were greeted by Europe with an outburst of Homeric laughter. In 1836 he suddenly appeared in Strasburg, but in spite of his uncle's hat, sword, and boots, donned for the occasion, was marched off to prison. Undaunted, he made another attempt to rouse France in 1840 by appearing at Boulogne; but the boat conveying him and a few helpmates capsized, and wet and dripping he was fished out of the Channel by the ubiquitous police. For this second escapade he was condemned to imprisonment, but in 1846 made his escape to England. On the proclamation of the republic he became a candidate for the Assembly and was repeatedly returned by the electors. Plainly, he was outliving the ridicule he had aroused, and by his clever trading upon the magic name Napoleon was rallying about him all those classes, especially the peasants, who clung to the traditions of the empire. The election to the presidency of the republic was an honor addressed to the dead warrior rather than to his puny representative, but it furnished an ominous sign that the love of republican institutions was not very deeply rooted in the French conscience. Sincere republicans gazed at each other with consternation, and were assailed by the suspicion that the days of the new republic were numbered. How well-founded this fear was we shall presently see.

CHAPTER XX

THE REVOLUTION OF 1848 IN GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND ITALY

REFERENCES: FYFFE, Modern Europe; PHILLIPS, Modern Europe, Chapters XII.–XIII.; SEIGNOBOS, Europe Since 1814, Chapter XI., pp. 335–48; Chapter XII., pp. 389–99; Chapter XIII., pp. 401–23; ANDREWS, Modern Europe, Chapters IX.–X.; THAYER, Dawn of Italian Independence, Vol. II., Books 4–5; BOLTON KING, History of Italian Unity (1814–71), Vol. I., Part II., Chapters IX.–XIII.; HENDERSON, Short History of Germany, Vol. II., Chapter VIII.

SOURCE READINGS: ROBINSON, Readings, Vol. II., Chapter XL., Section 2.

The revolutionary spirit manifests itself in central Europe.

As we have seen, the revolution of 1830 produced no great changes in central Europe because the liberal and national sentiment had not yet become organized and powerful. Hence, the succeeding period had been one of continued reaction, relieved, however, by signs that the masses were becoming conscious of their servitude and ready to shake off the shackles of absolutism. Again the events at Paris served as a signal fire. A wave of jubilation passed over all the peoples from the Baltic to the Mediterranean, and they arose and declared for a free government and a national state. France once again vindicated her claim to be regarded as leader of Europe, but it is a fact that, even without her example, Italy, Austria, and Germany would not have supported the rule of repression much longer.

Revolution at Vienna, March, 1848.

Metternich's own capital, the very hearthstone of the spirit of reaction, was one of the first to feel the breath of the new freedom. On March 13, 1848, Vienna rose and

drove the aging prince, who more than any man was responsible for the narrow conservatism of the first half of the century, from the chancellery of the Austrian empire and from the capital. With him the whole system he had so elaborately built up collapsed at once, absolutism was renounced, and the feeble Emperor Ferdinand, frightened by the tumult in the streets, speedily promised a constitution and a Parliament. A new era seemed to dawn upon the realm of the Hapsburgs.

Revolution at Berlin.

The news of the fall of Metternich caused exultation throughout Germany, on which his hand had rested with no less heaviness than on Italy. Riots broke out in many of the small capitals of the Bund, and on March 18th Berlin followed the example of Vienna and rose to protest against the autocratic system. In view of Prussia's indifference to the revolution of 1830 this result was surprising. But the last decade had been preparing changes. The old king of the Wars of Liberation had been succeeded in 1840 by his son, Frederick William IV., and the generation which stood about the latter's throne was no longer satisfied with mere administrative efficiency, but demanded a share in legislation. Frederick William, in spite of his belief in Divine Right, had, as early as 1847, yielded so far as to call to Berlin a meeting of provincial delegates (the United Diet), sufficient proof that the movement of 1848 was more than a sudden popular caprice. As a result of the March days, which did not pass without the spilling of blood, the king withdrew his troops from the capital and promised to call a Parliament.

The revolution is national as well as liberal.

