a minor, or the clever Ferdinand of Coburg-Gotha, the titular King of Portugal, a widower since 1853, were abortive, they offered the throne to the latter's son-in-law, the hereditary Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, born in 1835, who was a Catholic, happily married, the father of sons, an upright and energetic man in the prime of life. During 1869, the proposal was laid privately before the hereditary prince himself and his father, the reigning prince, Charles Anthony; but it received a refusal, since the undertaking appeared far too rash. The state of affairs was not altered until a new attempt was made, in February, 1870. Salazar, the previous emissary, was now sent with letters of Prim's to the prince, the hereditary prince, King William, and Bismarck. He went first to Berlin. King William thought the offer should not be accepted; but he recognised that, according to the family laws applying to the whole House of Hohenzollern, he had, as head of the house, no right of prohibition in this case. Bismarck behaved differently. He did not, indeed, promise himself any direct military assistance from Spain if a Hohenzollern wore the Spanish Crown, but closer friendly relations between the two countries, and, as a result, a strengthening of the position of Germany by "one if not two army corps," and more especially by improved commercial intercourse. He therefore advised the hereditary prince "to abandon all scruples and to accept the candidature in the interest of Germany."

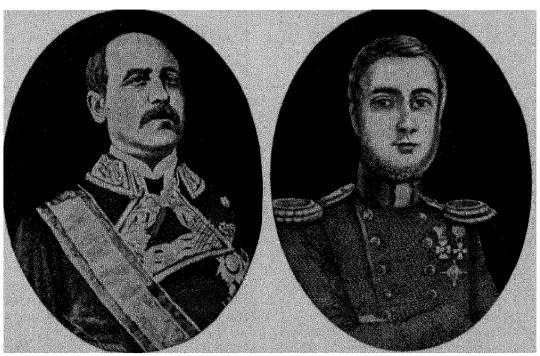
Vacant Throne of Spain

But the prince could not even yet make up his mind. It was only natural to consider the effect of such a

candidature on France. Robert von Keudell, one of Bismarck's trusted followers, expressly states that Bismarck did not foresee any danger of an outbreak of war on this ground, since Napoleon would sooner see the Hohenzollern in Madrid than either Isabella's brother-in-law, the Duke of Montpensier of the House of Orleans, or a republic. Napoleon also, who had been informed of the matter by Charles Anthony in the autumn of 1869, had said neither "yes" nor "no," and therefore seemed to raise no objection.

Bismarck's Agents In Spain

A renewed inquiry in Paris itself was impossible, since Prim had urgently begged for secrecy in the matter, in order that it might not be at once frustrated by the efforts of the Opposition. And, again, the House of Sigmaringen was so closely connected with the Bonapartes by Charles Anthony's mother, a Murat, and his wife, a Beauharnais, that the possibility was not excluded that Napoleon III. would actually consent. Bismarck now secretly sent to Spain two trusty agents, Bucher and Versen, who brought back satisfactory news; but all this was done in a personal and private way, and the Prussian Government was not implicated. Finally, in order to escape from the candidature of the Duke of Montpensier, which was naturally unpalatable to the Spanish authorities, Salazar was once more sent to Sigmaringen at the beginning of June, 1870, and this time received the consent of Charles Anthony and of Leopold. A great moment seemed to have arrived for the House of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, and Leopold felt it a heavy responsibility to withdraw from a people "which, after a long period of weakness, was making manly efforts to raise its national civilisation to a higher plane"; that is to say, to free itself from the dominion of the Ultramontanes. The candidature of Leopold was thereupon officially proclaimed in Madrid on July 4th, and the Cortes was summoned for July 20th to elect a king.



LEADERS OF THE SPANISH LIBERALS

Francisco Serrano and Juan Prim, whose portraits are given above, led the rising of the Spanish Liberals against the reactionary party and the queen, this movement, in 1868, resulting in the dethronement and flight of Isabella and her family. Serrano twice acted as regent before the government was given into the hands of Alfonso XII.

Throughout the whole affair the point at issue was a matter which in the first instance was a completely private concern of the Spanish nation. The Spaniards could clearly elect any person they wished to be king, and if they looked for such a person among the scions of sovereign or formerly sovereign houses, all that could be demanded was that the elected king should renounce all hereditary right to another throne, in order that a union of the Spanish with another monarchy, and the consequent danger to the balance of power in Europe, might be avoided for all time to come. In the case in point no such renunciation was necessary, since the Swabian line of the Hohenzollerns possessed no hereditary rights, and the hereditary prince, Leopold, accordingly could not be called a Prussian prince.

The Prussian Government, therefore, as such took absolutely no share in the question since it could claim no right to influence the decision; the king, the crown prince, and Bismarck had given their opinion merely as private individuals. Nevertheless the official news of the proposed candidature of Leopold fell like a thunderbolt on Paris, and Gramont was at once convinced that he had once more to do with a diabolical stratagem of Bismarck's against the interests and honour of France. Although the French representative in Madrid telegraphed that Prim declared every charge against Bismarck to be groundless, and asseverated that the candidature was the exclusive work of the Spanish nation, Gramont allowed a question to be asked him on the point, in the legislative body, on July 6th. In answer, he explained defiantly that France, with all respect for the wishes of the Spanish nation, would not allow a foreign Power to place one of its princes

on the throne of Charles V, and thus disturb the equilibrium of Europe Gramont's language inspired a general fear of approaching war, which his further procedure confirmed He ordered Count Benedetti, who was taking the cure in Wildbad, to put the request before King William in Ems that, since he had allowed Leopold's candidature and thus mortified France, he would now impress upon the prince the duty of withdrawing his assent But the king obviously could not be persuaded to do that, what, according to the family laws, he could not have sanctioned, he was also unable to forbid, especially after Gramont's behaviour on July 6th He sent, however, an intimation to Sigmaringen that he would personally have no objection to any renunciation which the prince might choose to make Faced by the danger of plunging Germany and Spain into war if he persevered in his candidature, Leopold actually withdrew from his candidature on July 12th

Relations of Germany and Spain

King William sent the telegram of the "Kolnishe Zeitung," which contained this news, by the hand of his adjutant Prince Anton Radziwill, to the French ambassador on the promenade at Ems on the morning of July 13th The king considered the incident closed, and that was the view of the whole world, as it was the wish of Napoleon and Ollivier Gramont thought differently, he insisted that the king must be brought into the affair, and therefore pledge himself never to grant his approval should the candidature be renewed Benedetti received telegraphic orders from his superior to tell the king this on that very morning of July 13th

He did so, and met with a refusal, but repeated it and "at last very pressingly," as the king telegraphed to Bismarck at Berlin, so that the king finally, in order to get rid of him, sent him a message by his aide-de-camp to the effect that he had no further communications to make to him The king left it to Bismarck's discretion whether he would or would not communicate at once this new demand of Benedetti's and its rejection to the North German ambassadors among foreign Powers and to the Press But he distinctly did not command this communication to be made Bismarck, who had returned from Varzin in deep distress at the king's long-suffering patience towards the French, conferred with Roon and Moltke in Berlin and was resolved to remain Minister no longer unless some satisfaction was obtained for the audacious behaviour of the French, and he deserves all credit for having never flinched for a moment To force a war, which he regarded as a terrible calamity, if Keudell may be believed, and as likely to be the first in a long series of racial conflicts, was a policy which Bismarck would never have adopted merely for the sake of hastening that union between North and South which was certain to come sooner or later.

Audacious Behaviour of the French

But now, when the war was forced upon him, when it could not be avoided without the "cankering sore" of a deep humiliation to a people just struggling into national life, he knew no scruples, and no hesitation At eleven o'clock at night, on July 13th, the celebrated telegram from Ems was sent to the editor of the semi-official "Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung" and to the embassies The message reproduced verbatim the telegram, composed by Abeken, which the king had sent to Bismarck from Ems, with the omission of any irrelevant matter, and ran as follows "After the news of the resignation of Prince Hohenzollern had been officially communicated to the imperial French Government by the royal Spanish Government, the French ambassador in Ems further requested His Majesty the king to authorise him to telegraph to Paris that His Majesty pledged himself for the future never to give his assent if the Hohenzollerns should renew their candidature His Majesty thereupon declined to grant another audience to the French ambassador, and informed the latter through his aide-de-camp that His Majesty had no further communication to make to the ambassador"

Germany's Rebuff to France

This telegram, which was known throughout Germany on July 14th, evoked on all sides the deepest satisfaction that a clear and well-merited rebuff had been given to French presumption, and this satisfaction was increased when it was learnt that Gramont had made a further demand of the ambassador, Baron Karl von Werther, in Paris, namely, that the King of Prussia should write a letter to the Emperor Napoleon, in which he should declare that he had no intention of insulting France when he agreed to the

candidature of Leopold. The telegram from Ems in no way compelled the war, that was rather done by the French arrogance towards Germany, it was as Strauss wrote to Renan "We are fighting again with Louis XIV"

The acerbity of King William's refusal to pledge himself permanently was fully felt in Paris, but the fact could not be disguised that, in view of the withdrawal of a candidature described by France as unendurable, no one in Europe would approve of the conduct of the Imperial Government if it declared itself dissatisfied The majority, therefore, of the Ministers rejected Gramont's demand that the reserves should be called out, it was left to Gramont to put up with this reprimand for his officious procedure, or to resign

This was in the morning of July 14th The emperor himself also was for peace, since he knew the military strength of the Germans, and considered the pretext for the war inappropriate Even the Empress Eugenie seems to have been unjustly accused of having urged on the war from hatred of heretical Germany, and from anxiety as to her son's prospects

France Eager for War

Yet the feeling in the Cabinet Council veered round in the course of July 14th, and late at night the resolution to mobilise was taken, the British ambassador, Lord Lyons, aptly suggested the reason in the following words "The agitation in the army and in the nation was so strong that no government which advocated peace could remain in office"

The emperor, his heart full of evil forebodings, yielded to this tide of public opinion, Ollivier and the entire Ministry could not resist it On the plea of a freshly arrived telegram, which in spite of the wishes of the Opposition was not produced —it cannot have been the telegram from Ems, which was already known - a motion was brought forward on July 15th in the legislative body for the calling out of the Garde Mobile and for the grant of sixty-six millions for the army and the fleet, after a stormy discussion it was carried by 245 votes against 10 votes of the Extreme Left The French nation had forced its government into war, its representatives almost unanimously approved

The official declaration of war against Prussia by Napoleon was announced in Berlin by the chargé d'affaires, Georges Le Sourd, on July 19th. The situation had developed with such rapidity, through Gramont's impetuosity and Benedetti's mission to Ems, that this declaration of war is the only official document which came to the Prussian Government from Paris To judge by the official records, the war seems to have commenced like a pistol-shot, whereas, in reality, it was due to causes stretching back over past centuries The relations of the German and the French nations, which had been steadily changing since 1552, to the disadvantage of the former, were destined to be definitely readjusted by the war, and the absolute independence of Germany from the "preponderance" of France was to be once for all established

How Germany Received the Challenge

The whole of Germany felt at once that this was so The declaration of war was like the stroke of a magician's wand in its effect upon the internal feuds and racial animosities by which the German nation had been hitherto divided They vanished, and, with them, the mistaken hope of France that now, as on so many former occasions, Germany might be defeated with the help of Germans The spokesmen of the anti-Prussian party in the South remained as perverse and obstinate as ever, but they no longer had behind them the masses, who, at the moment when the national honour and security seemed menaced, obeyed the call of patriotism with a gratifying determination, and felt that, not merely by virtue of the treaties to which they had sworn, but also by virtue of unwritten right, the cause of Germany was to be found in the camp of Prussia

When the king travelled, on July 15th, from Ems via Coblenz to Berlin, his journey became a triumphal progress through Germany Being informed at the Berlin railway station of the resolutions of the French Chambers, he decided to mobilise the whole Northern army, and not merely some army corps, as he had originally intended He fixed July 16th as the first day for all preparations to be completed That same day King Lewis II of Bavaria, since the casus fœderis had occurred and Bavaria, by the treaty, had to furnish help, ordered the Bavarian army to be put on a war footing On July 17th, the same order was given by King Charles I of Wurtemberg, who had hastened back from St Moritz to Stuttgart The North German Reichstag assembled on July 19th

Mobilising the Armies of Germany

It was greeted with a speech from the throne, which in its dignified strength and simplicity is a model of patriotic eloquence such as could only flow from the classic pen of Bismarck "If Germany silently endured in past centuries the violation of her rights and her honour, she only endured it because in her distraction she did not know her strength

Bismarck's Historic Declaration

To-day, when her armour shows no flaw to the enemy, she possesses the will and the power to resist the renewed violence of the French . God will be with us as with our fathers" The Reichstag unanimously, except for the two Social Democrats, granted £18,000,000 for the conduct of the war, the South German Landtags did the same The enthusiastic self-devotion with which the German nation, excepting naturally the Guelf legion and the great financial houses, which even at this epoch-making moment thought only of themselves, rose up in every district to fight for honour, freedom, and unity, was, in one respect, more remarkable than that which the great days of 1813 had brought to light, for the first time in German history Germany arose as a united whole

While the armies were collecting, Bismarck published in "The Times" the offer which France had made him through Benedetti in August, 1866, proposing an offensive and defensive alliance between Prussia and France, by it Luxemburg and Belgium were to be assigned to France, which in return would allow Prussia a free hand in Germany The British ex-Minister, Lord Malmesbury, called this scheme a "detestable document," because it furnished, in spite of Benedetti's embarrassed attempts at denial, a proof that the French Government had been prepared to annihilate its neighbours, who were only protected by the law of nations, without any just claim It was solely due to Prussia's sense of justice and astuteness that Napoleon's purpose was not successfully accomplished Such revelations contributed their share to the result that no arm was raised in Europe for France Great Britain at once declared her neutrality, and British merchants derived large profits from the war by supplying coal and munitions of war to the French Russia was favourably disposed to Prussia; it feared that an insurrection of the Poles might break out on any advance of the French to Berlin, and hoped to obtain during the war an opportunity to cancel the Treaty of Paris of 1856 In Italy King Victor Emmanuel was indeed personally inclined to support the French, on whose side he had fought in 1855 and 1859, but his Ministers were opposed to a war which was waged against the growing unity of Germany Any hindrance to this growth must signify a defeat of the principle of nationality, and thus become dangerous to the unity of Italy The lowest price at which Italy could be won was in any case the surrender of Rome, but Napoleon III stood in awe of the clerical party, and could not make up his mind to a step which would incense them

Neutrality of European Powers

The policy of Austria was at least transparent She intended to complete her preparations for war under the cloak of neutrality, without exposing herself to a premature attack from the side of Russia The rapidity with which the French army was crushed, however, by the Germans soon stifled any wish to take part in the war which had been felt at Vienna

On the eve of the declaration of war, on July 18th, an event involving grave issues occurred at Rome The Vatican Council, assembled since December 8th, 1869, was oppressed from the outset by the sense of an inevitable destiny The Opposition reckoned some 150 bishops and abbots But it was out-voted in the ratio of three to one by the supporters of infallibility, and was itself divided, since one part alone was opposed to the dogma itself, the other part only did not wish to see it proclaimed just then Besides this the papal plenipotentiaries conducted the proceedings in such a way as to preclude any notion of freedom in the expression of opinions or in voting After a trial vote of July 13th had shown the result that 451 ayes and 88 noes were recorded, and a deputation of the Opposition to the Pope had produced no effect, most of the Opposition left Rome

The Papal Dogma of Infallibility

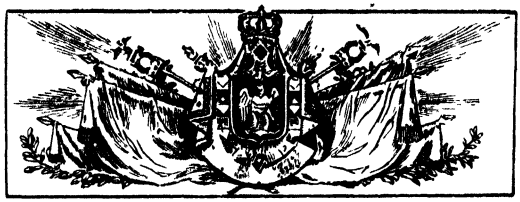
Thus, on July 18th, 1870, amid the crashes of a terrible storm which shrouded the council hall in darkness, the dogma was accepted, by 533 votes against two, that the Pope of Rome, when he speaks ex cathedra to settle some point of faith and morals, is infallible, and that such decisions are in themselves unalterable even by the common consent of the Church



THE FRENCH SOLDIERS' UNREALISED DREAM OF VICTORY

From a photochrome of the famous painting, "The Dream," by Detaille, in the Luxemburg Gallery

TO FACE PAGE 5103



THE DOWNFALL OF THE SECOND FRENCH EMPIRE

AND THE FOUNDING OF THE THIRD REPUBLIC

IT was to be expected, from the rapidity with which France had brought on the outbreak of the war, that she would have the start of the Germans in its preparations, and would bring the war as soon as possible into Germany Lebœuf, the Minister of War, certainly used the phrase, "We are absolutely ready to the last gaiter-button," and possibly the emperor hoped to break the spirit of Prussia by rapid blows, and then to incorporate Belgium But it was soon shown that France was not ready

"There was a deficiency," so the French historian, Arthur Chuquet says, "in money, in food, in camp-kettles, cooking utensils, tents, harness, medicine, stretchers, everything, in short", the existing railways were inadequate to convey to the frontiers the 300,000 men whom France had at her disposal for the war, so that half of them were obliged to march on foot The regiments were not constructed according to definite and compact geographical districts Alsatians had to travel to Bayonne in order to join the ranks of their regiments, and southerners to Brittany The result, under the stress of circumstances, was an irremediable confusion and an unusual delay in the advance On the other hand, the mobilisation proceeded quickly and easily among the Germans where everything had been prepared as far as could be beforehand, and every day was assigned its proper task Moltke made the suggestive remark that the fourteen days of the mobilisation, during which there was nothing to carry out that had not been long foreseen, were some of the most tranquil days of his life

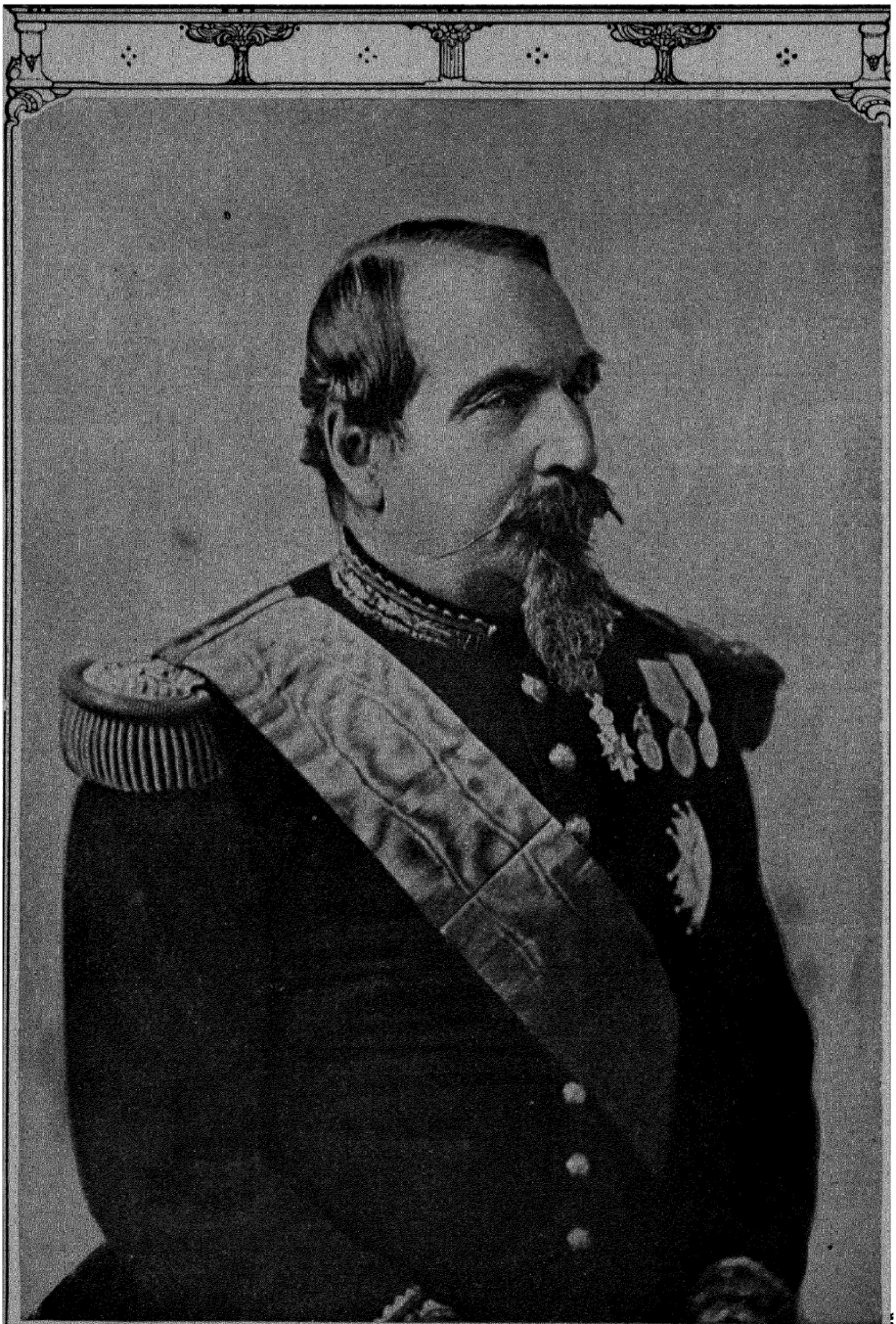
France Unprepared for War

The French, according to the original and proper intention, formed one single army, the army of the Rhine, whose commander-in-chief was to be the emperor, with Lebœuf as chief of the General Staff, but when it came to the point, this army was divided into two forces, one of 200,000 men under Marshal Bazaine in Metz, and one of 100,000 men under Marshal MacMahon in Strassburg The German troops were divided into three armies The first was posted, under General Steinmetz, north-east of Trèves, round Wittlich, and was made up of the 7th and the 8th corps, from the Rhine districts and Westphalia, it numbered some 60,000 men Next to it came the second army, under Prince Frederic Charles, which consisted of the 3rd, 4th, and 10th corps, that is to say, of Brandenburgers, Saxons from the province, and Hanoverians, and of the Guards, it took up its position round Neunkirchen and Homburg, and was 134,000 strong Finally, the third army, 130,000 men, was placed under the command of the Crown Prince Frederic William, to it belonged the 5th and 11th corps, from Posen, Hesse, and Thuringia, as well as the Bavarians, Wurtembergers, and Badeners, they were stationed at Rastatt and Landau

