CHAPTER XXVI

THE MINOR STATES OF EUROPE

THE minor states of Europe have of course shared in the great movements of the nineteenth century and show a development along the same lines as the great powers. Their history manifests, in the realm of politics, the progress of democracy; in economics, the increase of wealth and population through the application of science to industry and commerce; and in the relation of classes, an improved organization of the workingmen coupled with a leaning toward socialist views. These movements are modified in each country by its special situation.

A. Spain.

REFERENCES: FYFFE, Modern Europe, Chapters XIV., XVII.; SEIGNOBOS, Europe Since 1814, Chapter X., pp. 286–319; PHILLIPS, Modern Europe, pp. 127–30, 462; M. A. S. HUME, Modern Spain (1788–1898).

The return of the Bourbons.

The political history of Spain in the nineteenth century is a dreary story of misgovernment and revolution. We have seen that when Ferdinand VII., the Bourbon monarch, came back after the fall of Napoleon, he straightway repudiated the liberal party, which had been fostered on the ideas of the French Revolution and had during the War of Independence drawn up a constitution (1812). Then he re-established the absolute *régime* of his ancestors even to the point of calling the hated Inquisition from the tomb.

His contemptible conduct caused the revolution of 1820, which after a short liberal triumph led to the French intervention of 1823 and to the restoration of the tyranny of Ferdinand. We have also seen how the support of the Holy Alliance, so effective on the Continent of Europe, proved of no avail toward the conquest of the Spanish-American colonies, and how these, in spite of Ferdinand's protest, entered upon a career of independence.

Civil war

But misgovernment at home and the loss of South America does not complete the tale of the misery wrought by the wretched king. Even in his death he became a curse to his country by creating a succession issue. He left his crown, when he died in 1833, to his infant daughter Isabella, under the regency of her mother Christina, thereby setting aside his brother Carlos, who considered himself the legal heir. The result was a civil war of Christinists against Carlists, which lasted until Carlos, after seven years of fighting, was driven from the country (1840). By that time civil war had become a national habit and now broke out among the victors. The dreary struggle is apparently without rhyme or reason, but, closely scanned, will reveal at its core the momentous question: shall Spain retain her feudal and absolute shackles or shall she cast them off and enter upon the path of modern constitutionalism? Christina, the regent, and Queen Isabella after her, published and annulled constitutions, made and broke promises, compounded with this and that group of politicians, until the feeble and dishonest game was at an end and Queen Isabella had to flee abroad before a popular rising (1868). A period followed of vain experimentation; in reality the country passed into the hands of successive dictators. During the ascendancy of the Generals Serrano and Prim the crown was offered (1870) to Leopold of Hohenzollern, producing that Spanish incident which brought about the Franco-German War. In 1873,

under the high-minded and capable Castelar, even the republican form of government received a trial.

Restoration of the Bourbons under Alfonso XII. (1875).

At length the country made up its mind that for better or worse its destiny was coupled with that of the inherited Bourbon dynasty and called back Isabella's son, the young Alfonso (1875). In 1876 a constitution was published which vested the legislative power together with ministerial control in a *cortes* of two houses—a *senate*, partly elected and partly appointed by the king, and a *congress*, elected by the people. Since 1890 manhood suffrage has been introduced. Old wounds open from time to time, but apparently Spain has entered upon an era of definite constitutional progress. When Alfonso XII. died in 1885, the grief was general and the nation rallied enthusiastically around his posthumous son, Alfonso XIII., for whom his mother assumed the regency till he was declared of age in 1902.

The constitution

Economic and social conditions.

The economic and social conditions continue to present a serious problem. The country possesses great natural resources (good soil and climate in the south, mineral wealth in the north), but the population, superstitious, backward in civilization, and prone to idleness, does not make the most of them. The poverty is great, beggary a national calamity. But a slow improvement is noticeable, which will be accelerated when the public schools are made effective and illiteracy, which is general, has been stamped out. Until lately a great drain upon the national finances was the remnant of the once vast colonial empire, Cuba and the Philippines. Perennial misgovernment had made these dependencies prone to revolt, and neither military reconquest nor belated attempts at reform secured the attachment of the alienated natives. In 1894 Cuba rose again, and when a Spanish force of 200,000 men had almost reduced the island to a desert, the United States interfered, provoking the Spanish-American War of 1898. The lusty republic

The Spanish colonies.

was quickly successful, and in the Peace of Paris Spain declared Cuba independent and ceded Porto Rico and the Philippines to the victor. The assertion may be ventured that the war freed Spain from an embarrassment, for a weak power, just recovering from a mortal lethargy, cannot hope to communicate the spark of life to distant colonies. Spain can now retrench her expenditures and stop the growth of her national debt with its crushing interest charges. She can concentrate her attention upon her domestic problems, and may be expected to make rapid progress in popular education, scientific culture, and industrial methods.

