countries accustomed to rapid action: between Russia, which utilizes to the utmost ideas of race and religion; England, which obeys the commercial spirit; and France, which is prone to move with sudden and hasty impulse. As the Germany of 1815 was built on perpetual compromises, it represented in European affairs the genius of compromise, which is that of diplomacy. To fully render this service to the peace of the world, of necessity the Confederation should have been organized for defence and not for attack, and should have been independent both of Berlin and Vienna. But the rivalries and antagonisms of the two were to keep the Confederation in constant anxiety and turmoil and to cease only when one should be able to expel the other.

In 1815 the preponderance in Europe seemed for a long time assured to Russia and England, the two powers which had been invulnerable even to the sword of Napoleon.

XXXIII

THE HOLY ALLIANCE. SECRET SOCIETIES AND REVOLUTIONS

(1815–1824)

Character of the Period between 1815 and 1830. — As the National Assembly of 1789 paid more heed to ideas than to facts, — a course which philosophy always pursues but which politics never does, — it had revived and applied to vast multitudes such principles of political liberty and civil equality as had seldom been realized except in small cities and tribes. Unfortunately society, like an individual, can never carry two ideas to victory at the same time. Equality, inscribed in the Code Napoléon, very quickly passed into the national character, and the French soldiers carried its fruitful germ thoughout all Europe. The Terror, civil discords and the ambition of a great man postponed the triumph of civil liberty. None the less the spirit of liberty among many European peoples united with the sentiment of nationality and added strength to the forces which threatened Napoleon. But the victors of Leipzig and Waterloo had no idea of giving it a place in the national law. They combined on the contrary to fetter what they called revolutionary passion, but what was only, if we eliminate its excesses and crimes, a new and legitimate evolution of humanity. The struggle which they engaged against the new spirit forms the principal interest of the drama unrolling between 1815 and 1830.

In this drama, on which side was justice and consequently the right to life and success? This is the question which must be put in front of every great social conflict. Setting aside commonplace accusations of hypocrisy and obstinacy, of fondness for disorder and search for utopias, there always remains the inevitable battle between an old society, which is unwilling to die, and a new society, which persists in making a place for itself in the world and which deserves to have one.

Unfortunately this struggle was envenomed by passions which impelled one party to cruel acts of violence and the other to criminal conspiracies. The golden mean would have been attained by following the example of England in 1689. Thus the spirit of conservatism would have been retained from the past but vivified for the satisfaction of new needs by the spirit of progress, which absolute royalty had formerly favored but which in the nineteenth century could be favored only by liberty. Louis XVIII, whom a long residence in England had enlightened as to the advantages of representative government, might perhaps have managed to effect this miracle in France. He saw plainly that the country was divided into two camps armed against each other, and he understood that a wise and prudent policy alone could unite them. "One must not," he said to his brother, the Count d'Artois, who had become the leader of reaction, "one must not be the king of two peoples. All my efforts are directed to the end of there being but one people." This sagacity did not suit the violent. Its application was rendered impossible by the Holy Alliance through a system of stern repression which excited revolutionary activity throughout all Europe.

Moreover the misfortunes of that period sprang from the fatal idea contained in the word "restoration." To some, taken literally, it seemed a threat, to others a promise. It became both the war-cry of those whom the return of abuses alarmed, and the countersign of the new crusaders who were ready to set out to battle "for God and the king," that is to say for the reëstablishment of ancient privileges. In politics one changes by going forward but restores nothing by going back, for society in modern nations is composed of elements so mobile and variable that the generations follow but do not resemble each other.

Efforts to preserve or reëstablish the Old Régime. Peculiar Situation of France from 1815 to 1819. — The Revolution of 1789, undertaken to secure for the individual the greatest sum of liberty, had on the contrary increased the strength of the government in the countries where it temporarily triumphed, as well as in those which felt only its counter-shock. Twenty-three years of war trained the people to furnish more liberally their tribute of blood and their tribute of money. They paid more and conscription or voluntary service took the place of voluntary enlistment.

Moreover administrative authority, formerly dispersed among many intermediate bodies, had reverted to the prince, and an energetic centralization had restored to his hands all the national forces.