The Three Armies of Germany

The Crown Prince, before going to the front, visited the South German courts and quickly won the hearts of his soldiers by his chivalrous and kindly nature Strong reserves stood behind the three armies namely, the 9th and 12th corps, the Schleswig-Holsteiners and the Saxons from the kingdom, at Mainz, and the 1st, 2nd, and 6th corps, the East Prussians, Pomeranians, and Silesians, who on account of the railway conditions could not be sent to the front until the twentieth day, and were also intended to be kept in readiness for all emergencies against Austria The sea-coast was to be guarded against the expected attacks of the French fleet by the 17th division, Magdeburg and the Hanse towns, and by the Landwehr. Moltke, as chief of the Prussian General

Guarding Germany's Sea-coast



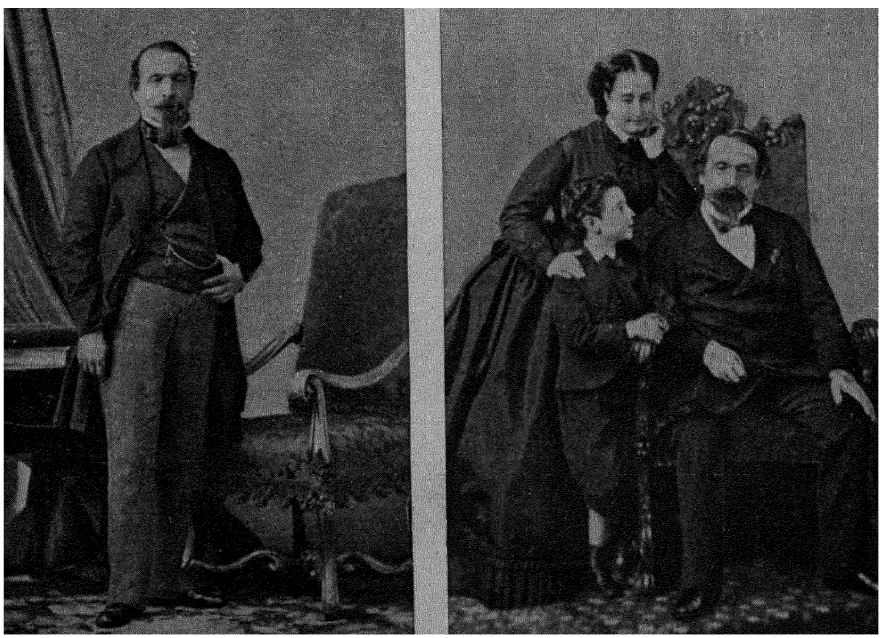
NAPOLEON III., EMPEROR OF THE FRENCH
From a photograph

Staff, disclaimed all idea of a minutely elaborated plan, since the execution of such a plan cannot be guaranteed, for every battle creates a new situation, which must be treated and regarded by itself.

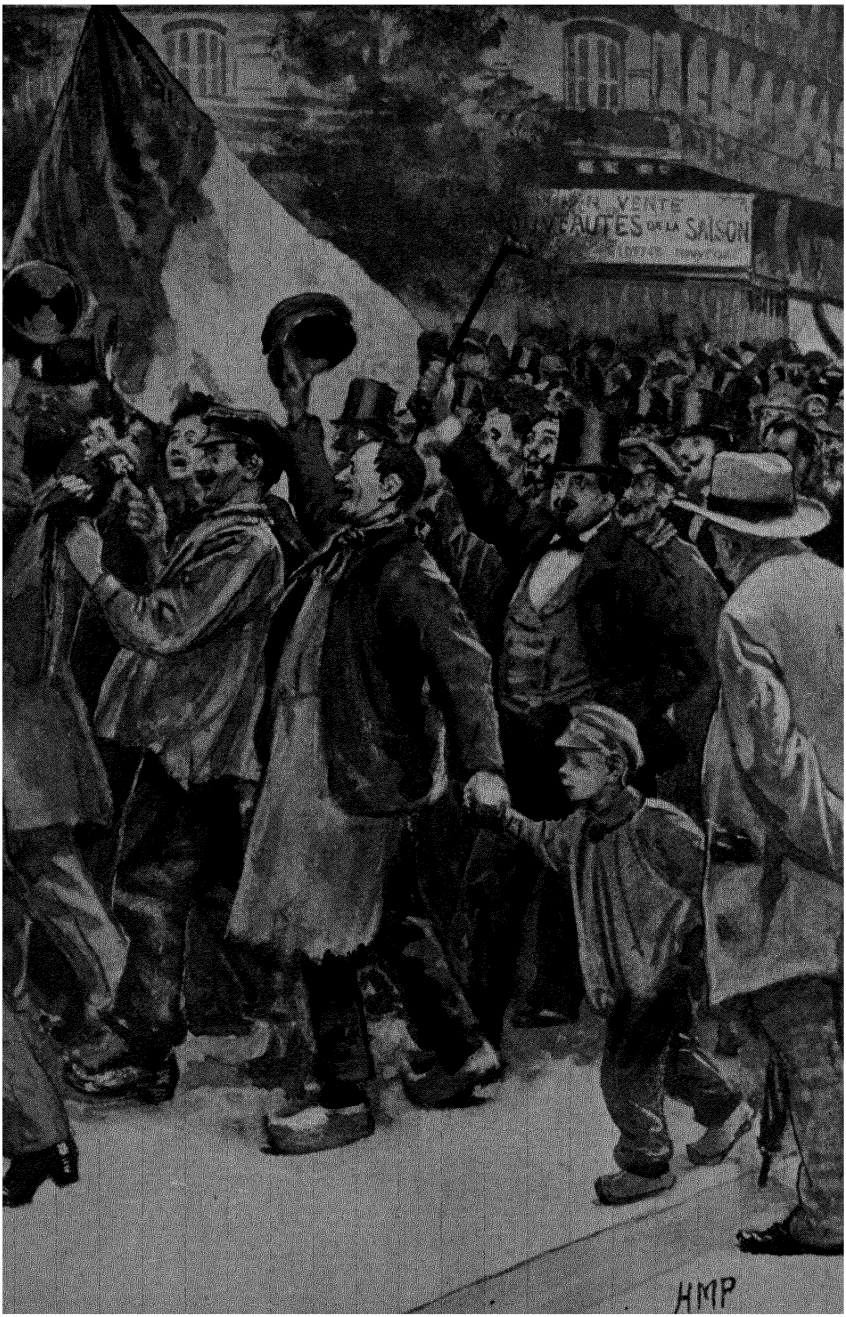
Moltke therefore laid down three points only as of paramount importance. First, when the enemy is met, he must be attacked with full strength; secondly, the goal of all efforts is the enemy's capital, the possession of which, owing to strict centralisation of the French Government, is of paramount importance in a war against France; thirdly, the enemy's forces are, if possible, to be driven, not towards the rich south of France, but towards the north, which is poorer in resources and bounded by the sea. Since no blow was intended to be struck before the advance of the entire army was completed and the full weight of a combined attack was assured, the French had for a few days apparently a free hand, and with three army corps drove back out of Saarbrücken on August 2nd the three battalions of those opposed to them. During the operations the emperor took his son, a boy of fourteen, under fire; according to the official telegram "some soldiers shed tears of joy when they saw the prince so calm." But the satisfaction was soon turned into chagrin when the third army, in order to cover the left flank of the second army, which was advancing towards the Saar, marched closer to it, and on August 4th attacked the French division of General Abel Douay, which occupied the town of Weissenburg.



EMPRESS EUGENIE OF FRANCE
From a photograph



NAPOLEON III. AND THE EMPEROR AND EMPRESS WITH THEIR SON
From photographs



"À BERLIN!" THE PARISIAN CROWDS DECLARING FOR WAR WITH GERMANY

The prospect of a war with Germany roused the inhabitants of Paris to a state of the highest enthusiasm, and for weeks they deluded themselves with hopes of victory, shouting themselves hoarse with the cry, "À Berlin!" The defeats that followed brought with them terrible disillusionment, and the whole blame was laid on the Government.

and the Gaisberg lying south of it, and utterly defeated it. Among the prisoners was a number of Turcos or Arab soldiers from Algiers, whom Napoleon, though they could not be reckoned as civilised soldiers, had no scruples in employing in the war against the Germans; but they could not resist the impetuous valour of the Bavarians and Poseners. On August 6th the third army on its advance into Alsace encountered the army of Marshal MacMahon, which occupied a strong position near the small town of Wörth, on the right bank of the Sauerbach, a tributary of the Rhine. The Bavarians attacked on the right, the Prussians on the left, and in the last period of the protracted and bloody battle the Würtembergers had also the chance of intervening with success. The end was that the French, whose numerical inferiority was counterbalanced by their formidable positions on heights and vineyards, were completely defeated, and with a loss of 16,000 men and 33 cannons they poured into the passes of the Vosges in headlong flight. "After they had fought like lions," says Arthur Chuquet, "they fled like hares." The Germans paid for the brilliant victory, which gave to them Lower Alsace with the exception of Strassburg, by a loss of 10,000 men, among whom were nearly 500 officers.

On the same day the disgrace of Saarbrücken was wiped out by the German capture of the apparently impregnable heights of Spicheren, near Saarbrücken, although only twenty-seven German battalions were on the spot against thirty-nine of the French, whose commander, since he did not wish to be cut off from Metz, saw himself compelled to make a hasty retreat, which abandoned Eastern Lorraine to the Germans. The news from the scene of war produced in Paris, where for weeks the inhabitants had deluded themselves with infatuated hopes of victory, and had shouted themselves hoarse with the cry "à Berlin!" a terrible disillusionment, and then a fierce bitterness against the Government, on whose shoulders all the blame for the defeats was laid, since that was the most convenient thing to do. The Ollivier Ministry was overthrown by a vote of want of confidence in the Chambers, which declared it incapable to organise the defence of the country; but the Republicans did not succeed in their intention of placing an executive committee of the Chambers at the head of the country, and so superseding the Empire offhand. On the contrary, the empress transferred the premiership to General Palikao, who took the Ministry of War from Lebœuf and gave him the command of a corps. The emperor wished at first to retire with his whole army to the camp of Châlons-sur-Marne, where MacMahon was collecting the fragments of his army and gathering fresh troops round him. But since the abandonment of the whole of Eastern France to its fate would have been a political mistake, Napoleon remained for the moment stationary in Metz, against which the first and second

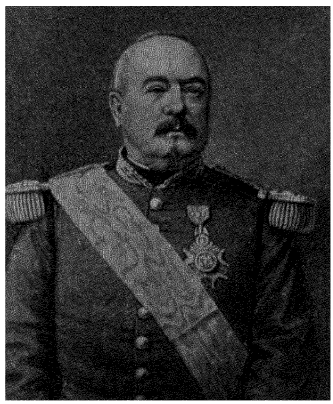


MARSHAL MACMAHON
A distinguished soldier who had served France in earlier wars, he commanded the first army corps in the Franco-German War, and, defeated at Wörth, was captured at Sedan. He was elected President of the Republic in 1873.



GENERAL STEINMETZ
A Prussian general of experience and distinction, he commanded one of the three German armies in the Franco-German War, and after failing in his task at Gravelotte, was appointed Governor-General of Posen and Silesia.

armies now were put into movement, while the third advanced through the Vosges toward Châlons. Since this latter had the longer way to march, the king issued orders that the two other armies should advance more slowly, in order that the combined German forces might compose an unbroken and continuous mass with a front of equal depth, and that the enemy might not find any opportunity to throw himself in overwhelming numbers on any one part. On August 14th the advance guard of the first army, under Goltz, had almost reached the gates of Metz, when they found the French main army preparing to retreat. In order to check them on the right bank of the Moselle and to bring on a pitched battle at Metz, Goltz, in spite of his inferior numbers, attacked the enemy. The French, eager at last to chastise the bold assailant, immediately wheeled round; but, just as at Spicheren, the nearest German regiments, so soon as they heard the thunder of the cannons, hurried to the assistance of Goltz, freed him from great danger, and drove the French back under the fort of St. Julien, which, with its heavy guns, took part at nightfall in the fierce engagement. Thus the retreat of the French was delayed by one day, and in the meantime the main body of the Germans had reached the Moselle. Napoleon, yielding to public opinion, now resigned the supreme command to Marshal Bazaine, in whom the army and navy reposed unfounded confidence, left Metz with precipitate haste on August 14th, and entered Châlons with MacMahon on the 17th. The main army itself did not leave Metz until August 15th, and then only advanced five miles in a whole day, since the baggage train blocked all the roads. Meantime, the Third Army Corps, that of the Brandenburgers, had reached the road which leads from Metz past Vionville and Mars-la-Tour to Verdun and the valley of the Meuse, and their general, Alvensleben, determined at all hazards to block the further march of the enemy in that direction, although he was well aware that he would have four French corps opposed to him, and for a considerable time could count on no support being brought up. A desperate struggle began on August 16th. At two o'clock in the afternoon Alvensleben had not a single infantry battalion or any artillery in reserve; so that when Marshal Canrobert, with sound judgment, pressed on in order to break up the exhausted German line, the Twelfth Cavalry Brigade was compelled to attack the enemy, notwithstanding all the difficulties of a cavalry attack on infantry armed with chassepots. This "Charge of the 800" recalls that of Balaclava; only half of them came back. But here it saved the day. "Canrobert did not move again that whole day; he might have broken through, but from the furious onslaught of Bredow's six squadrons he feared to fall into a trap and kept quiet." But since gradually the Tenth Corps from the left and the Eighth Corps from the right came to Alvensleben's support, the danger passed; the Germans, who on this day faced a great army of 120,000 French at first with 29,000 and later with 65,000 men, were in possession of the field of battle. Of the roads by which Bazaine could reach Verdun from Metz, the southern was blocked against him; he could only effect



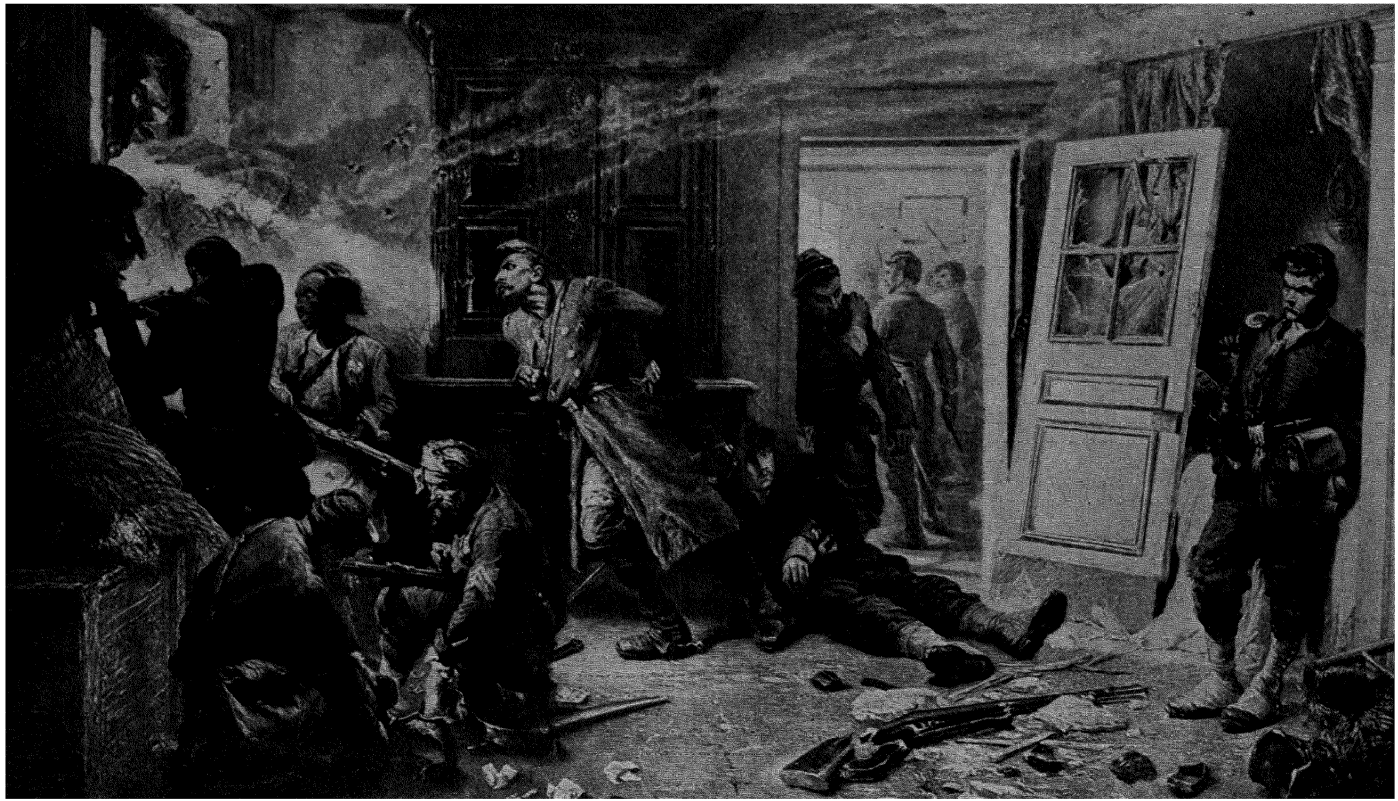
MARSHAL BAZAINE
Resigning the supreme command of the French army and yielding to public opinion, Napoleon appointed Marshal Bazaine to that office, but the anticipated success did not follow. Bazaine capitulating to the enemy at Metz.



CROWN PRINCE OF SAXONY
In the Franco-German War the 9th and 12th Corps, as well as the Guards, were placed, as "the Meuse Army," under Crown Prince Albert of Saxony, who had the reputation of being a splendid leader.



GERMANY'S CONQUERING EMPEROR: THE TRIUMPHAL ENTRY OF WILLIAM I. INTO BERLIN ON JUNE 16TH, 1871
From the painting by Camphausen, by permission of the Berlin Photographic Co.



"THE LAST CARTRIDGE": AN EPISODE IN THE GLORIOUS DEFENCE OF BAZEILLES BY THE FRENCH, SEPTEMBER 1ST, 1870

The incident represented in this famous picture occurred at the village of Bazeilles, situated at the crossing of the Douzy and Sedan roads. Pressed by the Bavarian attack, the French retired, but a handful of men in an isolated house to the north of Bazeilles maintained a prolonged resistance against overwhelming odds until their ammunition became exhausted.

From the painting by De Neuville

his retreat now on the northern road, by Saint-Privat. And that possibility was then taken from him, since on August 18th the two German armies, both of which meantime had crossed the Moselle above Metz, advanced to the attack on the entire front from Sainte-Marie-aux-Chênes and Saint-Privat to Gravelotte. In the course of the operations the Saxons, under the Crown Prince Albert, and the Guards, under Prince Augustus of Würtemberg, stormed the fortress-like position of Saint-Privat with terrific carnage; on the right wing at Gravelotte no success was attained.

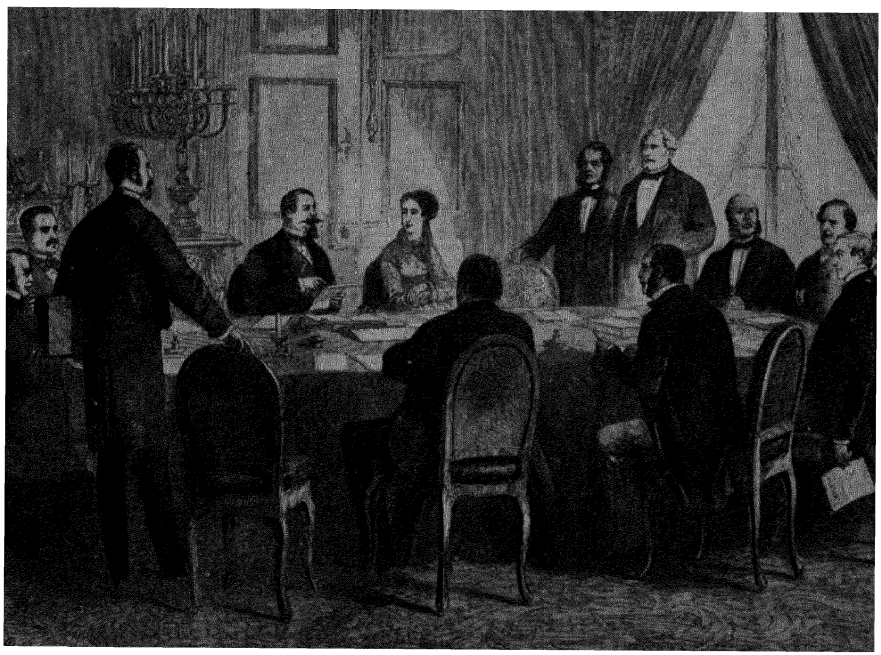
But the main point had been achieved. The great French army had been hurled back on Metz, and was immediately surrounded there by the Germans in a wide circle. The indecision of the French commander-in-chief was much to blame for this momentous issue to this prolonged struggle, in which some 180,000 men on either side ultimately took part. From fear of being finally cut off from Metz itself and surrounded in the open field, Bazaine kept a third of his forces in reserve; if he had staked these, he might, perhaps, have won the game. The casualties on either side were enormous. The Germans lost on the 14th, 16th, and 18th of August 5,000, 16,000, and 20,000 men, making a total of 41,000 killed,



COUNT VON MOLTKE

To his military genius Germany owed much of her success over France in the war of 1870. A great strategist and organiser, he prepared the army with wonderful skill, and thus laid the foundation of the many brilliant victories which followed.