Thus all Germany was in the very first days of the new revolution converted to constitutionalism. But there was an equally potent desire among the people for an effective German union. Resolved to strike the iron while it was hot, the liberal leaders of various German states met, calmly shelved the Bund, and issued a call for a German Parliament,

to be elected by universal suffrage and endowed with full authority to create a supreme federal government.

A national Parliament at Frankfort.

The German Parliament, morally and intellectually a very distinguished body of men, met in May, 1848, at Frankfort-on-the-Main. It had a sincere desire to establish German unity; it had the learning necessary to solve all knotty constitutional problems; but it suffered from one fatal defect: it had no army, no body of administrative officials; in a word, no power. In the first weeks of revolutionary excitement that defect might be supplied by an irresistible public opinion; but if opinion weakened and the state governments, panic-stricken for the present by the revolutionary movement, recovered breath and courage—what then? The Bund had been established expressly to guarantee the sovereignty of the thirty-eight states, which would certainly not yield their dearest possession with composure. Austria and Prussia, in particular, proud of their traditions as great powers, could hardly be expected to bow weakly to the Democratic and revolutionary body sitting at Frankfort. Sooner or later one or the other or both would follow an independent policy, and the clash, testing the question of supremacy, would be at hand.

The Schleswig-Holstein difficulty.

The clash came over the Schleswig-Holstein complication. This is one of the most confused questions of history, the veritable nightmare of European diplomacy for a whole generation. The two duchies of Schleswig and Holstein occupy the southern half of the peninsula of Jutland, and are inhabited, except for the northern rim of Schleswig, which is Danish, by a German population. The king of Denmark was also duke of Schleswig and Holstein, but the two duchies were otherwise independent, having each its own laws and its own administration; and this independence, chiefly because of the difference in race, the duchies were very anxious to preserve. The test came through the ques-

tion of succession. The royal House at Copenhagen, about to die out in the male line, was in a quandary. The Danish law permitted the crown to pass to the female line, while the Schleswig-Holstein law, at least in the view of the German population, recognized only male succession. With separation staring him in the face, the Danish king declared in 1846 that he would under all circumstances maintain the unity of his monarchy. Great excitement prevailed at this announcement, and taking advantage in 1848 of the general disturbance of Europe, the Schleswig-Holsteiners, eager to be independent, rose in revolt.

Prussia disobeys the Parliament.

At this point the Parliament of Frankfort stepped in. Although determined to help the German brethren of the duchies, it was hampered by the fact that it had no armed force. Accordingly, it was obliged to put the destiny of its *protégés* in the hands of Prussia. The Prussians, entering Schleswig-Holstein, presently drove back the Danes, but the latter retaliated by seizing the Prussian merchant vessels in the Baltic. This fact, coupled with the interference of Russia and England, determined Frederick William to sign a truce with Denmark (August 26th), by which he practically delivered the duchies into the hands of the Danes. This action, branded as treason by the orators of the Parliament, roused great indignation. After a hot debate the Prussian armistice was reluctantly indorsed, because the Assembly had no army to enforce its opposition; but this yielding to Prussia furnished to the world the proof of the powerlessness of the Parliament over the states which it professed to control. After the armistice had been accepted, the members returned to the constitutional labors for which they had been summoned, where we shall leave them for the present while we look into the affairs of Austria and Italy.

Austria falls apart.

The Austrian empire was as crazy a patchwork as has ever been pieced together by fortune and state-craft. Germans in the west, Hungarians in the east, Italians in the south, and Slavs almost everywhere were expected to live together as brethren in a common household. A certain degree of harmony was maintained while the emperor at Vienna was undisputed lord and master; but as soon as the March revolution destroyed his autocracy, the component races flew apart with violent centrifugal action. In a few weeks the Italians at Milan and Venice drove out the Austrian troops, the Hungarians raised the banner of revolt, the Slavs of Bohemia, called Czechs, planned to follow their example, and to the casual view the proud empire seemed a thing of the past. Let us follow these insurrections in their leading centres.

The Italian patriots turn upon Austria.

