IX

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY

Accession of Francis Joseph (1848). — The reign of Francis Joseph fills the history of Austria during the last fifty years. A youth of eighteen, he ascended a throne that seemed tottering to its fall. In every part of his dominions there was disorder or open rebellion. In the proclamation announcing his accession he declared, "We hope with the aid of God and in concert with our peoples to succeed in reuniting in one great state body all the countries and all the races of the monarchy." This ambition was worthy of a great sovereign. It was possible only under some form of centralized federation, which, while grouping all around a common point, left individuality to each. It was a programme which every people under the monarchy except one was ready to ratify. The one dissident and opposing member in the body politic was the German minority. Accustomed to rule, it would not descend to a plane of equality with the other races, on whom it looked with the contempt of a superior. And they, proud of their traditions and confident in their strength, asked not for favors, but for rights. As a result the agitation was smothered for a time and Austria entered upon bleak years of pitiless reaction.

Austrian Absolutism (1850–1866). — Letters patent from the emperor (January 1, 1852) divided the different provinces into administrative circles and curtailed further the meagre powers of the various diets. Hungary was ruled by martial law until 1854. The attempt was made to Germanize all Austrian subjects. The German language was rendered obligatory in the civil administration, the courts and schools of the Hungarians, Servians, Roumanians, Croatians, Slavonians and Bohemians. For a Bohemian to publish a newspaper in his own language was a crime. The press was silenced and jury decisions were reversed by superior order.

In its measures of repression the government invoked the powerful coöperation of the Catholic Church. The Austrian bishops had declared "that sentiment of nationality was a relic of paganism; that difference of languages was a consequence of the original fall of man." Hence all were to be Germanized! The concordat of 1855 placed all private and public education under the control of the bishops, and allowed the circulation of no book which had met ecclesiastical censure. It gave to the high clergy the right to imprison and inflict corporal penalties on whom they pleased, and for that end put at their disposal the governmental police. Prince Schwartzenberg had died in 1852. But under Alexander Bach, minister of the interior and negotiator of the concordat, the dark ages settled down upon Austria.

In the Crimean War Austria willingly played an ignoble part. She owed to the Tsar Nicholas an eternal debt, because he had rescued her in the Hungarian revolution. But she dreaded the might of Russia and would gladly see her crippled. Moreover, it was her interest to uphold the authority of the Sultan over his Christian subjects. Though ostensibly on the side of Great Britain and France, her dilatory tactics and irresolution angered the allies. When, by the alliance of France and Piedmont in 1859, Austria was swept out of Lombardy, she was reaping as she had sown. Her Bohemian and Hungarian subjects rejoiced in her reverses at Magenta and Solferino. In Bohemia the peasants said, "If we are defeated, we shall have a constitution; if we are victorious, we shall have the Inquisition."

The emperor had grown older and hence stronger and wiser. He dismissed Bach and ventured on some timid reforms (1860). Goluchowski, a Galician, neither German nor Hungarian, was called to the ministry and allowed to elaborate a partial charter. The Schmerling ministry was charged with its application. There was to be a Chamber of Nobles, named by the sovereign, and a Chamber of Deputies, named by the provincial Diets. But all was so devised as to swamp the other nationalities under the preponderance of the Germans. The scheme was a dismal failure. Venetia, Hungary, Transylvania and Croatia refused to send their representatives. The Hungarian leader, Deák, planted himself firmly on the abrogated Hungarian constitution of 1848. The Hungarian legists asserted that Francis Joseph

was not legally their sovereign as he had never come to their country to be crowned. The emperor paid a formal visit to Pesth. He dismissed Schmerling from office and replaced him by Belcredi, a Moravian, who cared far less for the Germanization of the empire. Prague, Pesth and Lemberg illuminated as for victory. In Galicia they even dared to teach the Polish language in the schools. Hungary awoke to new life, and in its Diet openly demanded all the rights and privileges which the Emperor Ferdinand IV had granted.

The Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and Political Reforms (1866). — The Austro-Prussian War, with its catastrophe of Sadowa, was in the end a blessing to Austria. Like Antæus, she rose the stronger for having been prostrated upon the ground. Her German inhabitants, as arrogant and self-assertive as before, remained to her, but her internal and foreign policy could never again be the same. She was no longer a German state. Even the loss of Venetia, though a humiliation, increased rather than diminished her strength. As long as Austria sought her centre of gravity outside herself, whether in Italy or Germany, she had defied with impunity all the aspirations of her subject races and had scoffed at their historic rights. Now it was forced upon the consciousness of the most obtuse that she must revolutionize all her antecedent policy or submit to speedy dissolution. The Emperor Francis Joseph keenly realized both the imminent perils and the rich possibilities of the situation. A new order of things could never be brought about by any statesman of his dominions, identified as was each of them with some grievance or faction. With insight akin to genius he discerned the man for the hour. He invited a foreigner and a Protestant, a former minister of Saxony, the Count von Beust, to accept the chancellorship and to undertake the complete reorganization — political, financial, military — of the most devotedly Roman Catholic and hitherto the most reactionary empire in Europe.