From a photograph



NAPOLEON III. PRESIDING OVER A COUNCIL OF MINISTERS AT THE TUILERIES



A BRILLIANT ACHIEVEMENT OF GERMAN CAVALRY: THE "CHARGE OF THE EIGHT HUNDRED" ON AUGUST 16TH, 1870

This brilliant feat, accomplished by Germany's Twelfth Cavalry Brigade in an engagement with the French close to the walls of Metz, recalls the famous "Charge of the Ligh Brigade" at Balaclava, but in this instance the brave effort, though attended with the loss of half the brigade, was successful, as it repulsed the enemy and saved the day

From the painting by Aimé Morot in the Museum of Luxemburg



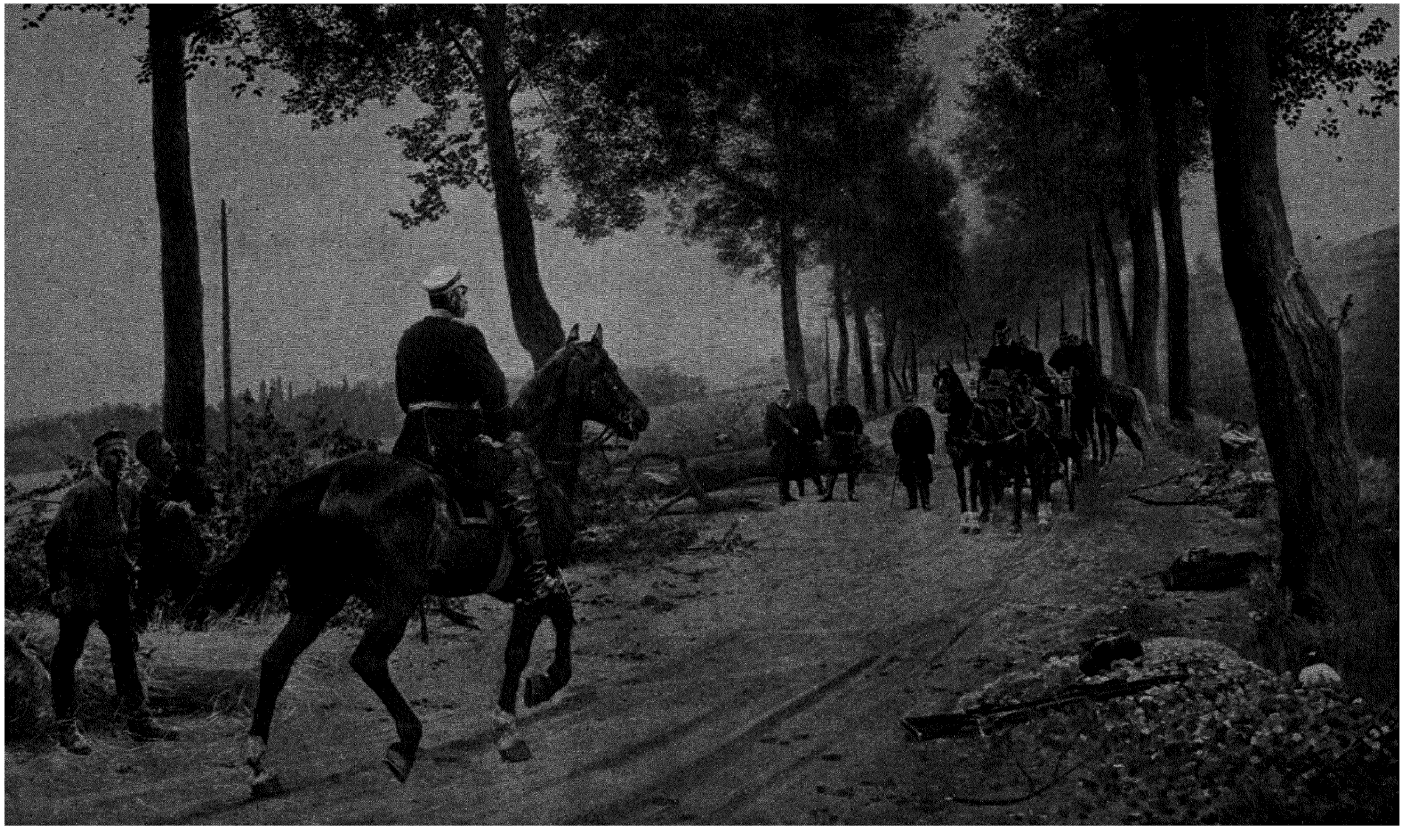
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THE BATTLE OF SEDAN: GENERAL MOLTKE DIRECTING THE OPERATIONS OF THE PRUSSIAN FORCES

From the painting by Anton von Werner, by permission of the Berlin Photographic Co.



GERMANY'S CONQUERING EMPEROR: THE TRIUMPHAL ENTRY OF WILLIAM I. INTO BERLIN ON JUNE 16TH, 1871
From the painting by Camphausen, by permission of the Berlin Photographic Co.



GERMANY'S CONQUERING EMPEROR: THE TRIUMPHAL ENTRY OF WILLIAM I. INTO BERLIN ON JUNE 16TH, 1871

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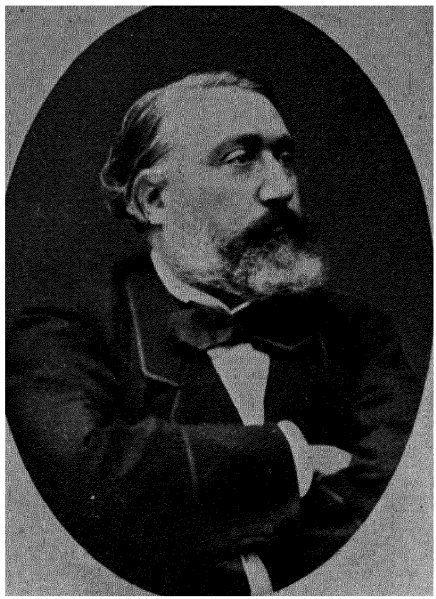
PRUSSIA'S ROYAL CAPTIVE: THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON III. AND COUNT BISMARCK ON THE MORNING AFTER SEDAN.
From the painting by Camphausen, by permission of the Berlin Photographic Co.



GERMANY'S CONQUERING EMPEROR: THE TRIUMPHAL ENTRY OF WILLIAM I. INTO BERLIN ON JUNE 16TH, 1871

From the painting by Camphausen, by permission of the Berlin Photographic Co.

wounded, and prisoners; the French, 3,600, 16,000, and 13,000, some 33,000 men in all. The comparative smallness of the French losses is explained by the fact that they were mostly on the defensive, although they ought properly to have attacked, and fought behind entrenchments. The French army in Metz was lost if a hand were not stretched out to it by its comrades-in-arms outside the town; it was rumoured that Bazaine would make a renewed attempt to meet the expected relieving force at Montmédy or Sedan. All the journals in Paris declared with one voice that Bazaine must be rescued at any cost. Under the pressure of this situation MacMahon, who had been reinforced at Châlons by a division recalled from the Spanish frontier and by four regiments of marines, and had been nominated commander-in-chief of all the forces outside Metz, decided not to retreat to Paris—the course which seemed to him most correct in itself—but to leave the camp of Châlons to its fate and march on Montmédy by way of Vouziers and Buzancy, and there effect a junction, if possible, with Bazaine.



LEON GAMBETTA

An advanced Liberal, he took office in the Government of National Defence after the proclamation of the Republic, becoming Minister of the Interior. He later became Dictator of France, and wished to continue the war against Germany, even after the surrenders of Metz and Paris.

From a photograph

King William had, meantime commanded Prince Frederic Charles to invest Metz. General Steinmetz, since he was not on good terms with Prince Frederic Charles, now his superior, and especially since he had failed in his task at Gravelotte, was appointed Governor-general of Posen and Silesia. The Ninth and Twelfth Corps, as well as the Guards, were placed, as "the Meuse Army," under Crown Prince Albert of Saxony, a splendid leader, and instructions were given to him to push on towards Châlons with the third army; his task was to frustrate all attempts of the French to take up a position there and advance on Metz. But when the Meuse army had passed Verdun, and the third army had reached Ste. Menehould, Headquarters, which followed these movements, learnt of MacMahon's march from Châlons and Rheims; Moltke immediately issued orders, on August 25th, that the two armies would wheel to the right, in order, if possible, to take MacMahon in the rear. This dangerous manœuvre, which extended, of course, to the baggage trains of the armies, was completely successful, without causing any confusion to the columns. MacMahon failed to see the favourable chance, which presented itself for several days, of hurling his 120,000 men against the 99,000 under the Crown Prince of Saxony and annihilating them before the third army came up. When MacMahon found no trace of Bazaine on August 27th at Montmédy, he wished to commence the retreat on Paris; but on the direct orders of Palikao, the Minister of War, and postponing military to political considerations, he continued his march in the direction of Metz, and hastened to his ruin. On August 30th the corps of General de Failly was attacked by the Bavarians and the Fourth Prussian Corps under Gustav von Alvensleben at Beaumont, and thrown back on Mouzon. The whole French army retired from that place to the fortress of Sedan, in the hope of being able to rest there and then to retire along the Belgian frontier northwards. But that was not allowed to happen. The Meuse army pressed on from the east, the third army from the west; the Eleventh Corps seized the bridge which crossed the Meuse at Donchery, and thus cut off the road to the north-west. The

The French Retire to Sedan

neighbourhood of Sedan was certainly easy to defend, since the Meuse, with other streams and gorges, presented considerable difficulties to an attack; but on September 1st the Germans, who outnumbered the French by almost two to one, advanced victoriously onwards, in spite of the most gallant resistance. The Bavarians captured Bazeilles on the south-west, where the inhabitants took part in the fight, and thus brought upon themselves the destruction of their village. The Eleventh Corps took the cavalry of Illy in the north. A great cavalry attack, under the Marquis de Gallifet, at Floing could not change the fortune of the day; the French army, thrown back from every side on to Sedan, had only the choice between surrendering or being destroyed with the fortress itself, which could be bombarded from all sides.

Victorious March of the Germans

Marshal MacMahon was spared the necessity of making his decision in this painful position; a splinter of a shell had severely wounded him in the thigh that very morning at half-past six. The general next to him in seniority, Baron Wimpffen, who had just arrived from Algiers, was forced, in consideration of the 600 pieces of artillery trained on the town, to conclude an unconditional surrender on September 2nd. In this way, besides 21,000 French who had been taken during the battle, 83,000 became prisoners of war; and with them 558 guns were captured. The French had lost 17,000 in killed and wounded, the Germans, 9,000; an army of 120,000 men was annihilated at a single blow. Two German corps were required to guard the prisoners and deport them gradually to Germany.

The Emperor Napoleon himself fell into the hands of the Germans, together with his army. It is attested, as indeed he wrote to King William, that he wished to die in the midst of his troops before consenting to such a step; but the bullets, which mowed thousands down, passed him by, in order that the man on whom, in the eyes of history, the responsibility for the war and the defeat rests, although the whole French nation was really to blame, might go before the monarch whom he had challenged to the fight, and that the latter might prove his magnanimity to



GAMBETTA PROCLAIMING THE REPUBLIC AT THE PALACE OF THE CORPS LÉGISLATIF

be not inferior to his strength. The meeting of the two monarchs took place at two o'clock in the Château of Bellevue near Frénois, during which Napoleon asserted that he had only begun the war under compulsion from the popular opinion of his country. The castle of Wilhelmshöhe near Cassel was assigned him as his abode, and the emperor was detained there in honourable confinement until the end of the war.

That evening the king, who in a telegram to his wife had given God the honour, proposed a toast to Roon, the Minister of War, who had whetted the sword, to Moltke, who had wielded it, and to Bismarck, who by his direction of Prussian policy for years had raised Prussia to her present pre-eminence. He modestly said nothing about himself, who had placed all these men in the responsible posts and rendered their efforts possible; but the voice of history will testify of him only the more loudly that he confirmed the truth of the saying of Louis XIV., "gouverner, c'est choisir"—the choice of the men and the means both require the decision of the monarch.

The victory of Sedan led to a series of momentous results. Not merely did it evoke in Germany general rejoicings, such as the capture of the monarch of a hostile state and of a great army necessarily call forth, but it powerfully stimulated the national pride and definitely shaped the will of the nation. Thousands of orators at festivities in honour of the victory and countless newspaper articles voiced the determination that such successes were partially wasted if they did not lead to the recovery of that western province which had been lost in less prosperous times, of Alsace and German Lorraine with Strassburg and Metz, and also to the establishment of that complete German unity which was first planned in 1866. Bismarck gave a competent expression to the former feeling when he declared in two notes to the ambassadors of the North German Confederation, on September 13th and 16th, that Germany must hold a better guarantee for her security than that of the goodwill of France.

So long as Strassburg and Metz remained in the possession of the French, France would be stronger to attack than Germany to defend; but once in the possession of Germany, both towns gained a defensive character, and the interests of peace were the interests of Europe. In the second place, the victory of Sedan affected the attitude of the neutral Powers. We know from the evidence of King William's letter of September 7th, 1870, to Queen Augusta that all kinds of cross-issues had cropped up before Sedan; that neutrals had contemplated pacific intervention with the natural object of taking from Germany the fruit of its victories. The ultimate source of these plans was Vienna, where much consternation at the German victories was bound to be felt. But they had found an echo in St. Petersburg also. The Tsar Alexander, it is true, loyally maintained friendly relations with Prussia, and his aunt, Helene, *née* Princess of Würtemberg, wife of the Grand Duke Michael Pavlovitch, brother of the Tsar Nicholas I., was a trustworthy support to the German party at court; but the Imperial Chancellor, Alexander Gortchakoff, expressed disapproval of every demand for a cession of French territory, since that would prove a new apple of discord between Germany and France, and thus a standing menace to the peace of Europe.

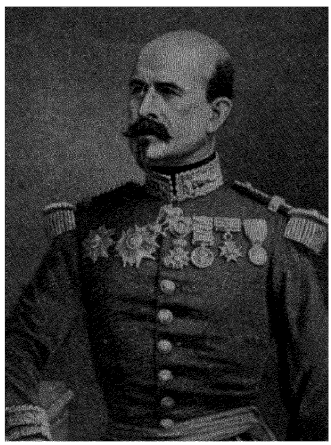
King William made the just remark that according to this view Germany must give back the whole left bank of the Rhine, since in that case only was tranquillity to be looked for from France. The battle of Sedan put an end to all wish en



HENRI ROCHEFORT

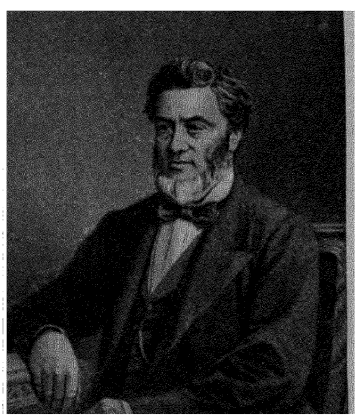
A Radical journalist, who had found it necessary to escape from France, he was elected a member of the National Assembly in 1870; but the honour carried with it no sobering influence, and once more he escaped for his life.

the part of neutrals to interfere in a war which they had not hindered. The extraordinary efficiency of the German army and the German military organisation had been manifested after a fashion which made the idea of intervention distinctly unattractive, if Germany did not court it. And Germany was very far from courting it. The Germans had faced the war by themselves; they had fought it by themselves; in effect they had won it by themselves. German piety and German poetry attributed the victory to the fact that the God of Battles was on the side of Germany; and Germany had no sort of intention of permitting the Powers which had looked on to arrange matters for the convenience of anyone but the Germans. The third result of the day of Sedan was that the French Empire fell with a crash. The Empress Eugenie received the official news of the surrender on the evening of September 2nd. She hesitated the whole of the 3rd as to what was to be done in this position. But on the 4th the Chamber had to be allowed to speak, and Jules Favre, the leader of the Left, immediately moved that Napoleon Bonaparte and his house should be declared deposed, and that the Corps Législatif should nominate a committee, which might exercise all the powers of the government, and whose task it should be to drive the enemy from the country. The Palikao Ministry also proposed a similar committee of five members to be nominated by the legislative body, but its lieutenant-general was to be Palikoa. The latter furnished a guarantee that the committee, on which, in any case, the majority of the Chamber would elect trustworthy Bonapartists, would keep the place warm for the Empire, which might be reinstated at a fitting hour. The fear of this incited the mob to act not with the Chamber, but against it. Crowds thronged into the galleries, and finally into the chamber itself, so that Eugène Schneider, the president, declared it an impossibility to continue the debate under such conditions, and the sitting was closed. The attempt to hold an evening sitting, and exclude all disturbance, could not now be carried out; at three o'clock the Senate also had to be closed. The Republic was then proclaimed at the Hôtel de Ville; and in its name the deputies of Paris, with the exception of Thiers, who refused, met as a provisional government. The Radical journalist, Rochefort, whom it was thus hoped to win over, and General Trochu, a Governor of Paris, were nominated members of it. Trochu became head of this government, and Jules Favre was his deputy. A Ministry was formed by this government on September 5th, in which Favre assumed the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the energetic lawyer, Léon Gambetta, that of the Interior, and General Leflô the War Office. The legislative body was at once dissolved, the Senate abolished; all officials were released from their oath to the emperor, and thirty new prefects, of strict republican views, were appointed. The German merchants who had hitherto remained in France were, so far as no special permission was granted to them, ordered to leave Paris and its vicinity within the space of twenty-four hours.



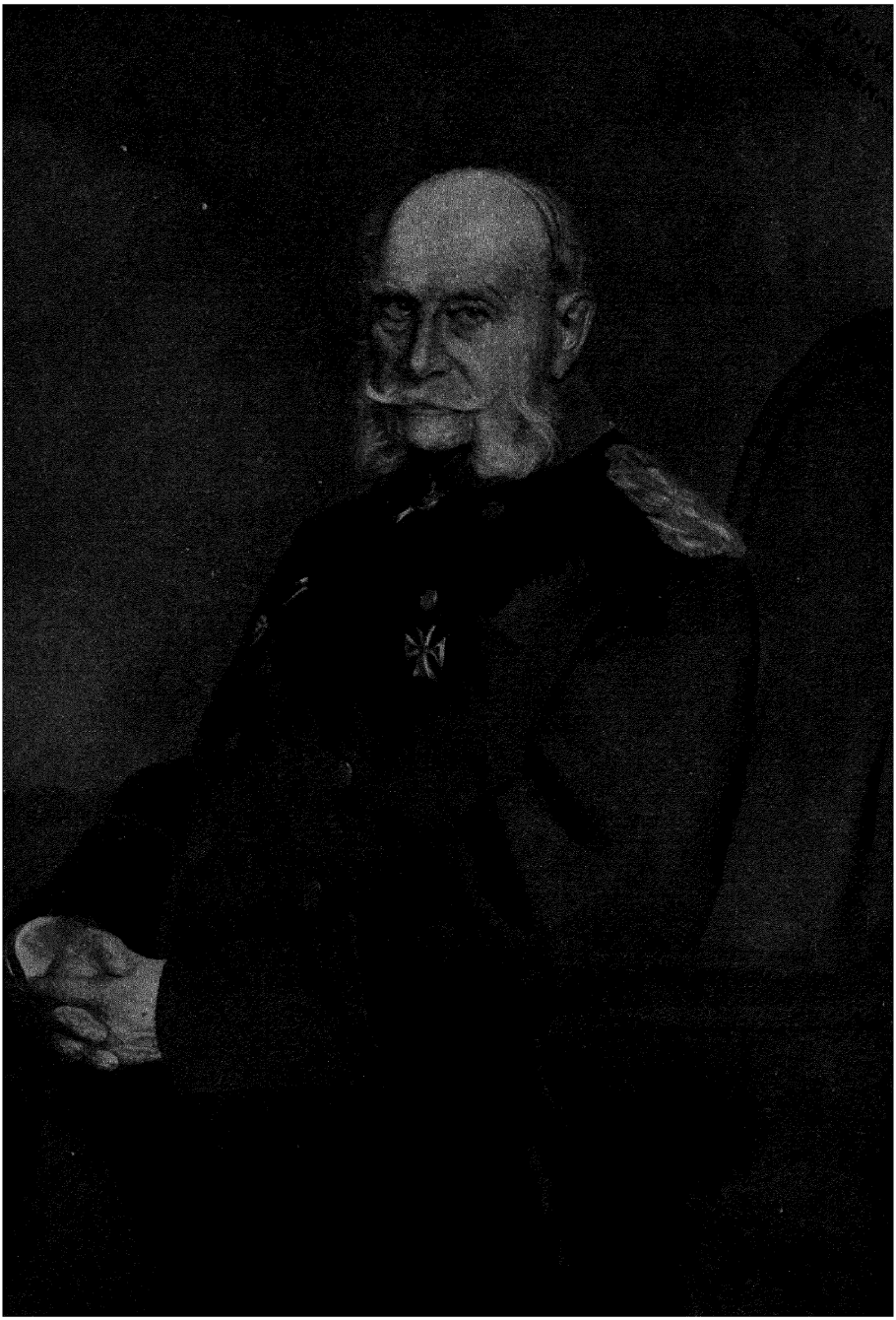
GENERAL TROCHU

After the proclamation of the Republic, General Trochu became head of the government; but he did not long hold office, resigning the governorship of Paris in 1871 and retiring into private life about two years afterwards.