Thus the "paternal" governments were stronger in 1815 than in 1789. They had larger resources to enforce obedience. They found in their path fewer of those traditional obstacles which seem so fragile and which are sometimes so unyielding. Leipzig and Waterloo made them the masters of the world. They insisted upon so organizing their conquest as to restore order. It soon seemed to them that this order could be assured only on condition of arresting all movement, that is to say, of stifling the new life which was for them, according to the expression of Frederick William IV, only the "contagion of impiety." Victorious over the Revolution by virtue of arms, they wished to be victorious also by virtue of institutions and by inflexible severity. Some clever persons even believed that popular passions rendered useful service to the absolute cause, and in certain places persecution of the liberals was inaugurated by throwing the populace on their scent.

At Palermo and Madrid the Constitutions of 1812 were abolished and absolute power was restored. At Milan the Austrian Code replaced the French Code and cannon, trained with lighted fuses on the public square, indicated what system of government was being reëstablished. The States of the Church and Piedmont returned to the same situation as in 1790. The institutions of Joseph II in Austria, of Leopold I in Tuscany and of Tanucci at Naples were condemned as mischievous. In order to prevent the return of "those reforms, more abusive than the abuses themselves," a secret article of the treaty, signed at Vienna on June 12, 1815, by Frederick IV, stated, "It is understood that the king of the Two Sicilies, in reëstablishing the government of the kingdom, will tolerate no changes which cannot be reconciled with the principles adopted by his Imperial and Royal Apostolic Majesty for the internal management of his Italian possessions." Then too, south of the Alps and of the Pyrenees, the privileges of the clergy and nobility were revived and the Inquisition flourished once more, while the friends of public liberty set out on the road to exile, to prison and even the scaffold.

In Germany the princes forgot their promises of 1813,

except in Bavaria and a few petty states belonging to the ancient Confederation of the Rhine. As for Austria and Prussia, it seemed as if nothing had taken place in the world during a quarter of a century. In both the patriarchal system was maintained, defended by 300,000 soldiers on the Danube and 200,000 on the Spree, and also by the immense army of functionaries. Even a Prussian league of nobles was formed to maintain the distinction of classes and feudal immunities. The Tories continued to govern England in the interest of the aristocracy. The royalists of France would have gladly reorganized everything in the same way for the advantage of the great proprietors and of the clergy. In the Chamber of Deputies under the leadership of La Bourdonnaye, Marcellus and Villèle, men talked openly of returning to the old régime even by a bloody path. The emigrants of Coblentz and the fugitives of Ghent were determined to have their revenge for their two exiles. In the official world they obtained it by means of laws and decisions which were often dictated by passion, and among the masses, by means of murders which the authorities dared not or could not prevent or punish. A royal ordinance proscribed fifty-seven persons. Marshal Ney and several generals were condemned to death and shot. Marshal Brune and Generals Ramel and Lagarde were assassinated. The provosts' courts, from which there was no appeal and the sentences of which were executed within twenty-four hours, deserved their sinister reputation. The restored monarchy had its prison massacres, its terror, which was called the White Terror, its executioners and its purveyors of victims who rivalled those of the Convention.

In Spain and in Italy there were the same excesses. Ferdinand VII at Madrid imprisoned, exiled and condemned to death jealous partisans of the Constitution of 1812. At Naples the Calderari, or coppersmiths, who had been pitted against the Carbonari, pillaged and assassinated on behalf of the Minister of Police, the Prince di Canosa, whose deeds of violence went so far that the allied kings, fearing serious troubles, demanded his removal.

Louis XVIII was also disturbed by the excessive zeal of his dangerous friends, more royalist than the king himself. By the ordinance of September 6, 1816, which the extremists called a coup d'état, he dismissed the ultra-royalist Chamber. This measure was in accordance with public

sentiment, for France was by no means exclusively composed of reactionaries. In spite of her misfortunes she showed remarkable vitality. Furthermore the ideas of 1789, grafted in part on the civil code, had maintained a liberal spirit in the country in advance of the rest of Europe. In the Charter granted by Louis XVIII the idea of national sovereignty was greatly obscured by vestiges of the theory of divine rights. But offices were no longer sold, or lettres de cachet issued, or secret procedure indulged in. Justice did not depend upon the ruling power. The treasury belonged to the nation. The laws were discussed by representatives of the country instead of being made by the sovereign. The publicity of debate furnished a powerful guarantee for the impartiality of the judge and the wisdom of the legislator, over whose actions and votes public opinion kept watch. Thanks to the wisdom of the sovereign, the era of representative government really began for France at the time when it was disappearing in Spain and Italy and when the German princes were evading the execution of article thirteen of the Federal Compact which promised it to their peoples. Thus, although 150,000 foreigners still occupied the French provinces, all eyes remained fixed upon this country, where the new era had first dawned and where it seemed on the point of reviving.