The new chancellor treated at once with the Hungarians. The terms of the Ausgleich or agreement with Hungary were submitted by a committee of sixty-seven members of the Magyar Diet, having at their head Francis Deák, "the Franklin of Hungary," the ablest, purest and most patriotic of her sons. Their first two proposals were, that

the emperor should recognize the independent existence of Hungary by giving her a ministry of her own and should himself be crowned as her king. Count Julius Andrassy, a political exile, who had been condemned to death for his share in the revolution of 1848, was appointed Hungarian prime minister (February 18, 1867). On June 8 the coronation of Francis Joseph at Pesth as king of Hungary was celebrated with all the ancient ceremony and pomp. Twenty days later he ratified the Ausgleich. The Hungarian crown and stripe of green were added to the imperial flag, which ever since has indicated the dual monarchy.

Every feature of the new political arrangement bore a dual character. The Ausgleich itself afforded a modus vivendi, but it was as much a formula of separation as a formula of union. It was like the hyphen dividing and joining the two words in the official title, Austro-Hungarian, by which the new empire was to be known. Henceforth there was Cisleithania or "Austria," a jumble of all the states and provinces supposed to be on the west of the Leitha, and Transleithania or "Hungary," another jumble of all the states and provinces on the east of that river. In each jumble there were two factors, a dominant and supercilious minority — Magyar in Hungary, German in Austria — and an overborne and refractory majority. The only cord which fastened Cisleithania and Transleithania together was possession of a common dynasty. Let that dynasty become extinct and at once they would fall apart. Affairs of foreign interest but common to the two — foreign relations, war, marine, imperial finances — were to be confided to an imperial cabinet responsible to the parliaments of the two states. Affairs of domestic common interest — coinage, customs-duties, military service, special legislation — were controlled by delegates of the two parliaments, sixty from each state, to meet alternately at Vienna and Pesth. Nor could these delegates do more than vote a temporary arrangement, a kind of contract, for ten years.

Such a system was an anomaly, a political experiment without precedent. Hungary entered upon it with her revived liberal constitution of 1848. She assumed three-tenths of the public debt. Austria likewise possessed a liberal constitution, in its present form dating from 1867. The seventeen Austrian provinces had each its Landtag or legislative body. Above them rose the Reichsrath, con-

sisting of a house of lords and house of 203 deputies, elected by the seventeen Landtags.

Hungary was appeased. The Austrian Germans were content, but a cry of indignation and rage went up from all the other peoples of the empire. The Slavs had received nothing but wordy concessions as to education and language, which were expected to be and were afterwards evaded.

The Bohemians or Czechs had historic rights as ancient and a political entity as definite and distinct as the Magyars of Hungary. Nor were they far inferior to them in number. But Count von Beust was seeking not justice but expediency, and believed that, since two races were satisfied, he could ignore the rest. Bohemia, Moravia, Carniola, refused to send delegates to the Reichsrath. So skilfully had the electoral apportionments been manipulated that their abstention did not cause a deadlock, a minority of voters being represented by a quorum or majority of deputies. An ethnographic congress was then being held in Moscow (1867). It was natural that many Austrian Slavs should attend this family reunion of pan-Slavism. Their presence in the ancient metropolis of the Tsars produced a profound sensation all over Europe.

Meanwhile the concordat was practically abrogated, civil marriage authorized, education taken from clerical control, the jury restored, the press partially emancipated, the right of public meetings guaranteed, and the army reorganized on the Prussian model. Some of these reforms became sharp-edged weapons in Slavic hands. On August 22, 1868, the Czech deputies issued their declaration. By this memorable document, which constitutes the platform of the Bohemian nation to-day, in calm and dignified language they set forth their rights and their demands. Encouraged by the emperor (September, 1871) they submitted a programme, called the Fundamental Articles, which proposed autonomy for Bohemia under Francis Joseph, who was to be crowned its king. The furious outcry of the Hungarians and Germans prevented its being carried into effect. Shortly afterwards the title of chancellor was suppressed. Von Beust was succeeded as minister of foreign affairs by Count Andrassy. Thus a Hungarian had become the ministerial head of the dual empire.

The Hungarians continued to treat their Slavic and other

subjects as cruelly as the Austrians in their worst days had treated them. Their conception of freedom or toleration was limited to freedom and toleration for themselves. Difference of religion inflamed the hatred of race. They regarded the Croatians, Roumanians, Servians, Slovaks, not so much as members of other nationalities, but as dissenters and heretics who must be Magyarized at any cost. Nor were they at first inclined to renew the Ausgleich with Austria when its first term of ten years expired. In both countries local matters continued to absorb the public mind until the insurrection in Herzegovina against the Sultan and the massacres in Bulgaria roused the attention of Europe and thrust the Eastern Question again to the front.