JULES FAVRE

Elected Minister of Foreign Affairs in the National Assembly of 1870, he settled the terms for the capitulation of Paris in January, 1871, and resigned office a few months later.



WILLIAM I.: KING OF PRUSSIA AND FIRST GERMAN EMPEROR
From the painting by Lenbach, photo by Bruckmann

5124



THE BIRTH OF THE GERMAN EMPIRE
AND FRANCE IN HER HOUR OF DEFEAT

ON the burning question of the moment, whether France after these severe defeats should not seek peace, Favre declared in a circular of September 6th that if the King of Prussia wished to continue this deplorable war against France, even after the overthrow of the guilty dynasty, the Government would accept the challenge and would not cede an inch of national territory nor a stone of the fortresses. Thiers, who had volunteered for the task, was sent on September 12th to the neutral Powers, to induce them to intervene; but in view of the above-mentioned proclamations of Bismarck of September 13th and 16th, no Power thought it prudent to meddle, since Germany desired a cession of territory as emphatically as France refused one. Any agreement between the belligerents was thus for the time totally excluded. Thiers received in London, Vienna, St. Petersburg, and Florence, courteous words, but no support. Beust, deeply concerned, then wrote: "Je ne vois plus d'Europe"; even Gortchakoff drily advised the envoy to purchase peace without delay by some sacrifices, since later it might have to be bought more dearly.

Germans March on Paris

The Germans meanwhile were marching straight on Paris. Metz remained at the same time invested by the seven corps under Frederic Charles; the effort of Bazaine to play into MacMahon's hand on August 31st and September 1st, by a great attempt to break through at Noisseville, proved completely futile; 30,000 Germans had held a line of five and a half miles against 134,000 French.

Even the French fleet of ironclads, which appeared in August off Heligoland and Kolberg, could do nothing from its want of troops to land. Shattered by a terrible storm on September 9th, it returned ingloriously to its native harbours.

When the Germans, after the capture of Rheims and Laon appeared in the vicinity of Paris, Favre asked for an interview with Bismarck. Conversations between the two statesmen took place on September 19th and 20th in the châteaux of Haute Maison and Ferrières. Favre declared that cessions of territory could in any case only be granted by a National Assembly, and asked for fourteen days' armistice, in order that such an Assembly might be elected. Bismarck was ready to accede to the request, but asked, as compensation for the fact that France in these fourteen days of armistice could to some degree recover her breath, that the fortresses of Pfalzburg, Toul, and Strassburg should be surrendered. Since Favre would not hear of such conditions, the negotiations were thus broken off.

Favre and Bismarck in Conference

The Germans completed the investment of Paris on September 19th, and forced Toul to capitulate on the 23rd. Strassburg had been besieged since August 11th by the Baden troops under General Werder, and since the 23rd had been exposed to a bombardment through which the picture gallery, the library, with its wealth of priceless manuscripts, the law courts, and government buildings, and the theatre were burnt; of the cathedral, only the roof caught fire. Four hundred and fifty private houses were ruined, and 2,000 persons killed or wounded. This misfortune was due to the fact that Strassburg was a thoroughly antiquated fortress, the bombardment of which involved the destruction not merely of the works, but also of the houses of the inhabitants. The French commander, General Uhrich, ought not, under the circumstances, to have allowed matters to go so far as a bombardment; but in the knowledge that "Strassburg was Alsace," he offered resistance until a storm, the success of which admitted no doubt, was imminent. The capitulation was signed on September 28th at two o'clock in the morning; it was the very day on which, 180 years before,

Bombardment and Surrender of Strassburg

Louvois had accepted the surrender of Strassburg to the army of Louis XIV. There were endless rejoicings in Germany when the good news was proclaimed that a city had been won back which had remained dear to every German heart, even in the long years when it stood under a foreign yoke September 28th was felt to be a day of national satisfaction, a tangible guarantee that the time of German humiliation and weakness was now past for ever Since Strassburg had fallen, the great railroad to Paris lay at the disposal of the Germans, the captures of Schlettstadt on October 24th, Verdun, November 8th, Neubreisach, November 10th, Diedenhofen, November 24th, Montmédy and Pfalzburg, December 14th, completed the reduction of the smaller fortresses of the east, with which great stores of artillery and powder fell into the hands of the victors The communications in the rear of the Germans gained greatly in security and quiet

Germany's National Rejoicing

This fact was the more important because, since the Battle of Sedan, the war, which hitherto had been a duel between armies, assumed another phase Under the title of "Franc-tireurs," armed bands from among the people took part in the struggle, and caused considerable losses by unexpected attacks on isolated German outposts and rear-guards On the German side these bands were declared to stand outside the law of nations, and villages whose inhabitants took part in the war as Franc-tireurs were, under certain conditions, burnt down as a deterrent Even Frenchmen admit that the licentious Franc-tireurs were frequently more dangerous to the natives than to the enemy

The chief aim of the French, now that negotiations for peace had fallen through, was necessarily the liberation of the capital, for, although among the 1,700,000 persons who were in Paris some 540,000 were men capable of bearing arms, yet of these the 340,000 Parisian National Guards were worthless from the military point of view, and of the 120,000 Gardes Mobiles, only a part of the provincials was of any value Thus only the 80,000 soldiers of the line were thoroughly useful, and with these alone General Trochu could not break through the 150,000, and later 200,000, picked German troops, who were drawing an iron girdle round the city,

The Germans' Iron Girdle Round Paris

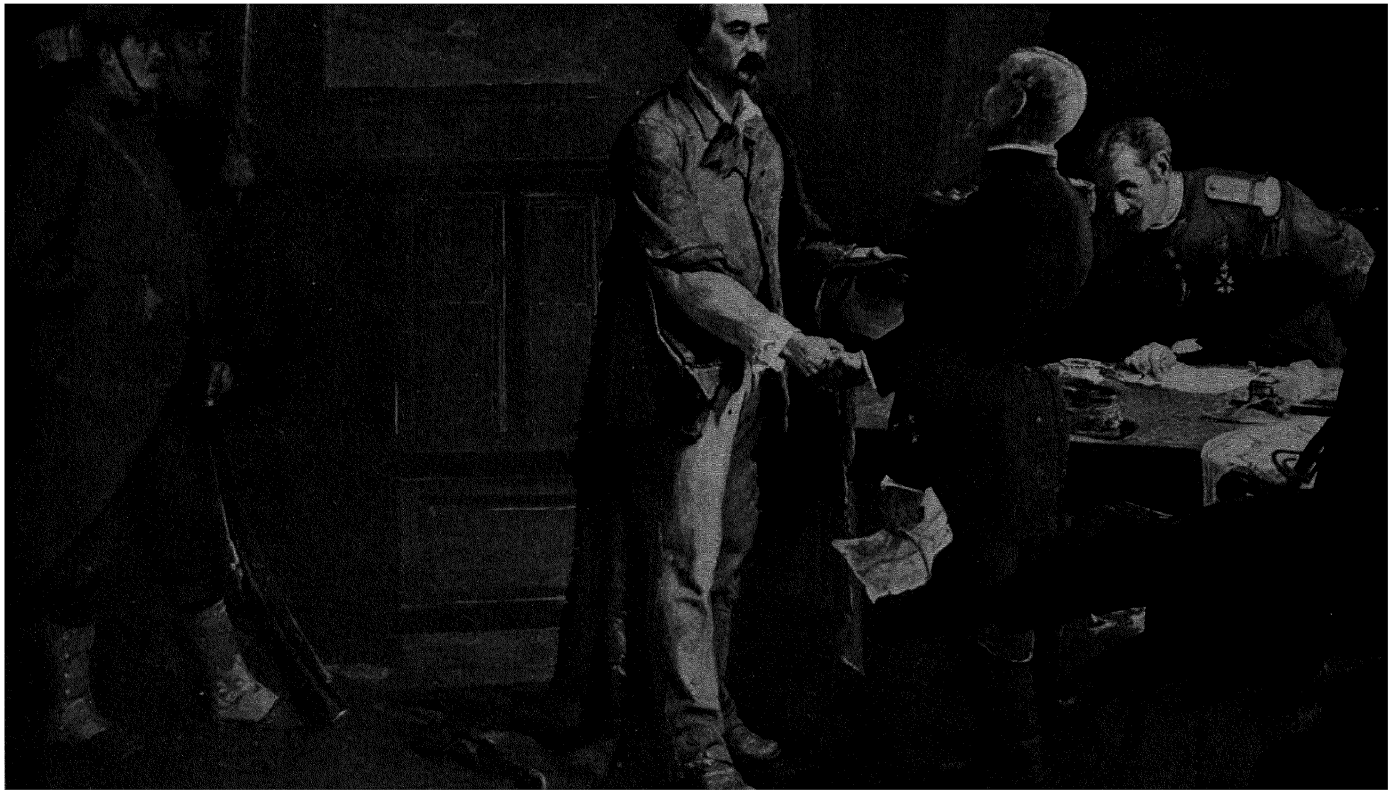
under the supreme direction of the king, who resided at Versailles, and force them to raise the siege Under these conditions the duty of obtaining support from outside was incumbent on the members of the Government, who had left Paris in good time, in order to conduct the arming of the country, and had taken up their seat at Tours on the Loire

But life was not instilled into this "Delegation," consisting of three old men, until Gambetta left Paris on October 6th in a balloon, and arrived in Tours on the 9th. He immediately took on himself the Ministry of War in addition to that of the Interior, and with the passionate energy of his southern temperament and his thirty-two years, he girded himself for the task of "raising legions from the soil with the stamp of his foot," and of crushing the bold hordes who dared to harass holy Paris, "the navel of the earth" Gambetta's right hand in the organisation of new forces was Charles de Freycinet, a man of forty-two, a Protestant, originally an engineer, clever and experienced, clear and cool in all his actions, but, in consequence of the complete wreck of the professional soldiers, full of haughty contempt for military professional knowledge, and inspired by the persuasion that now men of more independent views must assume the lead, and that a burning patriotism must replace military drill

Gambetta's Efforts to Save France

The thought recurred vaguely to the minds of both that 1870 must go to school with 1793, and that just as then the soldiers trained in the traditions of Frederic the Great and Laudon were repulsed by the levy en masse, so now the laurels might be torn from the soldiers of William I by the same means That was really a grave error In 1793 the powers allied against France were defeated chiefly from their want of combination, not by the armed masses of the French people, which to some extent existed only on paper, and the army which was now fighting on French soil far surpassed the troops of the first coalition in number and moral quality Gambetta's exertions did not therefore rescue France, but only prolonged her death agony, multiplied the sacrifices, and enhanced the victory of the Germans

Besides this, it was not possible, with all his resolute determination, to turn armed men into soldiers in a moment Since it was necessary in a country which only



AN HEROIC EPISODE OF THE FRANCO-GERMAN WAR: THE PREFECT VALENTIN BEFORE GENERAL UHRICH.

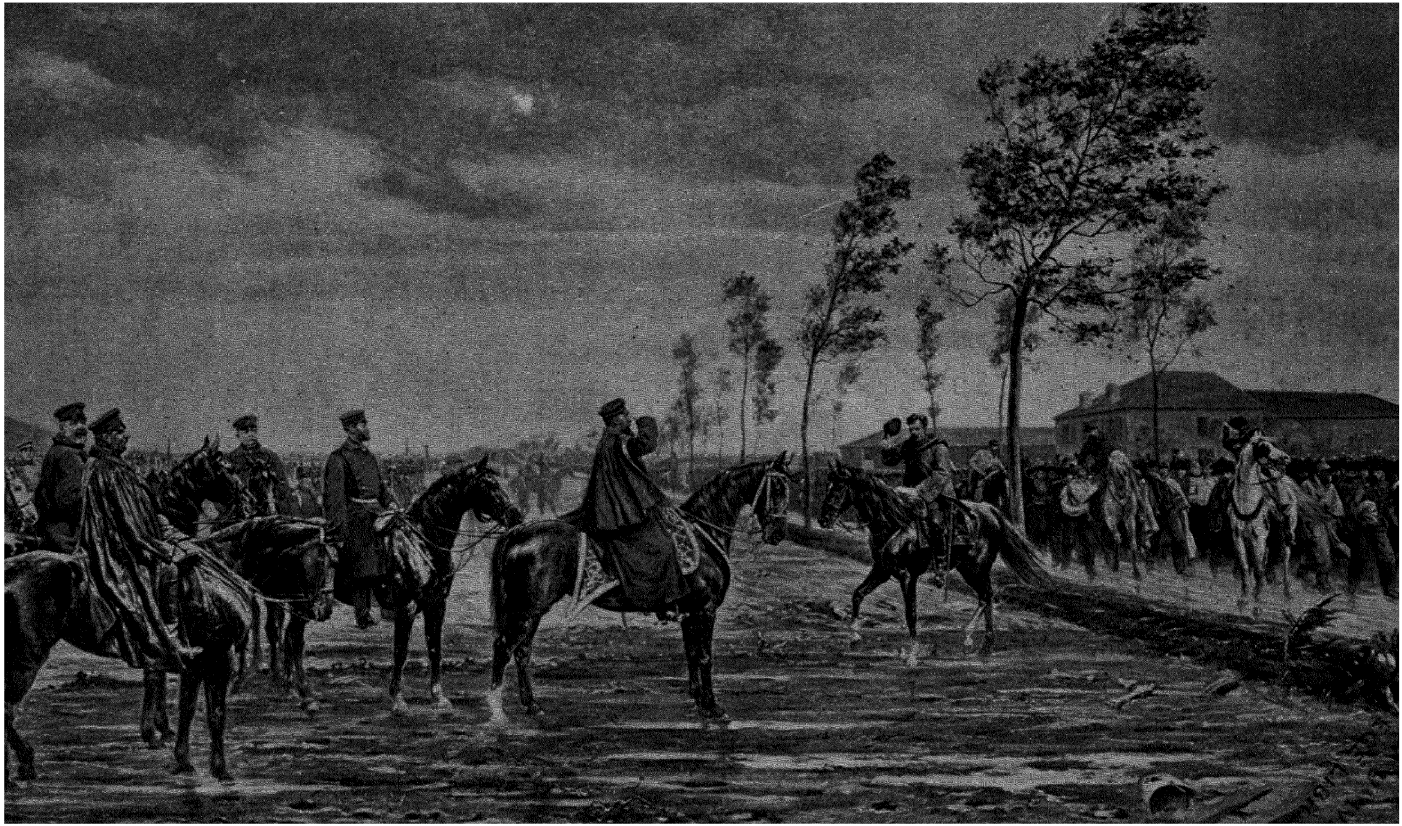
Appointed Prefect of the Department of the Lower Rhine by the Republican Government, in September, 1870, M. Valentin was desired to prove his patriotism by obtaining admission to Strassburg, then under siege. Disguised as a peasant, he made his way through the Prussian lines, and swimming across the moat under a fusillade of bullets from the French soldiers, reached the French side in safety, and as a prisoner was brought before Governor Uhrich. Turning up the sleeve of his shirt, he took therefrom the official document containing his appointment as Prefect, which was immediately recognised. Valentin, however, remained in office for about a week only, Strassburg capitulating on September 28th.

From the painting by Poilleux St. Ange, by permission of Messrs. Braun, Clement & Co.

5127



PRUSSIA'S GREAT WAR WITH FRANCE: THE DEPARTURE OF KING WILLIAM I. FOR THE FRONT IN 1870
From the painting by Adolf Menzel, photo by Schauer



From the painting by Camphausen, by permission of the Berlin Photographic Co.

5129

possessed six batteries and 2,000,000 cartridges to procure arms and ammunition from every source, especially from England, a varied selection of weapons was the result; there were in the new army alone fifteen different kinds of guns in use. Nevertheless, Gambetta deserves admiration for having raised 600,000 men within four months; and even if all attempts were shattered against the superior strategy and the incomparable efficiency of the German troops, still Gambetta saved the honour of France, and with it the future of the republic.

Grave Danger of Paris

The Germans, shortly after Gambetta's arrival at Tours, had occupied Orleans on October 11th, and on October 18th, stormed Châteaudun, which was burnt, because the inhabitants had joined in the fight. But now troops in such superior numbers were being massed against them that at the headquarters in Versailles serious misgivings were felt as to the possibility of checking all the threatening advances upon Paris.



PRINCE GORTCHAKOFF
The Russian Imperial Chancellor, he was one of the most powerful Ministers in Europe, and in 1871 was responsible for the secession of Russia from the Treaty of Paris, arranged in the year 1856.

Under these circumstances all eyes were eagerly fixed on Bazaine, who still kept half the German army stationary under the walls of Metz. During this period all sorts of political negotiations had been conducted between Bazaine, the German headquarters, and the Empress Eugenie, now an exile in England. The gist of these negotiations was th atBazaine, supported by his army, which still remained loyal to its captive monarch, should conclude a peace and restore the empire; but the attempt failed from the numerous and great difficulties which stood in the way, and the position of the encircled army, which was unable to burst the ring of besiegers, became daily worse. From October 8th to 31st continuous rain fell in such torrents that the besiegers and the besieged, who were both encamped on the open field in miserable huts, suffered incredible hardships. Hardly any one had dry clothes; the wind whistled through the crevices; and German divisions which had only a fifth of their numbers in hospital were considered to be in an exceptionally good condition. Among the French, the miseries of the weather were aggravated by the daily increasing want of provisions; in the end the soldiers received only one-third of their original allowance of bread, and the supply of salt was exhausted.

Bazaine therefore, after he had vainly tried to obtain the neutralisation of his army, and then its surrender, without the concurrent capitulation of Metz, was compelled to surrender himself with 173,000 men and 1,570 pieces of artillery to Prince Frederic Charles on October 27th. This was a success which surpassed the day of Sedan in grandeur, if not in glory. Germany now had in her hands the territory which she thought essential to secure her tranquillity, and the whole army of Frederic Charles was available for other theatres of war. About this time the world was surprised by a circular from the Russian Imperial Chancellor, Prince Gortchakoff, which, bearing date October 31st, contained the declaration that the Treaty of Paris of March 30th, 1856, had been repeatedly infringed; for example, in 1859 and 1862, by the union of the two Danubian principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia into the single principality of Roumania—and that it was not Russia's bounden duty to observe merely those clauses in the treaty which were detrimental to her. She did not, therefore, consider herself bound by that provision which declared the Black Sea neutral, but would, on the contrary, make full use of her right to construct a naval harbour there. The circular showed that the authorities at St. Petersburg wished to turn to account the position of Europe, and during the weakness of France to cancel that treaty which France and England in their time had forced upon the dominions of the Tsar, since it was detrimental to the honour and power of Russia. Britain and Austria issued on November 10th and 16th a protest against this selfish policy of Russia; but the conference at London, which met at Bismarck's suggestion on January 17th, 1871, approved the action of Russia in the

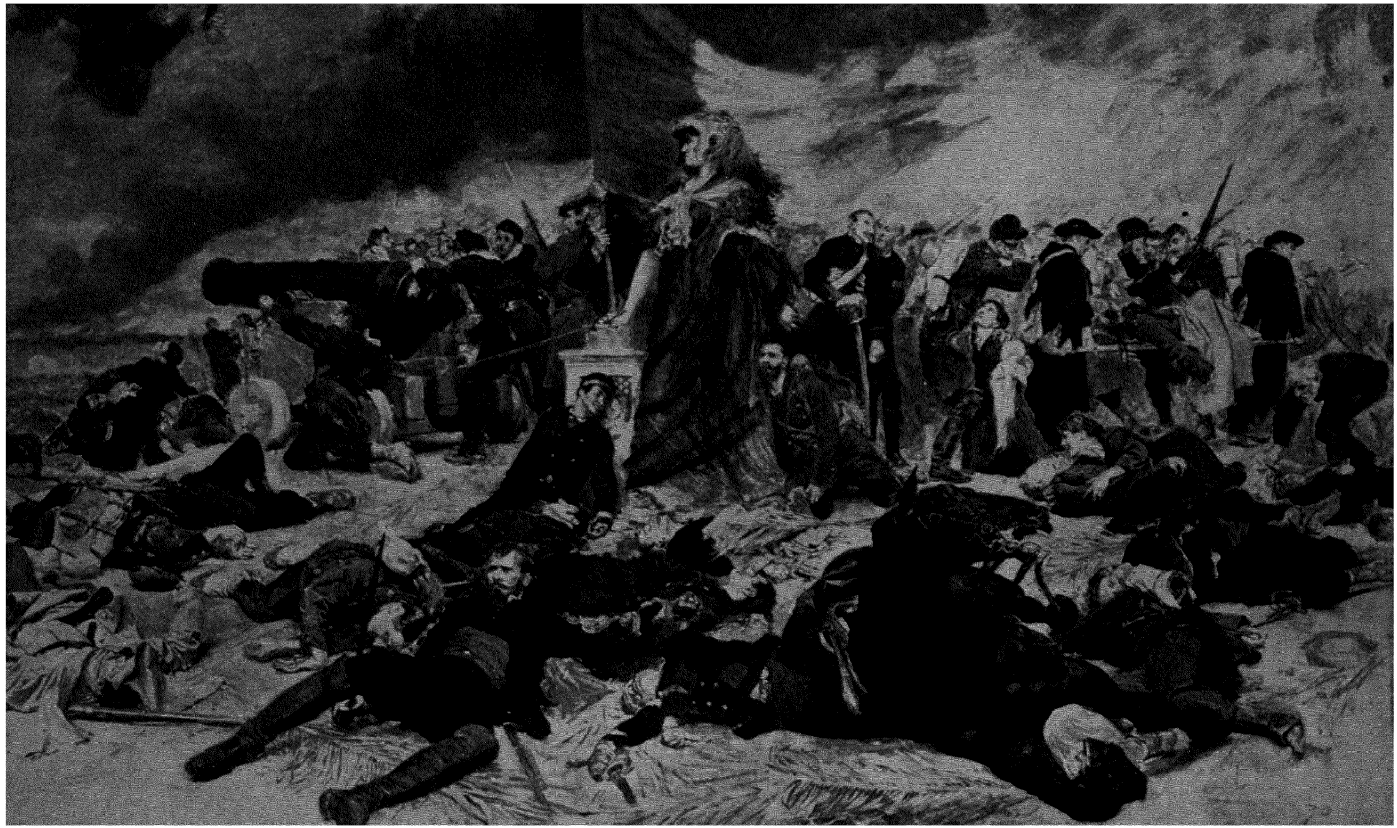
Russia's Selfish Policy



5131

DEFENDERS OF THEIR COUNTRY IN THE WAR OF 1870: TRAPPIST MONKS AT EXERCISE BEFORE JOINING THE ARMY OF FRANCE

From a photograph by the Photochrome Co. of the painting by P. G. Robinet de Poissy