Alliance of the Altar and the Throne. The Congregation. — But this return to the wise ideas of the first National Assembly did not suit the calculations of the clergy, the nobility, the adherents of right divine and the privileged classes of all sorts, who, for the sake of combating a social order contrary to their habits of mind and existence, employed every weapon. Religion was the special weapon which seemed bound to be most efficacious.

The considerations of the princes were mainly temporal. Although they had concluded a holy alliance, religion was in their eyes only the tool of politics. But the papacy, which had also just recovered its territorial power, took alarm at the state of men's minds. Philosophy, the sciences and liberty of thought seemed to it far more to be dreaded than Luther and Calvin. It wished on behalf of the Church to take part in the campaign upon which the kings had entered for the sake of maintaining royal power. The Roman curia became the resolute, implacable adversary of that modern spirit which is destined to triumph, since it is

only the necessary and divine development of human reason and conscience. With each generation Rome enlarged her claims, the final word of which has been uttered in our own day in the Syllabus and in papal infallibility.

Those who in the sixteenth century had been her ablest auxiliaries against the Reformation offered her their consistent aid. The Jesuits, whose order, half a century before Pope Clement XIV had declared abolished, had just been reëstablished by Pius VII (1814). From Rome they rapidly spread over the Catholic world, especially through France where, although not yet legally recognized, they were always more numerous than elsewhere. They displayed against the new enemy the same skill which they had manifested after the Council of Trent. Their deservedly famous missions brought about many conversions. But the Jesuits then inspired zealous Roman Catholics and most of the clergy with such distrust as prevented their being intrusted with the education of the young. The superintendence of the higher schools in France was committed to the bishops. This they had already secured in the other Catholic countries. After the fall of the Directory a reaction had sprung up in France against the irreligious spirit of the eighteenth century. This reaction spread through all European countries, Chateaubriand with his *Genius of Christianity* being its most brilliant exponent. At his side stood a logician, De Bonald, with his *Primitive Legislation*, and De Maistre, "a savage Bossuet," a man of passionate eloquence and of uncompromising disposition. These two, full of mediæval theories, dreamed of such a triumph for the ideas of Gregory VII as that tireless old man had never been able to secure himself. Because Chateaubriand, De Bonald and De Maistre were not priests, but laymen, they drew the more attention. An audacious priest, Lamennais, wrote the *Essay on Indifference* and aimed at governing the world by papal infallibility. A society was formed to put in practice the ideas of Count de Maistre and to subject Italy at least to that theocratic government of which the Pope was to be the head.

In the sixteenth century in one-half of Europe the interests of the princes and of Rome were opposed. Religious parties were even at times revolutionary parties. Thus the League desired the commune, the Protestant gentlemen of France aimed at ridding themselves of royalty, and the Anabaptists declared war on society as a whole. After 1815

politics and religion were everywhere in accord, even in Protestant monarchies, where the civil authorities sought alliance with the religious spirit. Poets, as in the early *Odes* of Victor Hugo and the *Méditations* of Lamartine, sang the majesty of worship and the sweetness of pious sentiments. Philosophers erected theocracy into a system. Politicians wished to restore to the clergy its landed possessions, together with its civil power. Writers of all sorts furbished up a fantastic revival of the Middle Ages, peopled with brilliant cavaliers and fair and high-born ladies, with mighty kings and well-obeyed priests who together governed virtuous and disciplined populations. Society, which was profoundly moved by these various influences, especially in its upper classes, readily lent itself to the organization, "for the defence of the altar and the throne," of a secret body, the Congregation. This association numbered in France as many as 50,000 members, lay and ecclesiastical. Finally, in the last years of the Restoration, it controlled the government and the king and ended by overthrowing both.

The focus of this religious expansion was the very country where philosophy had reigned supreme. The phenomenon however was universal. In all churches fervor had redoubled. The Methodists in England and the United States, the Moravian Brethren, the Pietists in Germany and Switzerland, reawoke the iconoclastic zeal of the sixteenth century. Bible Societies found themselves possessed of sufficient funds to distribute gratuitously between 1803 and 1843, 12,000,000 Bibles. Madame Krüdener won over to her mystical ideas the Tsar Alexander, who expelled the Jesuits, but declared himself the protector of an association formed for the purpose of diffusing the New Testament among all the peoples of his empire. The Russian Princess Galitzin returned to the communion of Rome and her son became a missionary to the Indies. A Dane of almost royal blood, the Count von Stolberg, who had abjured Protestantism, wrote (1806–1818) a history of the Roman Church, so favorable to the Holy See, that the Roman propaganda made haste to translate and publish it in Italian. In Switzerland a grandson of the great Haller declared himself a Catholic and became the disciple of De Bonald. The most ancient university of England was agitated by the "Oxford Movement."