In Italy the fall of Metternich was no sooner reported than the people of Lombardy and Venice, long restive under his lash, rose, fell upon the troops, and declared for independence. The Austrian army, yielding for the moment, retired in good order under its general, Radetzky, to a chain of impregnable fortifications prepared for just such an occasion, and known as the Quadrilateral. A provisional government at Milan appealed to all Italy for help, and especially to Charles Albert, king of Sardinia, the most powerful and most patriotic of the local princes. For the moment the national movement was irresistible, and all the more important rulers, the grand-duke of Tuscany, the king of Naples, and even the Pope, sent contingents to fight side by side with the Sardinians for the liberation of the northern provinces. It was Italy's first great national war; its purpose the expulsion of the foreigner.

Austria defeats Sardinia and Italy.

In this heroic enterprise, originating in the spontaneous action of the people, there was one fatal defect. Among the motley Italian forces the Sardinian army was the only efficient body, and its numbers were too small to resist the Austrian legions. When the clash came at Custozza, on

July 25th, the veteran Radetzky inflicted a decisive defeat on the king of Sardinia, reconquered Lombardy, and obliged Charles Albert to sue for a truce. When at the expiration of the truce the war was renewed, the Austrians won another great victory at Novara (March, 1849), and the struggle was over. Sick at heart the defeated Charles Albert abdicated, and his successor, Victor Emmanuel, made haste to sign a treaty with Austria by which he retired from the war and received back his undiminished realm. That left the Austrians face to face with their two revolted provinces of Lombardy and Venetia. Milan, the capital of Lombardy, being already in their hands, siege was now laid to Venice and the city obliged, after a splendid defence, to capitulate.

The revolution in Naples.

Though the struggle in the north against Austria is the climax of the Italian revolution, the rest of the peninsula shared in the aspirations and delusions of that year of turmoil. While the revolutionary movement was at its height, the Pope, the grand-duke of Tuscany, the king of Naples, and the lesser princes had made every conceivable concession to the liberals; but as soon as the tide receded, they hurried to return to the absolute *régime*. The king of Naples was the first to forget his promises. A despot without a scruple, or, rather, a vaudeville sovereign in real life, he overthrew the constitutional system, first in Naples proper, and afterward in Sicily. A reaction worse than that imposed by the Austrians on Lombardy, because its author was more despicable, fastened upon the fair provinces of the south. Far more memorable was the march of the revolution in the central section, in the States of the Church, governed at this time by Pius IX. In fact, the movement here throws a profound searchlight into Italian history.

The revolution at Rome.

Pius IX., elected to the papacy in 1846, was a kind and affable man, with a reputation for liberalism which he owed chiefly to an occasional good-natured word for it. He

sympathized also, to a certain extent, with the Italian national movement, and when Lombardy revolted against Austria, began by approving the action. But as soon as he became aware of the consequences, he called a halt. To send troops against Austria meant a declaration of war against that power and the adoption of a policy hardly consistent with his position as Pope. He found himself in a dilemma, the inevitable consequence of his twofold character, for as Pope and successor of the Prince of Peace he had spiritual obligations toward the whole Catholic world; and as lord of an Italian territory he had definite temporal interests, the commanding one just now being to join with the nation against the foreign conqueror. When he saw himself obliged to choose between his obligations to Catholicism and those to his state, he naturally preferred the greater to the lesser, and to the immense indignation of his people withdrew from the Austrian war. The incident proved that a Pope, occupying an international position, could never follow exclusive national ends, and the lesson sunk deep into Italian hearts. The immediate consequence was a revolution. A strong republican faction pronounced against Pius as a traitor to Italy; and when, alarmed at the situation, he sought refuge (November 24, 1848) with his friend, the king of Naples, the liberals took affairs into their own hands and erected the papal dominion into a republic. The leading spirit of the new government was Mazzini, a pioneer of Italian unity and a tireless conspirator against the selfish reigning houses of his unhappy country.

The Roman republic.

The Roman republic never had more than a fighting chance to live. Catholic peoples the world over were horrified at the dispossession of the Holy Father, and made ready to interfere. Louis Napoleon, just elected president of the French republic, was especially delighted at the op-

Napoleon overthrows the Roman republic.

portunity offered to curry favor with the Catholic clergy and peasantry of France; heedless of the fact that he was pitting republic against republic, he sent an army to Rome to sweep Mazzini and his followers out of the city. General Garibaldi, who had been created commander-in-chief, made a gallant fight, but had to give way to numbers, and in July, 1849, the French entered the conquered city. When the disillusioned Pope returned to his capital, he was cured of every predilection for reform, and reëstablished the hateful clerical administration with all its time-worn abuses.