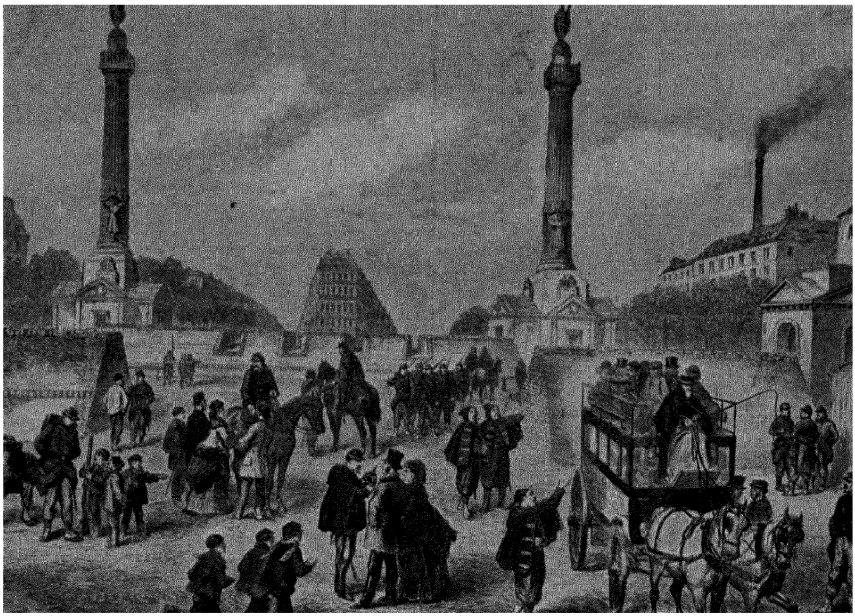


MEISSONIER'S SYMBOLIC PICTURE OF THE HEROIC DEFENCE OF PARIS WHEN BESIEGED BY THE GERMANS

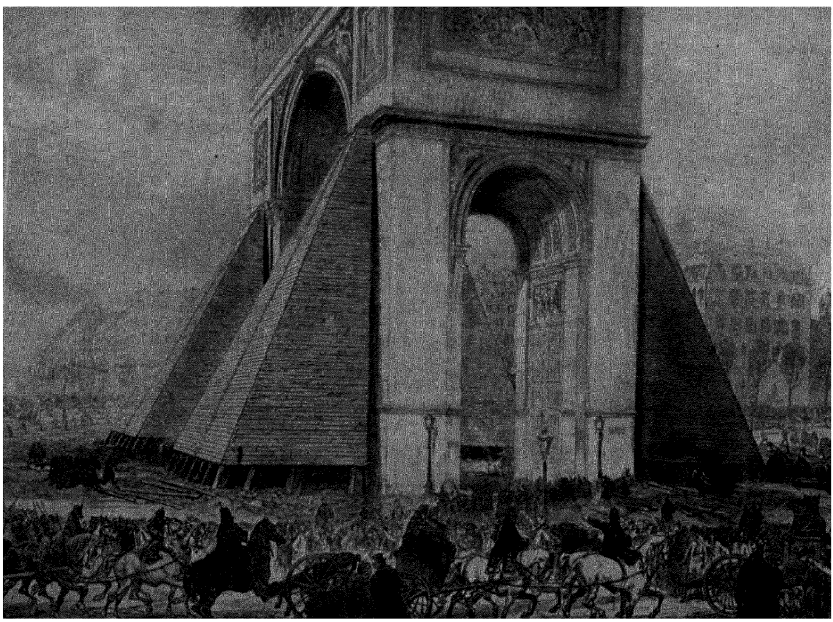


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THE HISTORIC SIEGE OF PARIS, SHOWING THE FORTIFICATIONS ERECTED BY THE FRENCH TO PROTECT THEIR CAPITAL
From the painting by A. Binet

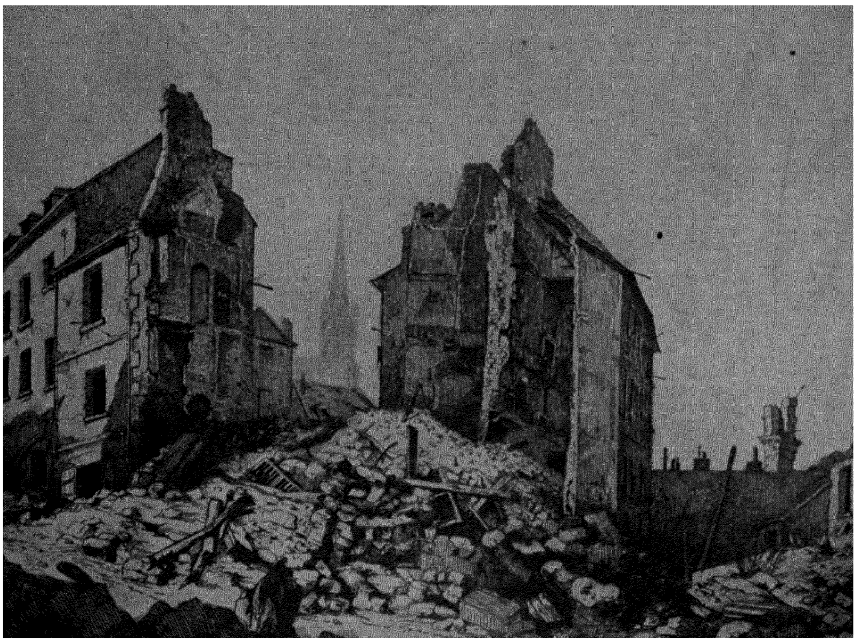


THE BARRIER IN THE PLACE DU TRÔNE, NOW THE PLACE DE LA NATION

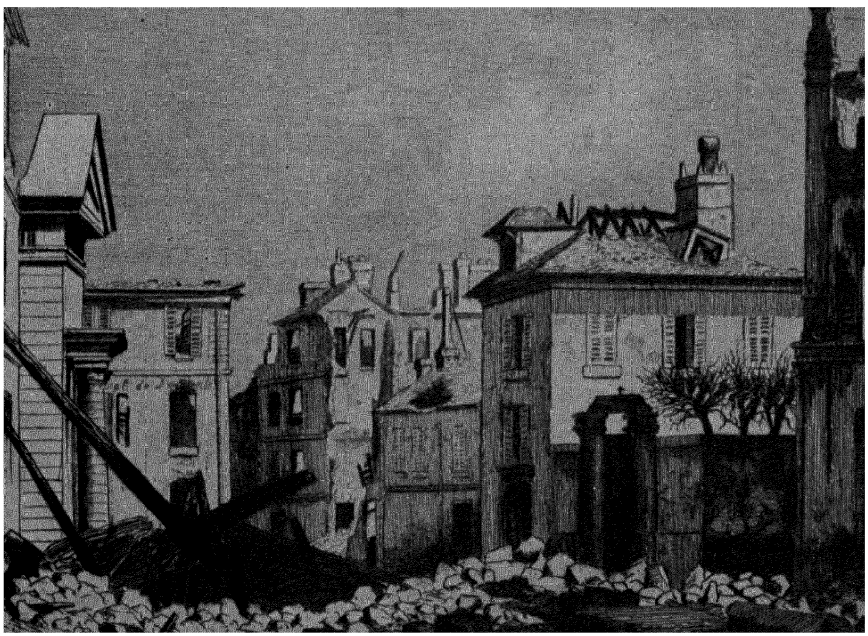


A SORTIE FROM PARIS, SHOWING THE PROTECTED ARC DE TRIOMPHE

Against the heavy fire of the attacking Prussians the Parisians erected defence works in the streets of the city, and from time to time sorties were made in the hope of driving the invaders from the strong positions which they held



THE HAVOC OF THE SIEGE: RUINED BUILDINGS AT ST. CLOUD



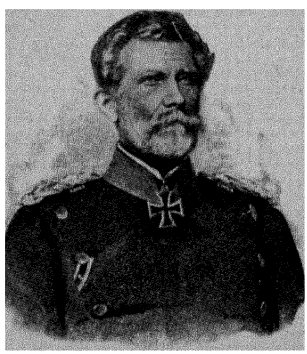
PLACE DE L'HOSPICE AT ST. CLOUD AFTER THE DEPARTURE OF THE PRUSSIANS

Some idea of the destruction of property resulting from the siege of Paris is given in the above pictures, showing scenes of ruin at St. Cloud after the invading army had taken its departure from the French capital.

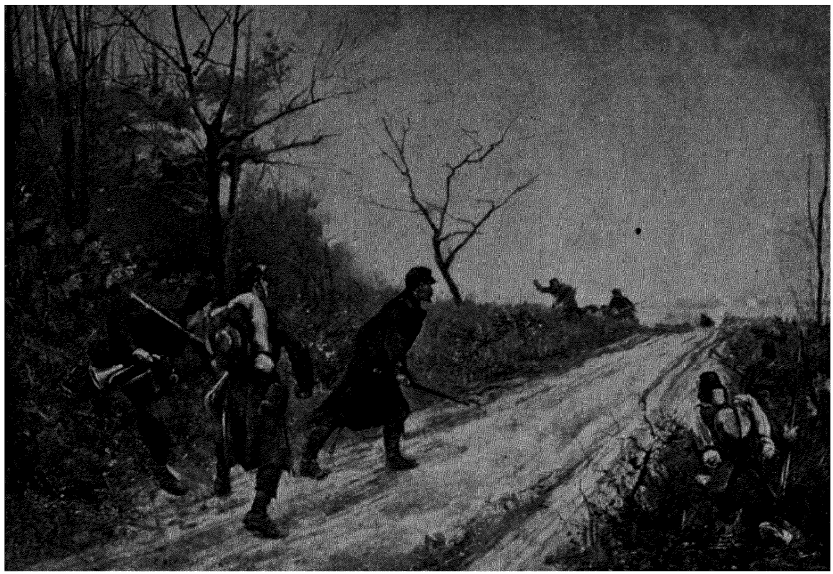
Black Sea, and only stipulated that the Straits of the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus should be closed to the warships of all the Great Powers with the obvious exception of Turkey. The German Empire stood in this question on the side of Russia, whose emperor had indisputably facilitated the victory over France by his attitude, even if his Chancellor, Gortchakoff, tried to depreciate as far as possible the results of this victory. After the fall of Metz, Prince Frederic Charles received orders to detach a force under General Manteuffel, in order to capture the still untaken fortresses in the rear of the Germans; he himself, with his four remaining corps, was to advance rapidly on the Loire by way of Fontainebleau and Sens. The state of things in that direction was critical. The French army of the Loire, with a strength of 60,000 men, had thrown itself on the 15,000 Bavarians of Von der Tann, defeated them at Coulmiers on November 9th, and compelled them to evacuate Orleans. The king immediately sent to the support of the Bavarians the 17th and 22nd divisions, with four cavalry divisions, which were no longer required before Paris, and entrusted the command of this "army section," including the Bavarians, to the Grand Duke Frederic Francis II. of Mecklenburg. Everything pointed to a great and decisive action. The Paris army was preparing for a sortie on a large scale, to which Gambetta wished to respond by a bold attack from Orleans; the Germans, encamped in front of the metropolis, were to be caught, if possible, between two fires and compelled to raise the siege. But the onslaught of 58,000 French, on November 28th at Beaune-la-Rolande, under the impetuous General Jean Constant Crouzat, whom Freycinet made the mistake of restraining, proved ineffectual against the bravery of five German regiments and some batteries, commanded by Major Körber, a hero of Mars-la-Tour. The great sortie which General Ducrot attempted in the south-east of Paris on November 30th, against the positions of the Würtembergers and Saxons near the villages of Champigny and Brie, did not attain its object in spite of the great superiority of the French. The fire of the Würtembergers, bursting from behind the park walls of Villiers and Cœuilly, mowed down the attacking columns of the French in heaps. On December 2nd the village of Champigny, which had been lost on November 30th, was to a great extent won back by the help of the Pomeranians, and on December 3rd the army of the sortie returned back to Paris. It had lost 12,000 men, Germans 6,000, and the besiegers had to abandon all hope of breaking their way through by their unassisted strength. General Ducrot, who had vowed to conquer or to die, and exposed himself recklessly to the bullets, was compelled to re-enter Paris alive and defeated. Prince Frederic Charles defeated the army of the Loire, now commanded by the gallant General Chanzy, in the four days' battle of the 1st to the 4th of December at Loigny and Orleans, and on December 4th the Grand Duke of Mecklenburg again entered this town. German outposts bivouacked beneath the statue of the Maid of Orleans. The French army was in a most lamentable plight; the soldiers, clothed only in linen trousers and blouses, shivered with cold and refused to fight any more. The army was finally broken into two parts, of which one, under Bourbaki, turned eastward on December 4th; the other part, under Chanzy, retired in a north-westerly direction on the right bank of the Loire, leaving Tours to its fate; while Gambetta



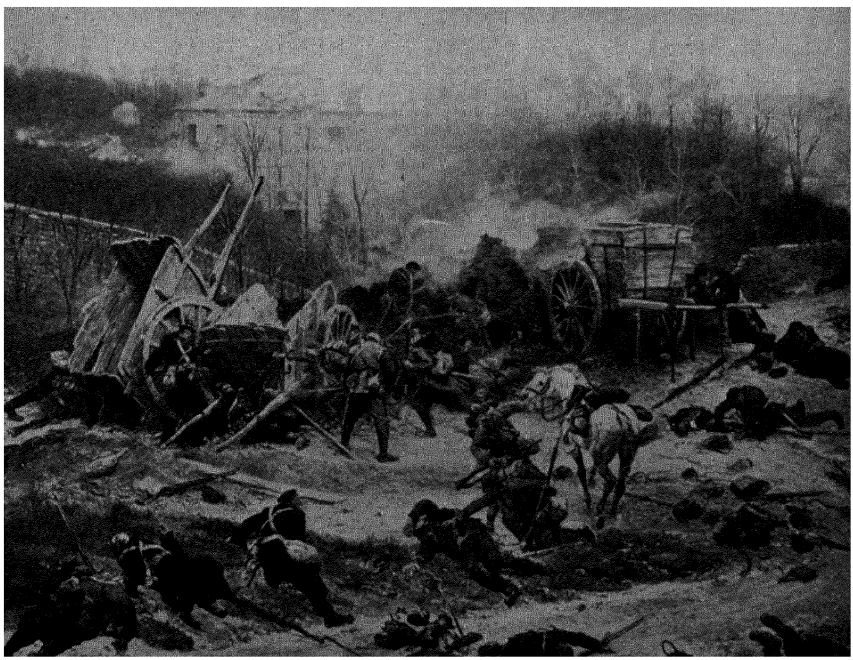
GENERAL WERDER
After the capture of Alsace, this German commander forced his way into Franche Comté and Burgundy, where he occupied Dijon, the capital, on October 31st.



GENERAL MANTEUFFEL
In the German war against France he commanded the army of the north and subsequently was in command of that of the south, gaining some notable victories for the Prussian arms.



FRENCH SORTIE AT CHAMPIGNY, NOVEMBER 30, 1870: THE FIRST CANNON SHOTS

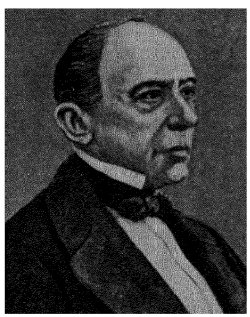


THE GERMANS SUCCESSFULLY REPELLING THE FRENCH ATTACK AT CHAMPIGNY

Following up their unsuccessful attack at Beaune-la-Rolande, the French, two days later, on November 30th, made a great sortie, under General Ducrot, against the positions of the Würtembergers and Saxons near the villages of Champigny and Brie; but, though the French were greatly superior in numbers, the attack was repelled, the fire of the Würtembergers, bursting from behind the park walls of Villiers and Cœuilly, mowing down the French columns in heaps.

with the "Delegation" fled to Bordeaux on December 8th. Chanzy, pursued by the prince and the grand duke, was again defeated at Beaugency, December 7th–10th, and driven back on Le Mans. But the Germans followed him thither, along roads deep in snow and covered with ice, where the cavalry had to dismount and lead their horses, and on January 11th and 12th, 1871, won another great victory before Le Mans, in consequence of which Chanzy was compelled to retire still further west towards Brittany, to Laval. The army of the Loire was thus to all intents annihilated. Meantime there was fighting in two other districts. General Werder, after the capture of Alsace, had forced his way into Franche Comté and Burgundy, where he occupied Dijon, the capital, on October 31st. The chief command against him was held by the hero of the Italian revolution, Garibaldi, who was so much moved by the change of France into a republic that he placed his sword at the services of that very nation which in 1860 had taken his native town of Nice from the National State of Italy. But he was only a shadow of his former self, and could no longer sit a horse; he would have done best to have remained on his rocky island of Caprera. The Garibaldian volunteers from Italy and other countries who mustered round the leader were a rabble, clothed in a picturesque uniform, who eventually proved more troublesome to the French than to the Germans. The Badeners, under General Adolf von Glümer, without allowing themselves to be stopped by these troops, took Nuits by storm on December 18th.

Garibaldi Fighting for France



RUDOLPH DELBRÜCK
A Prussian statesman, and for many years the right-hand man of Bismarck, he opened at Munich the official negotiations which had as their object a united Germany.

The other theatre of war was the north-east of France, especially Picardy and Normandy. The resistance here, as elsewhere, was organised by emissaries from the "Delegation," and the northern army was created, so that the German headquarters sent General Manteuffel there in November. Manteuffel defeated the French, under Farre, on November 27th, at Amiens, where the "Moblots"—Gardes Mobiles—by a disgraceful flight carried the troops of the line away with them. Amiens and Rouen were occupied, and General von Goeben knew how to treat the Normans so well that they ran after him trustingly on the roads, and the peasants brought provisions to the markets—quite otherwise than in the east, where all the shutters were closed and the doors locked when the Germans approached.

The prudent and energetic General Faidherbe succeeded, it is true, in rallying and strengthening the French troops; but on his advance from Lille he was beaten back by Manteuffel on the river La Hallue, at Port Noyelles, on December 23rd. Since his soldiers were forced to spend the night fasting, with a temperature far below freezing point, he felt himself, on December 24th, unable to fight any further; he therefore abandoned his dangerous positions and withdrew to Arras. A second advance, on January 3rd, 1871, at Bapaume, was equally unsuccessful. General Goeben, who, after Manteuffel was sent to the south-east, received the supreme command over the two German corps, ended the war in the north by the capture of the fortress of Péronne on January 8th, and by the brilliant victory at St. Quentin on January 19th, where Faidherbe lost 13,000 men. The fortress of St. Quentin itself fell into the hands of the victors, and the French northern army was reduced to such a condition that it no longer counted for anything. The capital of France held out all this time against the Germans who were investing it. But provisions were getting scarcer and scarcer, and occasional attempts at insurrection among the populace indicated that the reputation of the Government was waning. The resistance, nevertheless, lasted far longer than was ever considered probable on the German side, and public opinion in Germany demanded with increasing emphasis that Paris should be effectively bombarded to accelerate the capitulation. Bismarck, from the very beginning of the siege, maintained that too much energy could not be shown in attacking the enemy, since, in the first place, the investing army suffered mentally and physically from the long inaction, and, secondly, the apparently successful

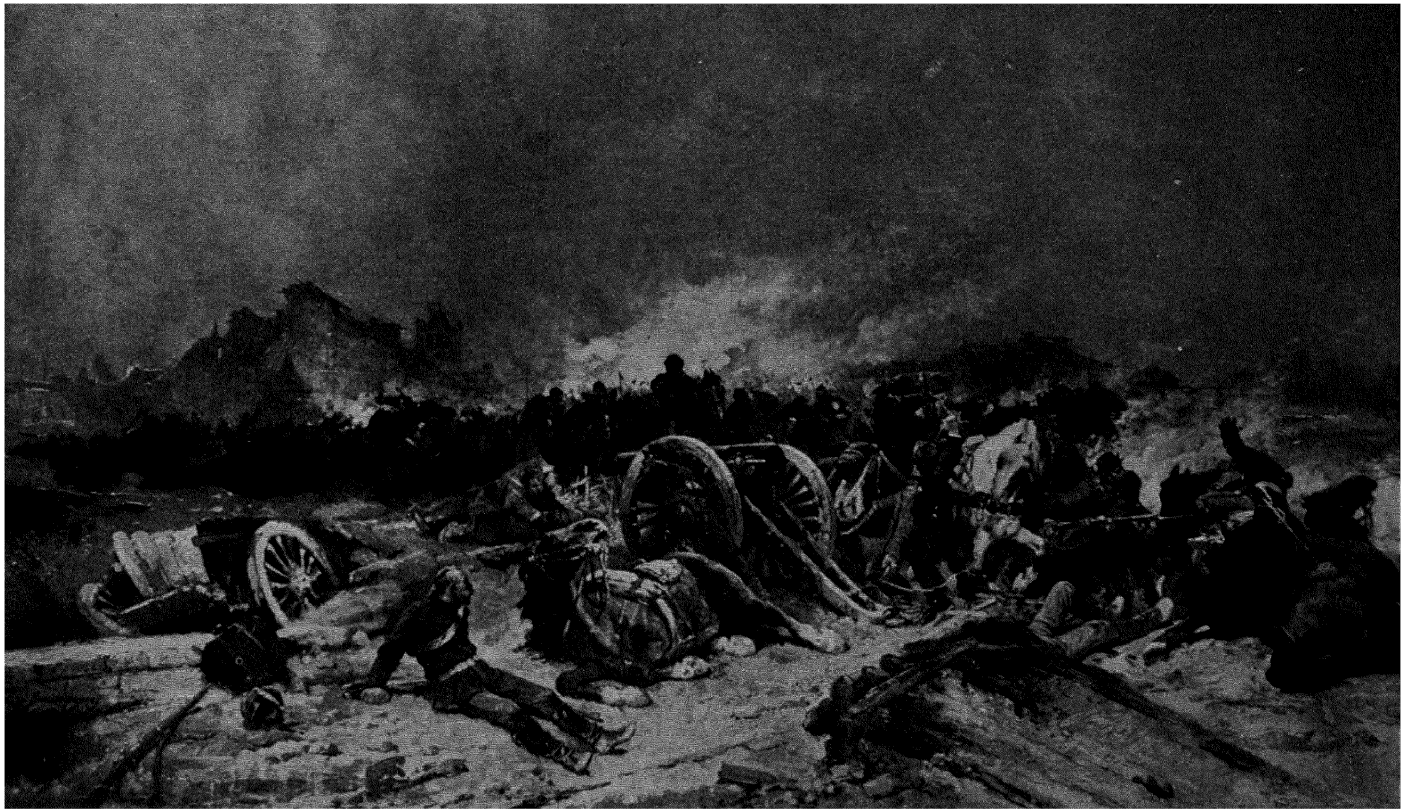
Paris Under the Siege



AN EPISODE IN THE SIEGE OF PARIS: PRUSSIAN SOLDIERS IN A FRENCH HOME

From the painting by Anton von Werner, by permission of the Berlin Photographic Co.