B. Portugal.

REFERENCES: FYFFE, Modern Europe, Chapters XIV., XVII.; SEIGNOBOS, Europe Since 1814, Chapter X., pp. 319–26; PHILLIPS, Modern Europe, pp. 90–91, 130–33; STEPHENS, H. Morse, Portugal.

King John returns fron Brazil.

Portugal, the sister nation to the west of Spain, has in the nineteenth century passed through the familiar crisis caused by the conflict of reactionary and progressive principles. When Napoleon invaded Portugal in 1807, King John and the royal family of Braganza embarked for their great dependency, Brazil, where the sovereign chose to remain even after Napoleon's rule had been overthrown. In 1820 the Portuguese, disaffected by this unexpected preference, rose in revolt and demanded a constitution. In order to save his crown, John VI. came back and with a measure of common sense unusual in a legitimate king submitted to a limitation of his absolutism.

Portugal and Brazil part company.

On John's leaving Brazil, however, the Brazilians, offended in their turn, declared themselves independent of Portugal and offered the crown to John's son, Pedro. Pedro wisely accepted, adopting the title Emperor Pedro I.,

but on his father's death, in 1826, had to renounce the older crown of Portugal in favor of his infant daughter Maria. Thus Portugal and Brazil went each its own way. The succession in Portugal of Maria was presently disputed by Pedro's uncle Miguel, with the result that Portugal, like Spain, was plunged into civil war. At length the supporters of Maria, who stood for constitutionalism, were victorious over Miguel and his reactionary henchmen, and Portugal about the middle of the century was pacified and definitely enrolled among the limited monarchies of Europe. The constitution provides for a *cortes* of two houses—the peers, who are in part appointed by the king, in part elected, and a lower chamber, elected by the people. The franchise has been gradually extended (the most recent bill is of 1901) until it is practically exercised by all adult males.

Civil war.

The constitution.

Brazil, which with the accession of Emperor Pedro I. became an independent state, need not be examined here, except to point out the fortune of the House of Braganza. Pedro I. was followed by his son, Pedro II., a prince of a modern type, who, when he discovered, after a beneficent reign, that the people preferred a republic, resigned his throne without a struggle (1890). Even after the loss of Brazil, Portugal retained considerable territory in Africa (see map, facing p. 540), but national poverty coupled with bad management makes the possession a burden on the treasury. The Azores and Madeira, nearer home, are a more lucrative investment, but are not properly colonies, as they are peopled with Portuguese and are fully incorporated with the kingdom.

The colonies of Portugal.

Economically and intellectually Portugal reproduces the problems and sorrows of Spain. The country has resources, but the poor and indolent population cannot exploit them. Illiteracy is rampant; fully one-half the people cannot read and write. The finances, going from bad to worse, led in

Difficulties and problems.

1893 to a partial suspension of interest payment on the national debt. That meant bankruptcy. Doubtless it would be a blessing if Portugal could be persuaded to pocket her pride, disband her army, and sell her African colonies to the highest bidder. Perhaps, too, it would be the part of wisdom if the two sister nations, Spain and Portugal, could be persuaded to form a federation, but the patriotism of the Portuguese puts any such plan out of the question for a long time to come. However, when all is said, civilization has moved forward and not backward in this state, in whose skies still lingers faintly the glory of the age when Diaz rounded the Cape of Good Hope and Vasco da Gama returned with the spices of India.

C. Switzerland.

REFERENCES: SEIGNOBOS, Europe Since 1814, Chapter IX., pp. 257–86; PHILLIPS, Modern Europe, pp. 10, 262–65; MCCRACKEN, Rise of the Swiss Republic, Book V. (nineteenth century).

We have seen (p. 86) how the Swiss Confederation began in the revolt of the three Forest cantons, Schwyz, Uri, and Unterwalden, against the counts of Hapsburg; how other cantons joined the league until the number reached thirteen; and how the sovereignty of the republic, after having been virtually exercised for two and a half centuries, was acknowledged by the Holy Roman Empire in the Peace of Westphalia (1648). Though independence was gained, the new state was afflicted with many troubles: 1. The union established no effective federal control and practically left the individual cantons sovereign. 2. While some cantons were governed democratically, others were swayed entirely by a narrow oligarchy. 3. Certain regions were classified as subject or allied territories and

Difficulties of the Swiss Confederation.

did not enjoy equality with the thirteen cantons. 4. The Reformation had carried into the country a fierce religious strife, which the settlement of Kappel (1531) alleviated but did not end.