Italy looks to the House of Savoy.

Thus closed the revolutionary war for Italy with a harvest of disappointments. Affairs relapsed to their former state; the brave effort had been apparently in vain. But one fact had been brought home to Italians, which was that they had in the king of Sardinia the one faithful ruler of the land, and in his army the one hope of redemption. Charles Albert had stood by the cause till his overthrow, and Victor Emmanuel, in spite of bribes and threats from Austria, refused to become a reactionary and to withdraw the constitution granted to Piedmont in 1848. Such conduct aroused a love and admiration which drew the eyes of all Italy toward the House of Savoy.

The army saves Austria.

While Austria was successfully reducing the Italians, she had her hands full with revolutions in every other part of her dominions. We have noted that the rising of the Germans at Vienna was the signal for similar risings among the Italians, Hungarians, and Czechs, not to mention a number of smaller nationalities. With confusion reigning at the capital and the emperor no better than an imbecile, it is certain that the state would have been lost, had it not been for the army. Its powerful discipline held it together, in spite of the general chaos; in Italy it had just proved its metal. Its leaders were of course eager to apply Radetzky's remedy of the sword to all the other rebels, and soon showed how difficult it is for a mere mob to stand up against professional soldiers. In June, 1848, Windischgraetz, commanding in Bohemia, disposed without much difficulty of the rebellious Czechs, and encouraged by his success marched shortly after upon the Germans at Vienna. There the inhabitants made a courageous stand, and it was not till October that the army stormed the gates and forced its way into the city. With Czechs and Germans once more under the rule of the bayonet, and the Italians delivered to the bloody mercies of Radetzky, there remained only the Hungarian revolt to crush for Austria to be her accustomed self again.

The revolution in Hungary.

But the Hungarian revolt turned out to be the toughest task that the imperial army undertook, probably because the Hungarians were the most tenacious of the subjects of the emperor, and in any case the best organized. The kingdom of Hungary was one of the many possessions of the Hapsburg crown. It had an ancient constitution, which the rulers of the past had frequently violated, but latterly a patriotic party had insisted more and more stoutly on its being put in force. The year 1848 brought a complete triumph. The frightened government at Vienna servilely yielded everything that the Hungarians asked, until the successes against the Italians, Czechs, and Germans encouraged it to stiffen its back. From verbal disputes the Austrian Government presently proceeded to war, and in December, 1848, the hitherto victorious Windischgraetz invaded Hungary. The defence which followed constitutes a splendid tribute to the spirit of the little nation. The Hungarians, under their energetic general, Görgei, succeeded in driving the Austrians back upon Vienna, and elated by their success declared the House of Hapsburg deposed. The step was taken under the influence of Louis Kossuth, a republican, who had made himself practically dictator. The measure was of doubtful wisdom, for it drove the Viennese

Kossuth, dictator.

court to desperation, and induced it to appeal to Czar Nicholas for aid. This Czar, the last true supporter of the principle of intervention as laid down in the era of congresses, responded with alacrity, and presently a Russian army took the Hungarians in the flank. The rebels, caught between two fires, made a good fight; but by August, 1849, all was over, the leaders of the late revolution killed or scattered, and Austrian rule once more supreme.

Return to the policy of repression.

Thus Austria had come out of her terrible crisis apparently unscathed. The victorious court, alarmed by the liberal and racial movements of the past year, now concluded that the only way to save the state was to put all the nationalities on a basis of equality, and subject all alike to a common army and a common administration. As the Emperor Ferdinand had made too many personal pledges, he was induced to abdicate and was succeeded by his young nephew, Francis Joseph.

Reaction in Germany.

On turning back now to Germany, we are immediately struck by the fact that the progress of reaction in Austria greatly encouraged the conservative elements among the German states. The king of Prussia, who had yielded to circumstances but was still an unconverted absolutist, resolved to treat Berlin as Windischgraetz had served Vienna. Troops suddenly took possession of the capital, and the Prussian Diet, which was making a constitution for the state, was prorogued to another city and there dissolved (November 7th). Frederick William might have returned to the old absolutism, but deterred by certain scruples, which redound to his honor, resolved to give his subjects a constitution of his own making. This instrument did not meet all of the liberal demands, but it guaranteed to the people a share in the legislation, and was evidence that in Prussia, almost alone in central Europe, the revolution of 1848 had not been entirely in vain.