One special attempt was made, not destitute of grandeur, if grandeur can attach in human affairs to undertakings condemned in advance to failure by their very nature. The protectorate over Protestant interests in Germany had belonged at first to the house of Saxony, the cradle of the Reformation, but that dynasty had lost this distinction on becoming Catholic for the sake of obtaining the Polish crown. This protectorate was claimed by the Electors of Brandenburg and was exercised by the sceptic Frederick II himself. After 1815, Frederick William II from religious zeal and dynastic self-interest tried to discipline the churches born of the Reformation, so as to oppose Protestant unity to Catholic unity, Berlin to Rome, the king of Prussia to the pontiff of the Vatican. He aimed at welding together the members of all the Protestant confessions, including those of England, into one evangelical church. He built them a temple and drew up a liturgy for the new cult. On October 18, 1817, the three hundredth anniversary of the foundation of Protestantism, he caused to be celebrated a Holy Communion, in which a Lutheran minister gave him the bread and a Calvinist minister the wine of the Sacrament. "They are uniting in a void!" exclaimed Gans; and he was right, for such union was a denial even of the Reformation, whose fundamental principle is liberty of individual examination. Therefore the scheme of Frederick William failed, but its political usefulness was too great to be abandoned.

So, in spite of the charters accorded and the constitutions granted or promised and in spite also of the good intentions of certain princes to effect reforms, the ancient system, aided by the powerful organization of the Catholic Church and by the revival of religious sentiment, tried to hold its own or to renew itself in order to restore what the Revolution had destroyed. It wished to restore domination over human will and conscience with that preëminence of the powerful and that dependence of the lowly which seemed to some to have maintained tranquil and prosperous periods. But this reaction was often in contradiction with itself.

Liberalism in the Press and Secret Societies. — Confronting the powerful party which was dominated by the memory of past glories and recent misfortunes and which wished to protect society from storm by placing it under the double

guardianship of monarchical faith and religious faith, there were enormous numbers who ardently cherished the memory of the ideas for which the revolution and the national insurrections of the later days of the empire had been made. There were in Belgium, Italy and Poland, patriots who would not accept the sway of the foreigner. There were everywhere the mixed multitudes, former freemasons or republicans, liberals or Bonapartists, who through self-interest, sentiment, or theory clung to the institutions of 1789 or 1804 and believed them necessary to good social order. In their ranks were men of heart and talent who openly advocated the new ideas in legislative chambers where such existed; in the courts, when a political case was on trial; in newspapers and books, and even in songs, wherever the censorship allowed them to appear. Such heroes in France were Benjamin Constant, Foy, Manuel, Étienne, Lafitte, the elder Dupin, Casimir-Périer, Paul Louis Courier, Béranger, Augustin Thierry, Cousin and a thousand others. In Germany there were the great patriots of 1813, such as Arndt, Görres, Jahn, whom the Prussian police soon forbade to speak or to write. In Italy there were Manzoni, who in his *Sacred Hymns* endeavored to reconcile religion and liberty, Berchet with his patriotic *Odes*, Leopardi with his fiery *Canzones* and the gentle Silvio Pellico with his tragedy of *Eufemio di Messina*, wherein Austria discerned a war-cry against the foreigner.

These men, the orators and writers, were the friends of free discussion and of that pacific progress which alone is effective. But others, fanatics of a new creed, moved restlessly in the dark and organized secret societies wherein the impatient dreamed of insurrection and the criminal of assassination. They existed in all forms and under every sort of name, as the Knights of the Sun, the Associates of the Black Pin, the Patriots of 1816, the Vultures of Bonaparte. Some already possessed an international character which, fifty years later, was destined to manifest other passions and above all other appetites. The "Reformed European Patriots" and the "Friends of Universal Regeneration" proposed to unite the nations against their kings, just as their successors to-day wish without distinction of country to unite the poor against the rich, the workmen against their employers, for the purpose of bringing about a revolution, not indeed in creeds or institutions, but in social order. The