5139



THE VAIN ONSLAUGHT OF THE FRENCH ON THE GERMAN BATTERIES AT BEAUNE-LA-ROLANDE ON NOVEMBER 28TH, 1870
From the painting by Beauquesne, by permission of Messrs. Braun, Clement & Co.



REPULSE OF THE FRENCH TROOPS AT THE BATTLE OF BAPAUME ON JANUARY 3RD, 1871

From the painting by A. Damaresque

resistance of Paris revived the hopes of the French for an eventual victory, and once more brought up the danger of foreign intervention which was thought to have been surmounted after the day of Sedan. But the Crown Prince, Blumenthal, Moltke himself, and General von Gothberg were of opinion that a bombardment would not reach the workmen's quarter of Paris, and would thus be ineffective, and that the only means of reducing the city lay in starving it out; according to Blumenthal six weeks would be sufficient. During this time of expectancy the most important event of all, the question of the unity of Germany, was destined to be decided under the walls of Paris. There was a general feeling directly after the first victories that the Germans, who had marched united to the war, ought not at its close to break up again into the old disunion, but that political union ought to result from the military union as a necessary consequence and as the chief fruit of the war. From the moment when Bismarck, in the name of the Germans, demanded the cession of Strassburg and Metz as tangible guarantees for peace, the fact was established that these border fortresses of the German people could not be held without the permanent political unity of the German nation.



EMPEROR WILLIAM I.
From a photograph



LOUIS ADOLPHE THIERS
In the days of French humiliation that attended the occupation of Paris by the victorious enemy, the great man of the crisis proved to be Adolphe Thiers, who succeeded in inducing the National Assembly to agree to peace on terms which Germany had practically dictated.

The current of opinion setting towards unity was strong enough to carry with it the princes, who, on account of the probable sacrifices of their sovereignty thereby entailed, could not lightly resolve upon the decisive negotiations. These negotiations were stimulated by a large meeting held in Berlin on August 30th, which proposed as its motto that the fruits of the war must be: "A united nation and protected frontiers." The Grand Duke Frederic of Baden, whose first counsellor since the death of Mathy was the keen advocate of national unity, Julius Jolly, declared on September 2nd that he would support the constitutional union of the South German states with the North German Confederation. King Lewis II. of Bavaria and King Charles I. of Würtemberg also gave an assurance on September 5th and 7th that they were anxious to secure to Germany the fruits of victory in the fullest measure and to establish a just mean between the national coherency of the German races and their individual independence. The official negotiations were opened at Munich towards the end of September by Rudolf Delbrück, the President of the Federal Chancery of the North German Confederation, and were afterwards continued by Bismarck in Versailles. They encountered, indeed, considerable difficulties, since the Particularists were only willing to concede the most modest measure of centralisation. The Bavarians argued the superfluousness of a strict union from the very loyalty which all races had shown to the thought of nationality; in case of necessity Germany would always find all her children rallying round her. The King of Bavaria claimed as

compensation for his consent to the establishment of a German federal state a sort of viceroyalty for the House of Wittelsbach, so that the Bavarian ambassadors, in the event of any impediment to the imperial ambassadors, should represent them ex officio. Prince Leopold, the uncle of the king, had suggested on January 10th, 1871, the alternation of the imperial Crown between the Houses of Hohenzollern and Wittelsbach, but had received no answer at all. In addition to Bavaria, Hesse, the Minister of which, Baron von Dalwigk, was a sworn enemy to Prussia, made as many difficulties as possible. The King of Würtemberg on November 12th, when everything seemed already settled, allowed himself to be persuaded by influence from Munich once more to delay the termination. But when Baden on November 15th signed the treaty as to the admission into the North German Confederation, and Hesse followed on the same day, the ice was broken. The Crown Prince became so impatient at the delays in the settlement of the matter that he thought that the business should be hurried on, that emperor and Empire should be proclaimed by the princes of Baden, Oldenburg, Weimar, and Coburg, and a constitution corresponding to the reasonable wishes of the people should be sanctioned by the Reichstag and the Landtags; in that case the two South German kings would have to acquiesce with the best grace they could.

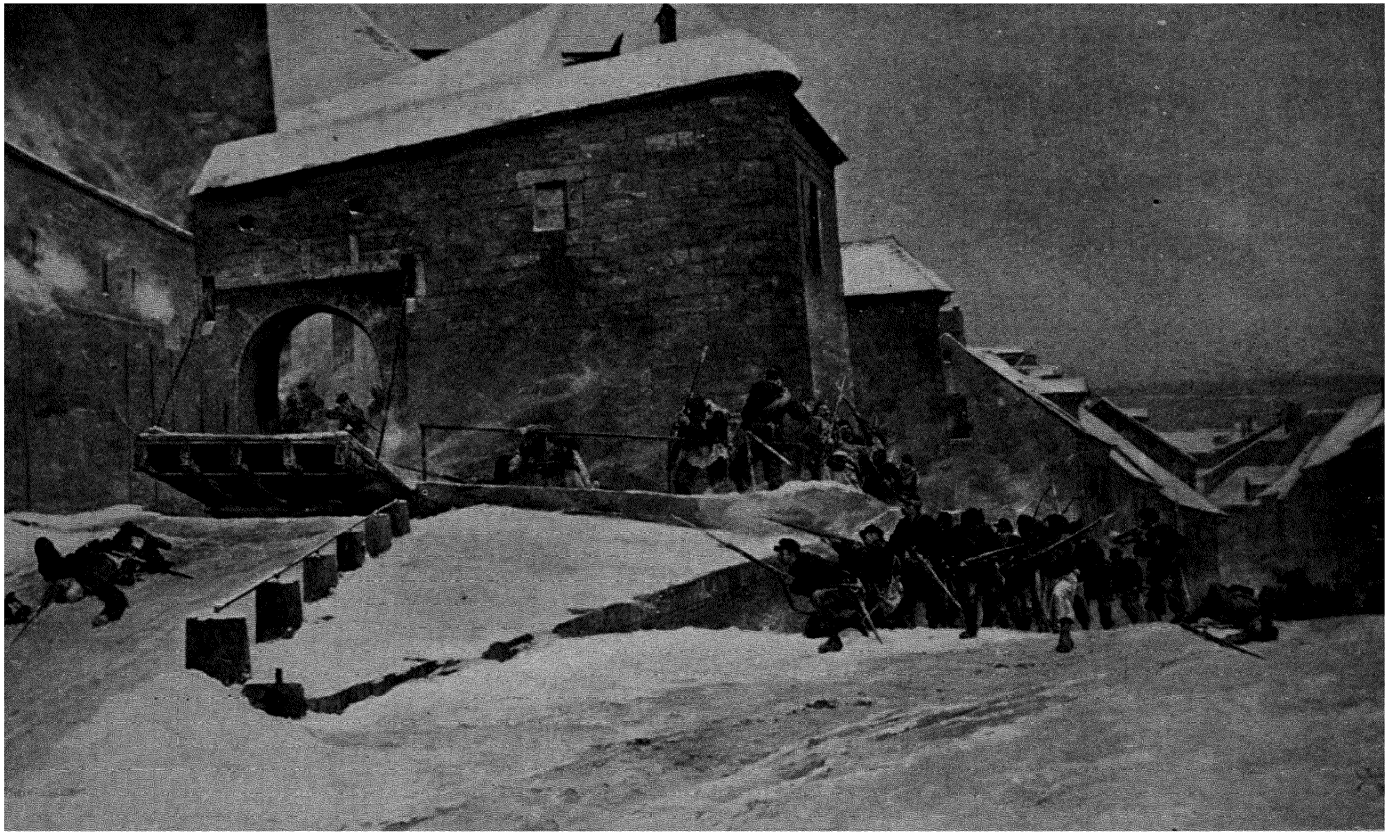


WILLIAM I. WHEN KING OF PRUSSIA
From a photograph

The Crown Prince and Bismarck were thoroughly agreed upon the point that the King of Prussia, as President of the German Federal State, must bear the old and honourable title of emperor. The aged monarch himself had grave doubts as to relegating to the second place the comprehensive title of King of Prussia, which his ancestor Frederic I. had created of his own set purpose, and of assuming an empty title, which his brother had declined in 1849, and which he himself had jestingly styled "brevet-major."

Bismarck maintained his own wise independence towards the father and the son. To the first he emphasised the fact that the title of emperor contained an outward recognition of the de facto predominant position of the Prussian king, on which much depended; and he asked the latter whether he could consider it wise and honourable to exercise compulsion on two allies who had shed their blood shoulder to shoulder with the North Germans. He was convinced that the new Empire would not rest on firm foundations unless all the German races joined it of their own free will, without the feeling that any compulsion was being applied to them. He therefore granted to the Bavarians and the Würtembergers by the "Reserved Rights" a privileged position in the Empire, which, although only accepted with reluctance by all determined supporters of German unity, has justified the foresight of the great statesman by affording these kingdoms the opportunity of joining the national cause without humiliation to their sense of importance.

The treaties signed on November 23rd at Versailles for Bavaria, and on November 25th, 1870, at Berlin for Würtemberg, reserved for both states the independent administration of the post office and telegraphs, and the private right of taxing native beer and brandy; this second privilege was granted to Baden also. It was further settled that the Bavarian army should be a distinct component part of the



GERMANY'S CONQUERING EMPEROR: THE TRIUMPHAL ENTRY OF WILLIAM I. INTO BERLIN ON JUNE 16TH, 1871
From the painting by Camphausen, by permission of the Berlin Photographic Co.

German Federal army with its own military administration under the command of the King of Bavaria, and that also the Wurtemberg army should form a distinct corps, whose commander, however, could only be nominated by the King of Wurtemberg with the previous assent of the King of Prussia The organisation, training, and system of mobilisation of the Bavarian and Wurtemberg troops were to be remodelled according to the principles in force for the Federal army The Federal commander possessed the right to inspect the Bavarian and Wurtemberg armies, and from the first day of mobilisation onwards all the troops of North and South Germany alike had to obey his commands

Progress of German Unity

The consideration which Bismarck showed to the kings procured him not merely their sincere confidence during the whole term of his life, a fact which was politically of much value, but also facilitated the settlement of the question of the title Recognising that it is more palatable to the ambition of secondary states to have a German Emperor over them than a King of Prussia, King Lewis consented on December 3rd to propose to the German princes, in a letter drafted by Bismarck himself, that a joint invitation should be given His Majesty the King of Prussia to combine the exercise of the rights of President of the Federation with the style of a "German Emperor"

King William consented, waiving his scruples in deference to the universal wish of the princes and peoples of Germany The Reichstag and the Landtags sanctioned the constitution of the "German Empire" in December and January, and on December 18th a deputation of the Reichstag appeared in Versailles, in order to transmit to the king, through the president, the good wishes of the representatives of the people for the imperial Crown There was still friction to be smoothed away, but on January 18th, 1871—the day on which, in 1701, the Prussian monarchy had been proclaimed—in the Hall of Mirrors of the splendid Chateau of Versailles, erected by Louis XIV, the adoption of the imperial title was solemnly inaugurated in the presence of numerous German princes The Grand Duke Frederic of Baden led the first cheer for His Majesty Emperor William. In a proclamation to the German people, composed by Bismarck, the emperor announced his resolve "to aid at all times the growth of the Empire, not by the conquests of the sword, but by the goods and gifts of peace, in the sphere of national prosperity, freedom, and culture" In the thirty years and more that have elapsed since that day the world has had opportunity to recognise that this has been no empty phrase, but the guiding star of three German emperors

His Majesty Emperor William I

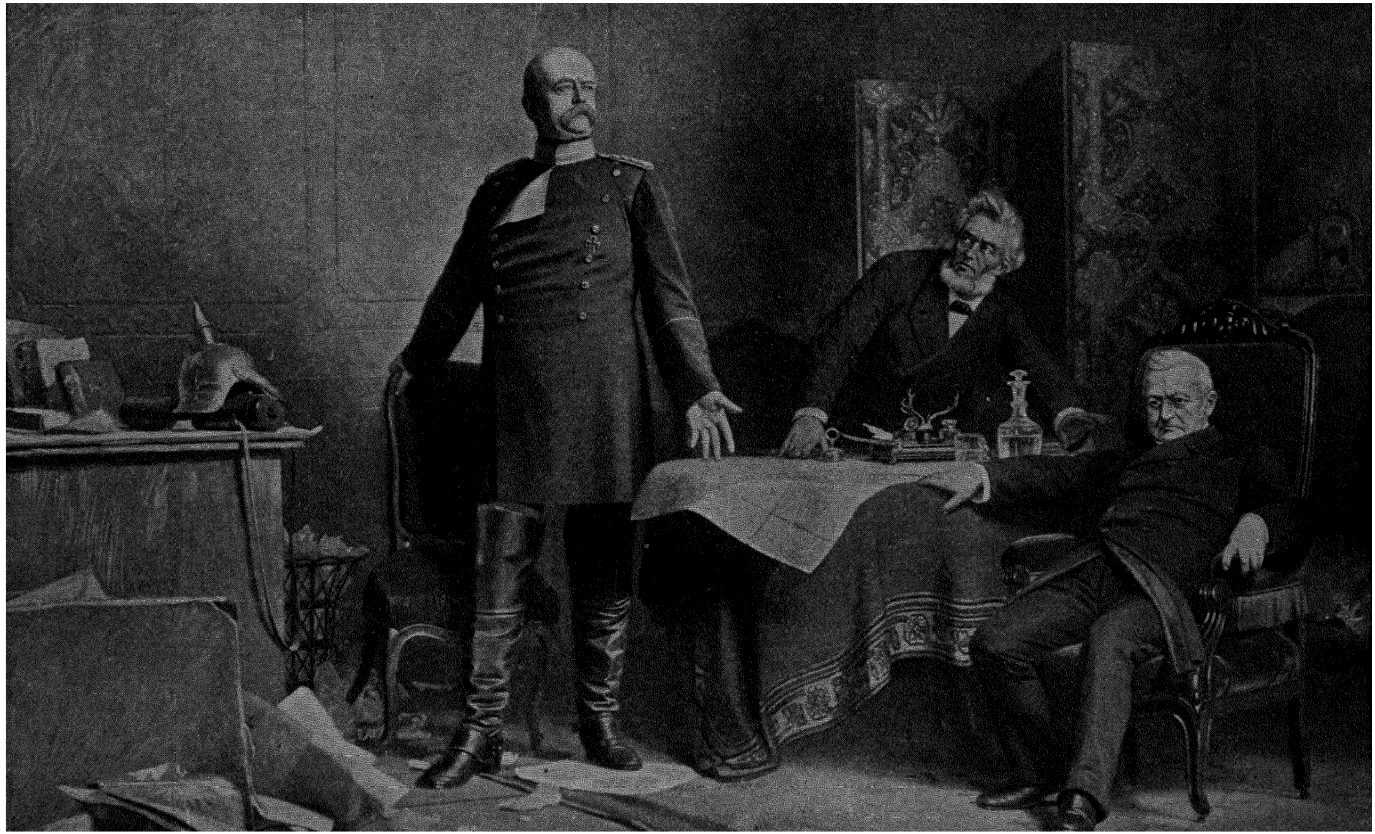
At the moment when the Empire was revived, or, to speak more correctly, was called into existence, the French powers of resistance were everywhere becoming exhausted, even those of the capital were failing At Christmas-time 235 heavy pieces of siege artillery were collected in Villacoublay, east of Versailles, and the bombardment of the east front of Paris was commenced on December 27th with such violence that the French evacuated Mont Avron "almost at a gallop" The bombardment of the city itself began from the south side on January 5th, and after five and a half hours Fort Issy ceased its fire Since the shots, owing to an elevation of thirty degrees, which had been obtained by special contrivances, carried beyond the centre of the city, the inhabitants fled from the south to the north of Paris—a movement by which the difficulties of feeding them were much increased

Bombarding the French Capital

A great, and final, sortie towards the west, which was attempted on January 19th by Trochu with 90,000 men, was defeated at Buzenval and Saint Cloud, before the French had even approached the main positions of the Germans The bombardment of the north front began on January 21st

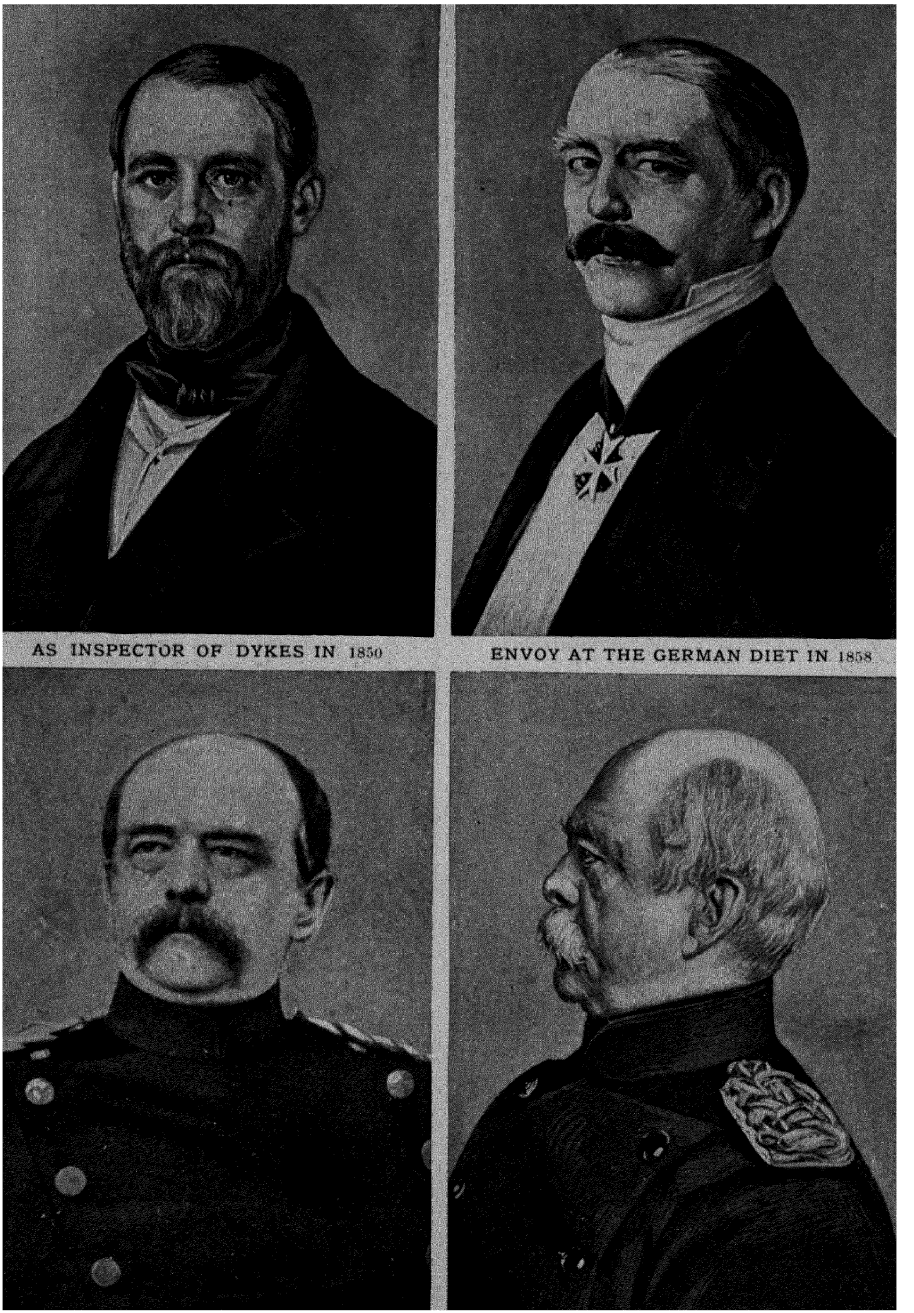
Here, too, the forts were completely demolished, parts of the bastions were soon breached, the garrisons had no protection against the German shells It was known in the city that Chanzy had been completely routed at Le Mans on January 11th and 12th, and the last prospect of relief was destroyed by the ill-tidings from the east

General Bourbaki had marched in that direction with half of the army of the Loire, with the strength of his forces raised to 130,000 men, he hoped to compel the Germans under Werder, who only numbered 42,000, to relinquish the siege of the fortress of Belfort, and to force the Germans before Paris to retire, by



TERMINATING THE FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR: BISMARCK AND THIERS CONCLUDING PEACE AT VERSAILLES

From the painting by Wagner, by permission of the Berlin Photographic Co.