Acquisition of Bosnia and Herzegovina (1878). — In 1877, after having exhausted all the resources of diplomacy to end the horrors in Bulgaria, Russia declared war against the Sultan and invaded the Ottoman Empire. The Austro-Hungarian government was involved in extreme difficulty. Its Slavic subjects sympathized keenly with their suffering brethren in Turkey and demanded coöperation with Russia. The Hungarians, blood kinsmen of the Turks, mindful of Turkish hospitality in 1849 and full of resentment against Russia, were as eager to coöperate with Turkey. General Klapka, the hero of Komorn, offered his services to the Sultan. The Turks were toasted and feasted at Pesth and the Russians at Prague. The Germans, dominant at Vienna, cared nothing for the Bulgarians. Above all, they dreaded the extension of Russian influence and territory which was certain to result from the war. But the racial condition of their empire made neutrality a necessity. To side in arms with either belligerent would rend the monarchy in twain. Yet, anxious to make the most of a difficult situation, the government intended that its enforced neutrality should be paid for. A quasi promise was obtained from the Tsar that on the conclusion of peace he would not oppose the occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina by Austria-Hungary. The Congress of Berlin (1878) authorized Austria to occupy and administer those provinces "in the name of the Sultan." Their conquest was bloody and costly. It added to the embarrassment of the empire even more than to its territory. It introduced a population difficult to amalgamate and increased the already threatening Slavic mass.

Austria-Hungary from 1878 to 1898. — Count Taaffe was minister-president from 1879 to 1893. An opportunist and a moderate, he endeavored to be hardly more than a political peacemaker. His efforts in that direction met little success, as did those of the Polish Count Badeni, who was in office from 1895 until November 30, 1897. Constantly the Austrian, and in less degree the Hungarian, parliament presented a scene of indescribable turbulence and confusion. Sometimes their disorder and lawlessness disgraced the name of legislation. Yet in their babel of languages and their bedlam of factional strife there was always something definite which the speaker or the party was seeking. What appeared to the ear or the eye mere wrangling was at bottom a serious assertion of principles, true or false, and a vindication or denial of rights. Hardly anywhere else has personality counted so little.

Since October, 1895, Count Goluchowski, a Pole, has been minister of foreign affairs. To him more than to any other statesman is due the policy of concert, followed by the six great Powers in reference to the Armenian, Cretan and Greek questions of 1895–1897.

Political Problems of To-day. — In more than one respect the Austro-Hungarian rather than the Ottoman Empire is the sick man of Europe. The antagonism of its races was never more pronounced than to-day and their interests never more divergent. The general advance of education renders each more able to secure those ends on which it is fiercely determined. Circumstances have made Austria-Hungary a migratory state upon the map, moving toward the south and east. But farther progress in that direction is checked by the vigorous youthful states along the Danube and the Balkans, while further disintegration is probable on the north and southwest. Yet her internal weakness is not so manifest as in the dark days when the present sovereign assumed his crown.

X

RUSSIA

Nicholas I (1825–1855). — As ruler of Russia the Tsar Nicholas during his reign of thirty years exercised a threefold influence upon European politics. First, as heir, not only to the victorious empire, but to the ideas of his brother, Alexander I, he was the acknowledged head of the absolutist or reactionary party throughout Europe. Second, as sovereign of the largest Slavic state, he was the hope of an awakening pan-Slavism, that should reunite Slavic tribes. The overthrow and absorption of Poland, the second largest Slavic state, after an intermittent warfare of centuries between her and Russia, was congenial to the other Slavs. It was among the Western states that she found most sympathizers and not among peoples of the same blood. Third, as sovereign of the empire of orthodoxy, he was regarded, and regarded himself, as of right the protector and champion of his coreligionists, subjects of other rulers, specially of the Greek Orthodox Christians, subjects of the Sultan of Turkey.

This presumed right of a Russian Tsar had been recognized by treaties, such as those of Kaïnardji (1774), Yassi (1792), Adrianople (1829) and Hunkiar Iskelessi (1833), with the Ottoman Empire. In this respect Nicholas was the legitimate successor of Peter the Great. Yet unlike Peter he detested Western civilization. A young man of eighteen at the time of the French invasion, the horrors and the triumph of that gigantic struggle were burned into his soul. Russia unaided had then annihilated the hosts of the hitherto invincible Napoleon. It is not strange if Nicholas thought that Russia could withstand the world. By his accession in 1825, just a century after the death of the great Tsar, the Muscovite Empire, for the first time in a hundred years, had a sovereign who was wholly Russian at heart and who believed only in Russia. The Russians adored him with such loyalty as no other ruler of the house