Prussia gets a constitution, 1849.

The German Parliament completes its constitution, 1849.

The next body to feel the reaction was the German Parliament at Frankfort. We left it at the time of its discomfiture in the Schleswig-Holstein matter, when the proof of its weakness had been furnished by its inability to control the policy of Prussia. Since then it had proceeded, in spite of gathering clouds, with its work of uniting all Germany by a constitution. The greatest barrier in its path was Austria. As this state, a mixture of all nationalities, would cut a strange figure in a German national state, it was finally resolved to exclude it from the proposed union. A related difficulty, the headship of Germany, therewith practically solved itself. Not without violent discussion, it was decided that the chief executive should be a hereditary emperor, and that the post should be offered to the king of Prussia. In April, 1849, a deputation from the Parliament travelled to Berlin to offer the crown of united Germany to Frederick William.

The king of Prussia rejects the proffered crown.

Their answer was a refusal. Frederick William was too deeply penetrated with the ideas of Divine Right to have any sympathy for a popular and democratic honor, he was convinced that the constitution was unworkable, and—he was afraid of Austria. Austria was just recovering her energy and notified Berlin, in no uncertain language, that the acceptance of the imperial office by a Hohenzollern would never be suffered by the House of Hapsburg. Frederick William was a well-meaning man of mystical, confused ideas, and, like all waverers, ended by yielding to pressure. The committee of the Parliament went back to Frankfort, reported its failure, and that body, not without a small flurry of revolt, recognized that its work was ended and retired from the scene.

The king of Prussia tries to persuade the governments to unite.

Frederick William, who, in spite of his refusal of the crown, felt that he was pledged to do something for his nation, now tried to persuade the German governments to

negotiate among themselves about the bases of a new union. His thought was that since the people had failed, the princes should try in their turn. But Austria, which had learned by this time that any form of German union would be injurious to her, threw her whole influence against this scheme as well. Finally, she proposed to reconstitute the old Bund, the great attraction of which was that it left the sovereignty of the princes intact and reduced the power of Prussia to nothing. The Bund had fallen like a house of cards in 1848, but Austria set it up once more and invited everybody to enter and complete the happy family. The princes, selfishly mindful only of their independence, deserted Frederick William and gathered around the Austrian standard. The king of Prussia presently found himself alone; and when Austria, aware that she was dealing with a timid man, haughtily ordered him to give up every idea of a closer union and be satisfied with the Bund, he yielded without a struggle (Treaty of Olmütz, November, 1850). The old Bund—that was the ridiculous issue of the two years' labor of the nation. Germany seemed not to be worthy of a better form of union.

The Bund set up again.

In this general collapse of German hopes and illusions the Schleswig-Holsteiners, who had rebelled against the king of Denmark, could not escape disaster. Abandoned by Prussia in August, 1848, they had several times returned to the fray, but were crushed definitely in 1850. A conference of powers met at London to consider their case and decided the succession question against them. It was agreed (Protocol of 1852) to designate Prince Christian of Glücksburg as heir of the Danish monarchy and of the duchies as well. In spite of their protests the duchies were now subjected to Denmark and their case adjourned till they had summoned strength to rise once more against their masters.

Schleswig-Holstein crushed.

With the German Parliament banished to the shades, the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein redelivered to the

German results.

Danes, the Bund reconstituted at Frankfort, and Austria restored under an absolute sovereign, the Metternichian system with all its attendant miseries had been given a new lease of life. Patriots and liberals were filled with despair. But as no evil is without some grain of good, the confusion of the revolution had shown two things: it had shown that the greatest enemy to German unity was the Austrian court, and that salvation, if it ever came, would have to come from Prussia. Prussia's prestige, it is true, was, after her many failures, lamentably low. But something remained: it was not forgotten that the national hopes had once enthusiastically turned to her; and by her adoption of a constitution she had divorced herself definitely from mediæval forms and planted her feet in the present.