AS INSPECTOR OF DYKES IN 1850 — ENVOY AT THE GERMAN DIET IN 1858

DURING THE FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR — PRINCE BISMARCK AT SEVENTY

GERMANY'S "IRON CHANCELLOR" AT FOUR STAGES OF HIS CAREER

threatening their communications in the rear. But Werder attacked the enemy, three times his superior in numbers, at Montbéliard on the Lisaine, and repulsed, in the three days' fighting, from January 15th to 17th, all the attacks of Bourbaki Not one French battalion was able to reach Belfort, where salvos had been vainly fired in honour of victory when the cannon-shots were heard

Bourbaki commenced his retreat, dispirited and weakened, but when he learnt that Moltke had sent General Manteuffel with the Pomeranians and Rhinelanders to block his road by Gray and Dôle, and when Garibaldi, although he retook Dijon and on January 23rd captured the flag of the 61st regiment from under a heap of dead bodies, was unable to help him, he went back to Pontarlier

But before he surrendered his army to be disarmed by the neutral Swiss, he made an ineffectual attempt to blow out his brains His successor, Justin Clinchant finally crossed the Franco-Swiss frontier on February 1st with 80,000 men

Famine Sufferings in Paris

The last army of France was thus annihilated and the fate of Belfort sealed Colonel Denfert-Rochereau surrendered the bravely-defended but now untenable town to General Udo von Treskow on February 18th

In Paris the dearth of provisions grew greater and greater during January On the 21st a pound of ham cost 16s, a pound of butter 20s, a goose 112s Horses, cats = 9s, dogs, and rats had long been eaten In view of the threatened famine, Favre, the Foreign Minister, eventually appeared at the German headquarters on January 23rd, the 127th day of the siege, to negotiate the terms of a capitulation

An agreement was at last reached on January 28th, by which an armistice of twenty-one days was granted for the election of a National Assembly, which should decide on war and peace, but, in return for the concession a high penalty was exacted, all the forts round Paris were delivered up to the Germans, and the whole garrison of the town declared prisoners of war

The town had to hand over all its cannons and rifles within fourteen days, the only exception was made in favour of the National Guard, the disarmament of which Favre declared to be impracticable owing to the insurrectionary spirit prevailing in that corps Paris was thus in the hands of the Germans, although the emperor refrained from a regular occupation of it, which might easily lead to bloody encounters and hence to new difficulties, in the hope of peace being soon concluded Permission was, of course, given for provisioning the city

Thiers the Great Man of the Crisis

Gambetta would not consent to the armistice, but was compelled by Jules Simon who was sent by the Government to Bordeaux, to retire on February 6th The great man of the crisis was henceforward Adolphe Thiers, who at the beginning of the war had counselled a cautious policy, and then, after Sedan, had vainly endeavoured to induce the Great Powers to intervene He had proved himself a far-sighted patriot, to whom the country might look for its rescue

On February 8th, twenty-six departments elected him to the National Assembly, which numbered among them 768 deputies, 400 to 500 supporters of the monarchy, Orleanists and Legitimists, but included a large majority for peace Fully a third of France was occupied by the Germans, and Faidherbe declared that if the Government wished to continue the war in Flanders, the people would intervene and surrender to the Germans On February 17th, Thiers was elected to the highest post in the state under the title of "Chief of the Executive," and was sent on the 21st to Versailles for the purpose of negotiating a peace

Bismarck demanded the whole of Alsace with Belfort, and a fifth of Lorraine with Metz and Diedenhofen, in addition £240,000,000 and the entry of the German troops into Paris After prolonged negotiations he assented to remit £40,000,000 and waive all claim to Belfort, but insisted the more emphatically on the entry into Paris, which in some degree would impress the seal on the German victories and place

The Dawn of Peace

clearly before the eyes of the French their complete defeat, as a deterrent from future wars Thiers hurried with the conditions mentioned to Bordeaux On March 1st, the same day on which 30,000 German soldiers, selected from all the German races, marched into Paris and occupied the quarter of the town near the Champs Elysées, together with the Château of the Tuileries, the preliminary treaty for peace, which the National Assembly had adopted, after



GERMANY'S CONQUERING EMPEROR: THE TRIUMPHAL ENTRY OF WILLIAM I. INTO BERLIN ON JUNE 16TH, 1871

From the painting by Camphausen, by permission of the Berlin Photographic Co.

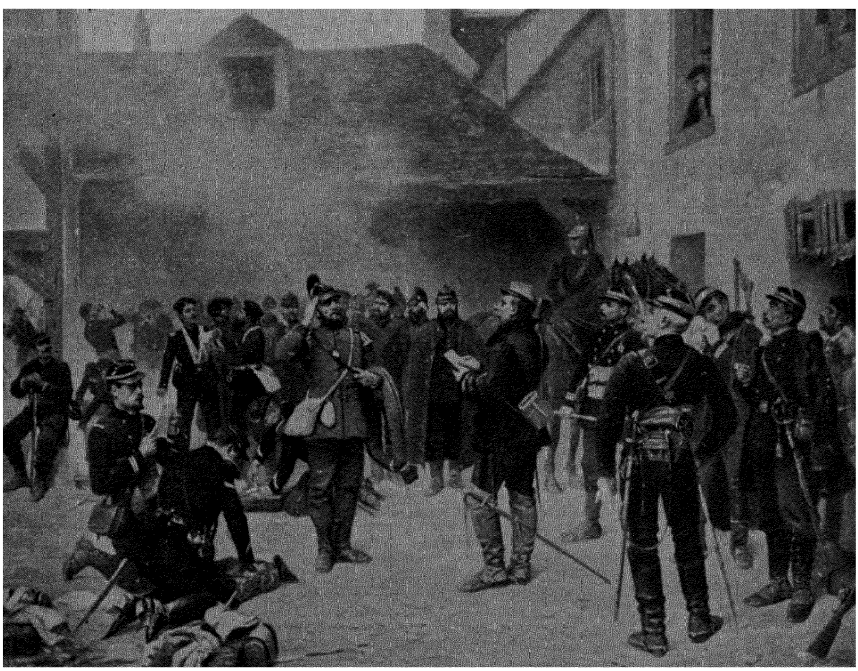
a stormy debate, by 546 votes to 107, was completed in Bordeaux. The official ratification of it reached Versailles on the evening of March 2nd. The Germans evacuated Paris on the 3rd, and retired behind the right bank of the Seine, which was to be the boundary of the two armies until the final peace was concluded. According to this agreement the forts to the east and north of Paris were still occupied by the Germans.

The subsequent peace negotiations were conducted in Brussels by plenipotentiaries, but proceeded so slowly that Bismarck, at the beginning of May, 1871, finally invited Favre to Frankfort-on-the-Main, in order to arrive at a clear understanding with him through a personal conference. After a short discussion the final peace was signed there on May 10th. It contained, contrary to the preliminary treaty, a small exchange of territory at Belfort and Diedenhofen, and the proviso that the evacuation of French territory by the Germans should take place by degrees, in proportion as instalments of the war indemnity were paid.

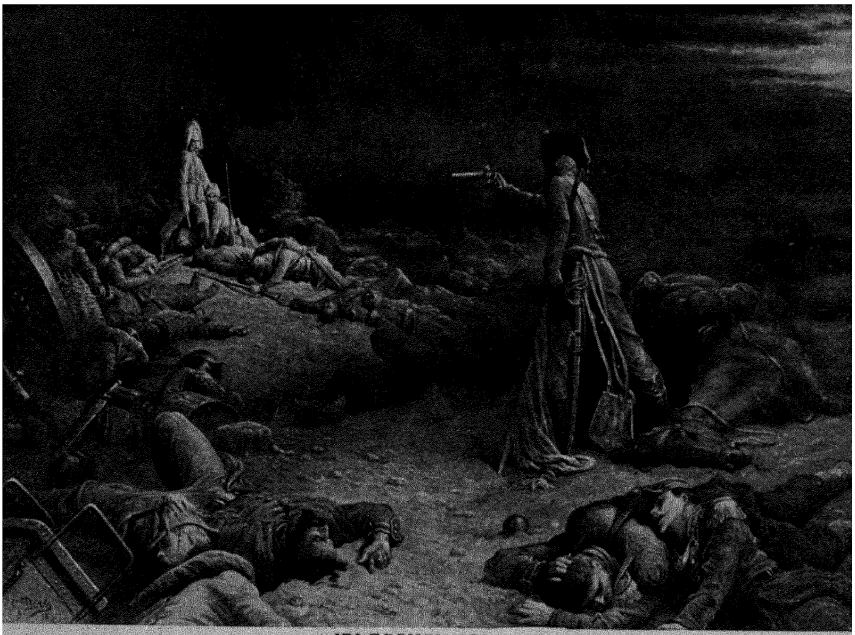
The results of the German struggle for unity were immense. In comparison with them the sacrifices of the war were not so excessive. They amounted on the German side to 28,600 killed in battle, 12,000 deaths from disease, and 4,000 missing, a grand total, therefore, of about 45,000 men; the number of wounded was calculated at 101,000. The French lost 150,000 killed and 150,000 wounded; the number of prisoners was eventually raised to more than 600,000.

Emperor William I. held a grand review of the victorious troops in the east of Paris on March 7th, and entered Berlin on March 17th. On March 21st he opened in person the first German Reichstag; on June 16th, a triumphal entry of the German army, selected out of all the German races, was made into Berlin, between two lines of 7,400 captured cannons. The age of the Holy Roman Empire of Louis XIV. and of the Napoleons was over. The new Empire of the German nation had come into being.

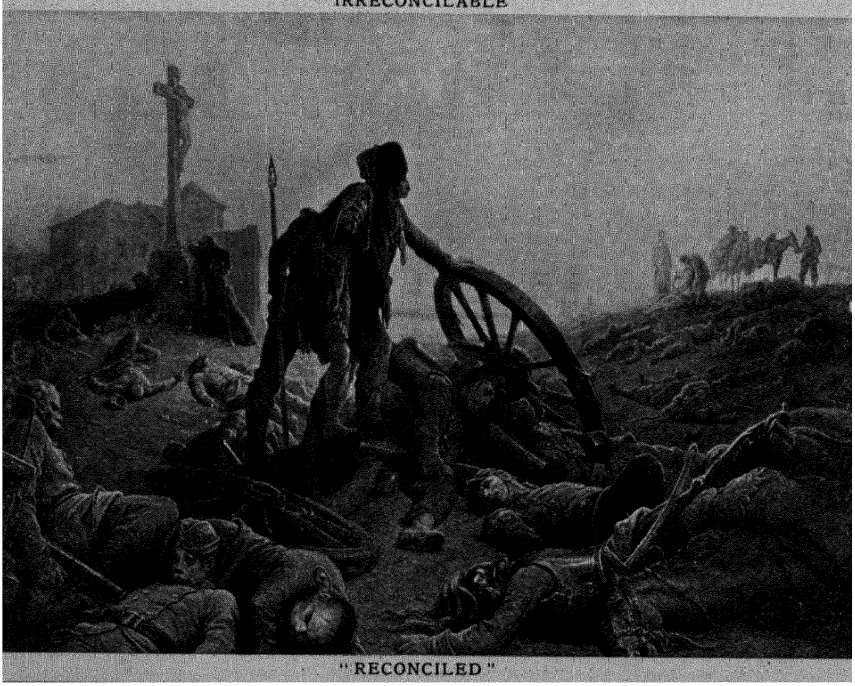
G. EGELHAAF



THE INTERROGATOR: AN EPISODE IN THE FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR



"IRRECONCILABLE"



"RECONCILED"

The horrors of war are vividly suggested by these pictures of Gustave Doré. In the first, the battle is over, leaving its carnage behind. But among the wounded are two who have fought on opposite sides, and realising each other's presence there springs up anew their hatred as they prepare to resume the struggle single-handed. But the combatants who are thus "irreconcilable" have come together in the second picture, and in their nearness to the Cross and in the presence of death have put aside their differences that they may be of service to each other.



SCANDINAVIA IN THE 19TH CENTURY

THE PROGRESS OF THE NORTHERN KINGDOMS

THE unfortunate policy of Frederic VI had caused Denmark great reverses She had lost her fleet, on which she had always prided herself, and had been separated from Norway, thus losing half her Scandinavian population, her prosperity had been destroyed in the wars, the national debt had assumed enormous proportions, and the financial position had been so bad that in 1813 the Government had been compelled to declare the state insolvent Industry, too, had been paralysed, and was unable to recover for some years after the declaration of peace, commerce was almost at a standstill and to a great extent dependent on Hamburg, and agriculture, which had been very profitable during the war by reason of the high price of corn, now suffered from falling prices But the cloud was, after all, not without its silver lining The national extremity, and the hard struggle that was made at the opening of the century, had a stimulating and fertilising influence on the intellectual life of the community

Denmark Renews its Strength

While political interests were unimportant and material prosperity was declining, art and literature flourished, it seemed as if the nation sought in these things consolation for its unhappy circumstances Gradually the economic situation improved The finances were set in order by the establishment of a national bank independent of the Government, industry prospered, and at Frederic's death in 1839, the country had renewed its strength

While Crown Prince, Frederic VI had been a great friend of reform, but as king he was strongly conservative, and opposed to any changes in the constitution But in proportion as their condition improved the people awoke to an interest in public affairs, and the desire for freedom and self-government became stronger and stronger After the "July Revolution," the effects of which were felt in Denmark as well as in other lands, Frederic at last decided to meet the popular wish at least in part He therefore instituted four advisory diets—for the islands, Jutland, Schleswig, and Holstein—the first step towards a free constitution Frederic's successor, his half-cousin Christian VIII, 1839–1848, was just as little disposed to renounce absolutism But now the cry for a free constitution grew louder, and the National Liberals worked for the abolition of absolutism They wished also to terminate the union of Schleswig and Holstein and to attach more closely to Denmark that province in which the large proportion of German inhabitants endangered Danish nationality

Aims of the National Liberals

In the eighteenth century the two united duchies had once more come into the possession of the Danish Crown Schleswig was, however, not incorporated with the remainder of Denmark, it remained in close connection with Holstein, and German was the official language Frederic VI did, indeed, give Schleswig a diet of its own, but bound the two duchies together by placing them under a Ministry and a supreme court common to both

As the result of its long connection with Holstein, Schleswig had become more and more German and by the nineteenth century almost half the population spoke German When the Danes at last took measures to preserve the Danish nationality of the province this course embittered the Germans Thus it came about that a Schleswig-Holstein party grew up in the two duchies and demanded that Schleswig-Holstein should be made independent of Denmark and be constituted one of the states of the German Confederation The leaders of this party, the princes of Augustenburg, who as descendants of a younger son Hans the younger of King Christian III hoped to obtain the duchies for themselves if the royal line became extinct which seemed likely to happen

Denmark's German Duchies

shortly—sought support in Germany, where an enthusiastic national movement in their favour was started.

The other Scandinavian countries, on the contrary, with whom the idea of Scandinavian unity at that time had great weight, were in favour of the aims of the National Liberal party in Denmark.

Schleswig's Desire for Independence

The king hesitated for a long time, but at last he declared, on July 8th, 1846, that Schleswig was indissolubly bound to Denmark In other respects, too, he met the wishes of the National Liberals; and he had just completed the framing of a constitution when death cut short his labours on January 20th, 1848

Immediately after his death the Schleswig-Holstein party demanded the recognition of Schleswig-Holstein as a separate state But Christian's son and successor, Frederic VII, 1848–1863, refused to separate Schleswig from Holstein, though he promised Holstein, like the other provinces, a free constitution The Schleswig-Holstein party were, however, not willing to accept this proposal, and before long civil war broke out Prussia supported the party of secession, and a German army entered the duchies The Danes had to retire to Alsen, but the armistice arranged at Malmo, August 26th, through the mediation of Oscar I of Norway and Sweden, did not lead to the conclusion of peace In 1849 the war was renewed Meanwhile the reactionary party had gained the upper hand in Germany, Prussia made peace on July 2nd, 1850, and by the next year the resistance of Schleswig-Holstein was overcome

During the war Denmark had received a free constitution The draft prepared by Christian VIII had not met with general approval, and a Constituent Assembly summoned by Frederic VII therefore published a constitution, dated June 5th, 1849, in which the kingdom was made a limited monarchy This constitution was intended for Schleswig as well as Denmark, but to this the German Powers would not consent In 1852 it was agreed that Schleswig should not remain united to Holstein, but must not be incorporated with Denmark On the death of Frederic VII. the whole monarchy was to fall to Prince Christian of Glucksburg and his consort Louise of Hesse-Cassel, whose mother was a sister of Christian VIII. The general constitution of July 26th, 1854, met with opposition, however, especially from the populations of Holstein and Lauenburg, whose part was taken by Prussia and Austria.

German Powers Intervene

But in Denmark, where hopes were entertained, on account of the disputes existing between the chief German states, of solving the question of the constitution without German interference, the national —Eider-Danish—party, which proposed to incorporate Schleswig in the kingdom, gained the upper hand. Two days after giving his approval to a new constitution for Denmark and Schleswig, Frederic VII died in November, 1863

Christian IX, 1863–1906, gave way to the wishes of the Danes and signed the "November Constitution" But now Frederic—VIII —of Augustenburg came forward with his claims to the duchies, and was supported by Prussia and Austria These Powers refused to recognise the new king's right of succession except on condition that the November Constitution should be annulled As the Danes did not accede to this demand, the second Schleswig war broke out in January, 1864 Denmark had hoped to receive help from Norway and Sweden, as well as from the Western Powers, but these hopes proved to be ill founded The Danish army, which had occupied the "Danework," retired to Duppel as early as February 5th

Schleswig Causes a Second War

Here the Danes defended themselves bravely, but were at last forced to cross to Alsen The Prussians occupied Jutland, expelled the Danes from Alsen, and threatened to land on Zealand The Danes could now resist no longer At the Treaty of Vienna, October 30th, 1864, Denmark ceded the Duchies of Schleswig-Holstein and Lauenburg to Prussia and Austria, and her hope of recovering, by virtue of Article 5 of the Treaty of Prague, concluded on August 23rd, 1866, at least the northern part of Schleswig has not been fulfilled The loss of Schleswig resulted in a change of the constitution, and on July 28th, 1866, Denmark received the fundamental law still in force.

Soon after the declaration of peace the country became involved in internal dissensions A dispute arose in 1870 between the Government and the "Folketinget"—one of the Chambers of the Rigsdag—as to the correct interpretation of the constitution, and the struggle only

ended in 1894 when the "negotiating" portion of the Left Party, which had been divided since 1878, went over to the Right. In spite of this Denmark has been on the path of progress ever since the middle of the last century. The great agricultural reforms begun in 1788 have been continued and a fixed payment substituted for forced service. The number of tenant-farmers has fallen, and the peasantry have the same political rights as the other classes of the community. Like agriculture, manufactures, commerce, and shipping are progressing satisfactorily. The obligation on artisans to join a guild has been removed, and means of communication have been improved. The merchants have become independent of Hamburg. Copenhagen, which was provided with extensive fortifications in 1886, has been a free port since 1844

Good provision is made for national education, the general level of which is, on the whole, a high one; the people's universities, in particular, which have been imitated in Norway and Sweden, have promoted the education of the peasantry and exercised considerable influence on their intellectual life. On the accession to the Swedish throne of Charles XIII., who was old and childless, Christian Augustus, Prince of Augustenburg, was chosen as successor in 1809, but died suddenly on May 28th, 1810. It was then that a young Swedish officer, who met the Prince of Pontecorvo, Marshal Bernadotte, in Paris, offered him the Crown on his own responsibility, and contrived to use his influence in Sweden so that the marshal was designated heir to the Crown on August 21st at a Riksdag at Orebro. Bernadotte, who called himself Crown Prince Charles John, went with his son Oscar to Sweden in October, and at once became actual ruler.

Sweden's Novel Choice of a King

The Swedes had chosen him on the supposition that he was on friendly terms with Napoleon, and hoped that he would regain Finland for them with the help of the emperor. Charles John, however, had never been Napoleon's friend and did not wish to be his vassal; he therefore abandoned the idea of reconquering Finland, which, in his opinion, Sweden could never defend. He would have liked to obtain possession of Norway, which, by reason of its situation, seemed to belong rather to Sweden than to Denmark. Accordingly he approached Alexander I. of Russia, and on April 5th, 1812, concluded a treaty with the Tsar and joined the league against Napoleon. In return for this Russia and Britain promised their assistance in the conquest of Norway. In May, 1813, he crossed over into Germany with an army, received in July chief command over the "united army of North Germany," was victorious at Grossbeeren and Dennewitz, and took part in the Battle of Leipzig. After this great battle he advanced against Denmark with part of the northern army, and by the Peace of Kiel, January 14th, 1814 compelled King Frederic VI. to relinquish the kingdom of Norway. Charles John then attached himself again to the allies, who had marched to France, and did not return to the north until the summer of 1814. In the meantime the Norwegians, who did not wish to submit to Sweden, had drawn up a free constitution and chosen the Danish prince, Christian Frederic, as their king. Charles John, who was shrewd enough to acknowledge the Norwegian constitution, succeeded in removing Christian Frederic and in bringing about the union between Sweden and Norway in a peaceful way.

Union of Sweden and Norway



CHARLES XIV. OF SWEDEN
The son of a lawyer, Bernadotte, one of Napoleon's marshals, was elected heir to the throne of Sweden in 1810, and became king without opposition on the death of Charles XIII. in 1818.

By his ability as a soldier and a politician Charles John raised his new country from the lethargy into which it had been plunged by the foolish policy of Gustavus IV. to its former rank as a kingdom; he ruled with energy and discretion and furthered the welfare of the land. He was therefore admired and beloved by the people, and, foreigner though he was,

he ascended the throne of Sweden as Charles XIV at the death of Charles XIII, on February 5th, 1818, without opposition.

In time the enthusiasm for the new king declined, he had, it is true, an attractive and lovable nature, but he was also violent in temper, intolerant of criticism, and became more and more conservative, especially after the "Revolution of July" The greatest dissatisfaction was aroused by his resistance to every proposal for altering the constitution, which on several points, particularly with respect to the organisation of the Riksdag, did not meet the requirements of the times He, the son of the Revolution, was charged with holding narrow views

Charles XIV Displeases His People

After 1830, a Liberal opposition was formed, which steadily increased in power, and numbered distinguished personalities among its leaders As the Government was strongly opposed to all innovations, the indignation at last grew so great that there were serious thoughts of compelling the king to resign in 1840 However, the storm was averted, and the last years of Charles XIV were passed in quiet He died on March 8th, 1844, aged eighty-one years

Under his son, Oscar I, 1844–1859, who was just as popular in Sweden as in Norway, the opposition became weaker The king attached himself to the Liberals, surrounded himself with Ministers of broad views, and sanctioned an extension of the freedom of the Press, and triennial assemblies of the Riksdag However, his popular proposition regarding the reconstruction of the Riksdag was rejected in 1850, and after the Revolution of February, when a reaction was sweeping over Europe, Oscar also grew more conservative and let the question of the Riksdag drop During his reign the management of the state was successfully carried on Oscar altered the foreign policy of Sweden by withdrawing from the Russian alliance It was suspected that the Russians were desirous of taking possession of certain portions of the Finnish frontier lands During the Crimean War, Sweden and Norway concluded a treaty with France and Britain, November, 1855, by which the aid of the Western Powers was assured to the united kingdoms in the event of Russia seizing any of the northern harbours Oscar, who considered himself a thorough Scandinavian, stood on the best of terms with Denmark, he acted as a mediator in the first Schleswig war, August, 1848, and later offered King Frederic VII a defensive alliance in order to protect the Eider boundary This offer was, however, not accepted by the Danes Oscar's son, Charles XV, 1859–1872, was also a personal friend of Frederic VII But the negotiations which had been opened with Denmark on account of the political situation of Europe after Frederic's death, November 15th, 1863, were discontinued so that the king was compelled to give up the cause of Denmark in 1864

Anticipating Russia's Advances

The question of the Riksdag was finally solved in the reign of Charles XV, as at the Riksdag of 1865 all the four Estates assented to a reorganisation The Riksdag now meets every year, and consists of two Chambers, the king has the right of dismissing the Riksdag and issuing the writs for a new election This reorganisation, by which the nobles were deprived of their last prerogatives, also effected a change of parties The "Intellectuals" were supported by the cultured classes, while the "Landt-manna party" aimed chiefly at economy in the administration, particularly in the army, and a more equal division of the burden of taxation In the reign of Oscar II, Charles' brother and successor, a violent dispute was caused by the customs policy, several of the Landt-manna party joined the representatives of the wholesale industry and carried a law for protection In recent years the Chambers, in which Conservatives and Liberals are now the contending parties, have introduced a new army law, by which the term of service for the "Bevaring"—those who are liable to serve in the army—has been considerably lengthened On the other hand, no agreement has yet been reached about the extension of the very limited franchise

Sweden's Splendid Progress

Sweden, no less than Norway, has made great material progress in the nineteenth century The legislature departed from the economic principles of an earlier age and abolished the restrictions which fettered commerce and manufacture At the same time necessary improvements have been made in the means of communication Trade and manufacture have opened up new paths for themselves Agriculture, which was so neglected in the eighteenth century, has developed to such an extent that Sweden, which in the eighteenth

century could not provide the corn necessary for home consumption, can now export grain. Cattle-breeding and mining, especially for iron ore, have also made great progress in recent years. As wealth has increased by the development of natural resources, provision has also been made for intellectual growth by improvement in the schools, so that in Sweden, as in the other two Scandinavian countries, popular education has now reached a high standard, and the Swedes have attained European fame in all branches of natural science. When the Treaty of Kiel, which transferred Norway from Denmark to Sweden in 1814, was proclaimed in Norway, it aroused universal indignation. The Norwegians did not wish, under any circumstances, to be subjected to the Swedes, whom they hated as enemies: the few who considered a union with Sweden advantageous were looked upon almost as traitors. Prince Christian Frederic, afterwards Christian VIII. of Denmark, who was viceroy at that time, and who was popular with the Norwegians, conceived the idea of taking advantage of the discontent against Sweden to make himself king. He accordingly summoned an assembly of the Estates of the kingdom at Eidsvold, north of Christiania, which should draw up a constitution for the country. This assembly met in April, 1814, and had completed its work by May 17th.



KING OSCAR I. OF NORWAY AND SWEDEN
The son of Charles XIV., he succeeded to the dual throne of Norway and Sweden, and, surrounding himself with Ministers of broad views, proved a good and popular ruler.

As a result of this constitution, which was modelled on the French constitution of 1791, Norway became a limited monarchy with one Chamber of Representatives. On this point the members of the Estates were all agreed; they all clung to the independence of Norway. But on other matters they were divided into two factions; the minority wished for the union with Sweden and desired to postpone the election of a king, while the majority were eager to appoint Prince Christian Frederic immediately as king.

On May 17th Christian Frederic was actually elected king. When the Swedish Government heard of the proceedings in Norway they at once complained to the allies, who despatched plenipotentiaries to Christiania to put into force the decision of the Peace of Kiel, but in vain. The Norwegians armed themselves, but their army was badly equipped and without capable leaders. Christian Frederic was no general and had no inclination for war; he always hoped, like the majority of Norwegians, that the Great Powers would respect the indignation of the Norwegians against the union. Accordingly, the war only lasted a few weeks. The Crown Prince, Charles John Bernadotte, marched into Norway. The Norwegians, following the command of their king, steadily retreated, although they were consumed with the desire for battle, and in some places fought successfully. Christian Frederic did not dare to risk a decisive engagement, but agreed to an armistice

On August 14th, the Convention of Moss, to the south of Christiania, was concluded. The Crown Prince, who felt that he was not strong enough to subjugate Norway completely, and who wished for peace in the north, promised in the name of King Charles XIII., before the Congress of Vienna assembled, that he would recognise the constitution of Norway; Christian Frederic, for his part, pledged himself to renounce the Crown, to convene a Storting—National Assembly—which should come to terms with the Swedish king, and to leave the country. These arrangements were carried out; the Storting made a few alterations

in the constitution, which necessitated the union with Sweden, and elected King Charles of Sweden as King of Norway, November 4th, 1814. The conditions of the union were more definitely stated by a National Act, the Rigsakt of 1815.



CHARLES XV.
Ascending the throne of Norway and Sweden in 1859 on the death of his father, he endeavoured to bring about closer relations between the two countries, and died in 1872.

In this way Norway came to be united with Sweden as an independent kingdom. Its constitution was one of the freest in Europe. Since that time the country has made great progress in every direction. The people successfully upheld their free constitution against the attacks of the Crown and maintained their equality with Sweden in the union. They were also able to turn the natural resources of their country to better advantage, and thus the general prosperity increased. The Norwegians have paid great attention to national education, and have taken a prominent position in art and science.

In the earlier years of the union there was often friction between the king and the people. Charles XIV., Bernadotte, who succeeded to the throne in 1818, thought that the Norwegian constitution was too democratic, and wished to extend his power. However, his attempts to alter the constitution were frustrated by the decided attitude of the Storting, which always offered a unanimous opposition to his propositions. The Norwegians, on their part, thought that the king did too little to obtain for them the equal footing in the union which had been decreed by the constitution, and, in addition, they feared his attacks on the constitution.

Little by little, however, the relations of king and people improved; Charles John experienced in his last years many proofs of the loyalty of the Norwegians. His son, Oscar I., a liberal and kindly disposed prince, did his utmost to meet the wishes of the Norwegians. King



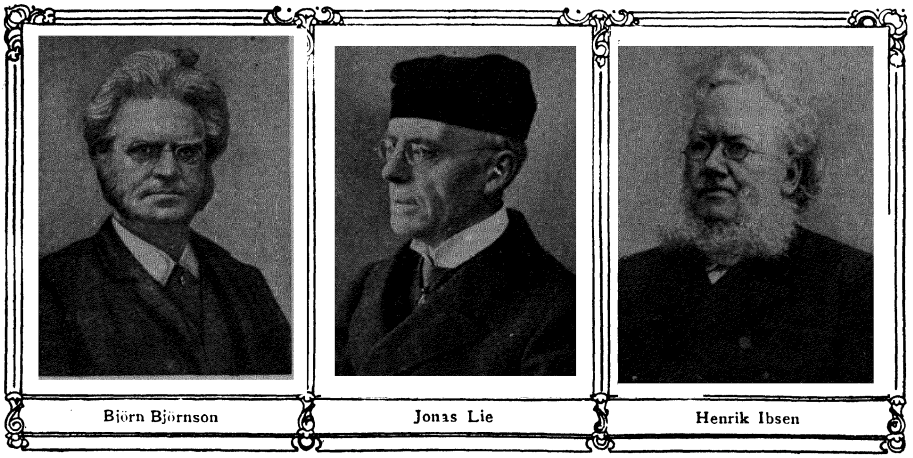
OSCAR II.
Charles XV. was succeeded by his brother, Oscar II., a poet and historian, who, in 1905, regretfully agreed to the demand of Norway for separation from Sweden

and Storting worked in harmony for the welfare of the country, which was making great progress in every direction; industry, in particular, received a fresh impetus. After his death, however, there was an end

of concord; the opposition in the Storting increased, and serious political struggles began which have continued almost without interruption up to the present day.

At first the official element had taken the lead in the Storting; but after the July Revolution, which had roused in Norway a more general interest in politics, and a strong national spirit, the peasants, who considered themselves the true representatives of the Norwegian people, and regarded the government officials with suspicion, founded a party in opposition to them. This party soon gained in strength by the coalition of the Liberals, who wished to extend the influence of the Storting at the expense of the executive power. It impeached the Ministry; the Ministers were actually condemned, and the king was forced to appoint a Sverdrup Ministry, June 26th, 1884. However, no sooner did the Left come into power than they began to disagree; they split up into Moderates and Radicals, and Sverdrup was obliged to give way to a Conservative Ministry in July, 1889. But the Conservatives did not remain in power; in 1891 the Liberals came into office, which they retained till after the spring of the new century.

Almost all literary activity had ceased with the decline of the national life in the fourteenth century. The people, however, still cherished the old sagas and poems. A wealth of national poetry was



THE GREAT FIGURES IN SCANDINAVIAN LITERATURE OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY
With the awakened enthusiasm for nationalism in the early part of the nineteenth century there dawned a new literary era in Scandinavia, the poets Björn Björnson, Jonas Lie, and others delighting in describing the characteristic traits in the life and customs of the people, while Björnson and Ibsen also achieved fame as dramatists.

now formed an opposition and established itself on the left side of the House, while what had been the official became the Conservative party, and supported the Government. The Left had a capable leader in John Sverdrup, 1876–1892; under him they became more important, and finally constituted the majority in the Storting. Consequently the relations between the Government and the Left were not over-friendly during the reign of Charles XV., 1859–1872.

Ill-feeling increased under his brother and successor, Oscar II. There were several points of dispute; the Government opposed various propositions of the Left, and could not agree with them concerning the exact meaning of a few points in the constitution. At last the Storting

springing up—songs, sagas, and fairy stories. These have been collected in recent times and furnish an interesting picture of the intellectual life of the people in earlier times. The old Norwegian language, which had remained comparatively unaltered only in Iceland, became obsolete as a literary language with the decline of literature, and survived only in dialects. The Danish language was introduced, and in the sixteenth century, when a fresh impulse was given to literary activity, the Norwegians wrote in Danish.

Thus the literature of the two countries became merged. The share which the Norwegians contributed, "Foelles litteraturen," was at first insignificant, but it increased and became more important as they gradually recovered from their

inertia But, in spite of the growing national spirit, there was as yet no effort to create a Norwegian national literature. Immediately after 1814 also, when the literary output was small, the poets showed little originality. They remained in the grooves of the eighteenth century, raved about their fatherland, and wrote songs on liberty, national novels, and dramas It was not until the year 1830 that a national literature of any importance began, with the poets Wergeland, who died in 1845, and Welhaven, who died in 1873. Both were filled with a fervent love for their country, and only differed in one point—namely, as to what would prove of most advantage to Norway The educated classes are still strongly influenced by Danish culture, and Welhaven desired to maintain the intellectual union with Denmark, Wergeland, on the other hand, hated the Danish culture and language, and was enthusiastic about his own nationality

The Dawn of National Literature

Thus in 1832 there began a violent literary feud It had some good results On the one hand it helped to check the exaggerated enthusiasm for everything Norwegian, on the other hand it strengthened genuine self-reliance and true patriotism With the extravagant enthusiasm for nationalism there was awakened an interest in the life of the people, in national poetry, and nature The poets Bjorn Bjornson, Jonas Lie, and others delighted in describing the characteristic traits in the life and customs of the people and their thoughts and feelings

At the same time the saga period was dramatised, and Bjornson and Henrik Ibsen, who died in 1906, produced a series of historical plays Efforts were made to preserve Norwegian as the national language From 1870 literature gradually assumed a realistic tone, the poets did not describe chiefly the life of the peasants as formerly, but all classes of society Poets such as Bjornson, Ibsen, Lie, Alex Kielland, who died in 1906, and Arne Garborg, born in 1851, undertook to solve social problems. Science was studied with gratifying results at the University of Christiania

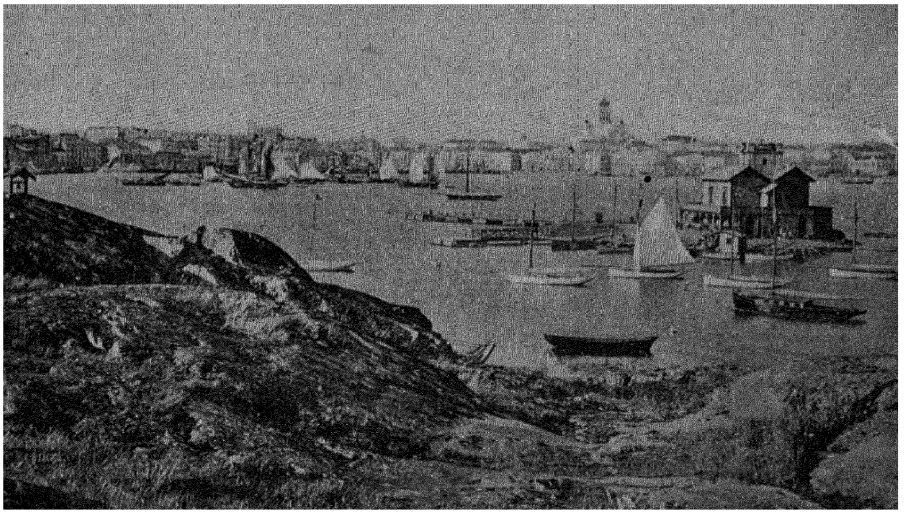
Finland Under the Swedes

Finland, which the Swedes had conquered and converted to Christianity in the thirteenth century, was not intimately connected with the kingdom of Sweden until the sixteenth century; in the fifteenth century it was generally given to some Swedish magnate as a fief It was not until the time of the Vasa that the royal power made itself felt in the land Gustavus Vasa reformed the government and system of taxation, destroyed the Catholic hierarchy, and introduced the Reformation, for which M Agricola, who died in 1557, in particular interested himself keenly, but the king's efforts to release the Finns from the oppression of their own nobles were fruitless The situation became still worse under the sons of Gustavus, Erik XIV and John

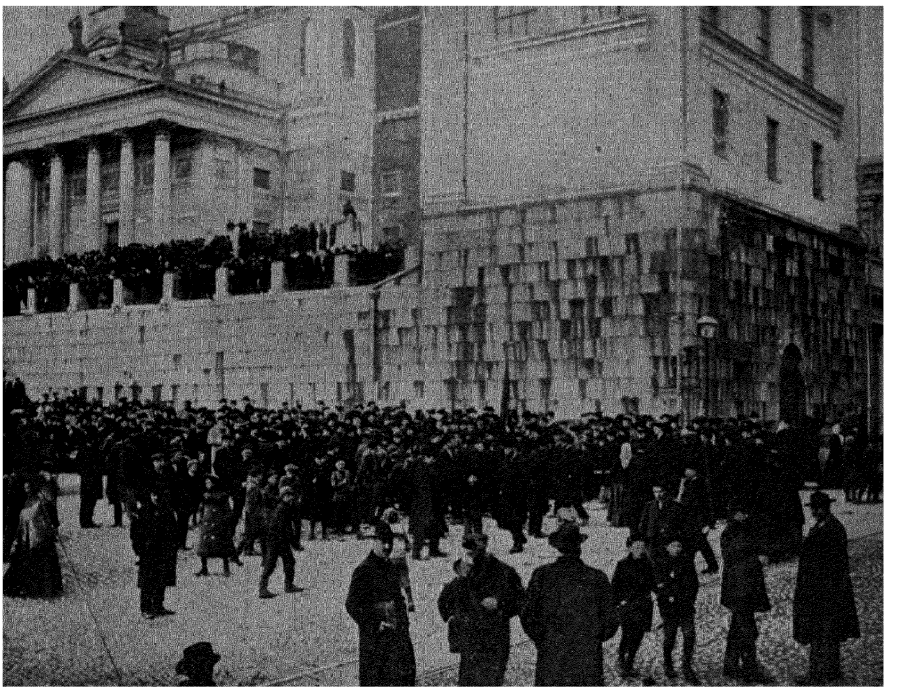
At last, in 1596–1597, the Finnish peasants rose against their oppressors, and, armed with clubs, plundered the estates of the nobles, but the rising, which spread over the whole country, was suppressed, and for the second time Finland was conquered This "Club War" cost the lives of 3,000 peasants The conditions improved after Charles IX became king Assistance was given to the country, and it was united more firmly to Sweden, the power of the nobility was crushed, and Finland, which had become a grand duchy in 1581, was governed from Stockholm, although it had its own court of justice at Abo There in 1640 the governor-general, Per Brahe the younger, who rendered valuable services to Finland, founded a university, which soon became the intellectual centre of Finland The Peace of Stolbowa, in 1617 fixed the frontier on the side of Russia From that time Finland enjoyed a time of prosperity until towards the end of the seventeenth century, when the land was terribly devastated by famine and pestilence The great Northern War came as a crowning misfortune The country did not recover until the eighteenth century, when Swedish rule predominated Even the war with Russia, 1741–1743, did not permanently affect the prosperity to which the country had again attained

Finland's Era of Prosperity

In the meantime desires for independence were awakening in the hearts of many Finns, who hoped, with the aid of Russia, to form an independent Finnish state under Russian protection This wish was partly realised at the beginning of the nineteenth century owing to the indiscreet policy of Gustavus IV, for after the unsuccessful war of 1808–1809 Sweden was obliged to cede Finland, together with the Aland Islands, to Russia by the Peace of



THE TOWN AS SEEN FROM THE HARBOUR, WHICH IS PROTECTED BY BATTERIES



THE SENATE HOUSE, WHERE LADY MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT SIT

HELSINGFORS, THE FORTIFIED SEAPORT CAPITAL OF FINLAND

Fredrikshamn, September 17th, 1809. The Emperor Alexander I. promised at the Diet of Borga, which he opened in person, that he would maintain the constitution of the country. Finland was united to Russia as an independent grand duchy, with Helsingfors for its capital. The provinces which had been ceded by the Peace of Nystad, 1721, and the Peace of Abo, 1743, were also incorporated with the grand duchy after several years. At first Alexander I. was true to his promise and respected the constitution, but later he became a reactionary, and in this respect he was followed by Nicholas I. Better times returned with Alexander II., who decreed that from 1869 the Diet—Landtag—to which Nicholas had allowed no authority, should again be regularly convened, and should have the power of legislation with certain restrictions. In this period reforms were introduced which furthered the material and social development of the country. In the nineteenth century the Finns also distinguished themselves by their literary activity. E. Lönnrot, who died in 1884, collected the old Finnish national sagas, "Kalevala," which attracted great attention when they were published in 1835. Joh. Runeberg, who died in 1877, Finland's greatest poet, extolled in "Fänrik Stals Sägner" the exploits of the Finns in the last war against Russia. Z. Topelius, who died in 1898, has earned well-deserved renown even beyond the boundaries of Finland by his "Narratives"—Erzählungen.

Later a movement was set on foot in Finland which aimed at making the national language equal in importance to the Swedish. The supporters of this movement, the "Fennomanen," were so successful in their efforts that both languages were put on an equal footing in everything which concerned the population of Finland. Although the people were divided into two parties on this language question, they have become closely united in resistance to the encroachments of Russia. These encroachments on the constitutional liberties of Finland have been steadily taking place since 1899, and the policy deliberately pursued by the Russian Government aims at the complete incorporation of Finland and the total destruction of Finnish nationality.

HANS SCHJÖTH.



A SCENE IN DENMARK'S CAPITAL: THE ROYAL THEATRE COPENHAGEN