Changes wrought by the French Revolution.

Nevertheless, imperfect as the Swiss union was, it endured till the French Revolution, when it went to pieces under the assault of the new ideas aided by a French army of invasion. In 1803 Napoleon interposed as mediator among the warring cantons and imposed a constitution along liberal lines with real federal control, but this, like all the rest of his creations, was swept away by the iron besom of the allies and left the question of Switzerland to be decided by the Congress of Vienna. The statesmen of the Congress with their unreasoning conservatism favored the loose union of prerevolutionary days. This was therefore reëstablished, not without certain modifications but with an avowed return to the traditional state sovereignty. In other respects the Congress was not ungenerous. Switzerland was put under the guarantee of the powers, and new cantons were added, bringing the number, as at present, up to twenty-two.

The federal victory.

The Federal Pact of 1815 had hardly been adopted when the old troubles flared up again, federalists arraying themselves against advocates of state rights, Protestants against Catholics. The crisis came toward the middle of the century. To defend themselves against the encroachments of the radicals and reformers, seven Catholic cantons formed a conservative league called *Sonderbund*. This act, tantamount to secession, was challenged by the Federal Diet, and in a short war the Sonderbund was defeated and scattered (1847). Thereupon the radical victors crowned their work by giving Switzerland a new constitution, which was both federal and democratic, and which with slight alterations is in operation to-day.

The constitution.

By the constitution of 1848 the supremacy of the federal over the cantonal powers was raised beyond a doubt, but the governments of the cantons were not deprived of their local rights. Switzerland in its dovetailing of federal and state powers offers a strong resemblance to the political system of the United States. The national legislation was vested in a Federal Assembly of two houses: the *Council of States*, much like the United States Senate, consists of two delegates from each canton, while the *National Council*, comparable to the House of Representatives, is elected by the people on the basis of universal manhood suffrage. The national executive is not a single person, but a committee of seven, called the *Federal Council* and elected by the Federal Assembly. Although one of the seven presides under the title of *President of the Council*, his authority is hardly greater than that of his colleagues. A very interesting feature developed by the Swiss democracy is the direct share in law-making secured to the people by means of two devices, the referendum and the popular initiative. By the *referendum*, laws passed by the legislature are referred for a final verdict to a popular vote. We may notice, by the way, that this is a growing practice in the state and city governments of the United States. The *popular initiative* concedes the right to a certain number of voters to frame a bill which must be submitted to the people for adoption or rejection. These measures, in successful operation for some time in both the state and national governments, make Switzerland the most advanced democracy of our age.

Referendum and popular initiative.

Prosperity and race harmony.

Political discussion and responsibility have had the effect of so stirring the energies of the people that Switzerland enjoys a remarkable prosperity. An excellent public-school system has stamped out illiteracy. Switzerland, too, although it enfolds several nationalities, is not vexed by any race problem. Of the twenty-two cantons, thirteen are

German, four are French, three are mixed German and French, and one is Italian. In the canton of Graubünden German disputes possession with Romansch, a dying tongue derived from Latin. The preponderant element is German (over two-thirds of the whole population), but German, French, and Italian are all official languages.

D. Holland.

REFERENCES: SEIGNOBOS, Europe Since 1814, Chapter VIII., pp. 229–44; PHILLIPS, Modern Europe, pp. 8, 187, 192.

The United Netherlands from 1815 to 1830.

The Congress of Vienna, moved by the desire to create a strong barrier against France, tried the experiment of uniting the ancient Netherlands under a Dutch king of the House of Orange. We have seen (Chapter XVIII) that the project failed, not only because of differences in race, language, and religion, but also quite as much because the southern provinces were treated unfairly in such matters as office-holding and parliamentary representation. Against such discrimination the southern provinces protested in their revolt of 1830 and organized themselves as a separate state under the name of Belgium. The Dutch king, William I., offered what resistance he could, but had at last to give way.

The constitution.

We should note that William's diminished kingdom, colloquially called Holland, bears officially the name of the Netherlands. The constitution granted by the sovereign in 1814 was replaced in 1848 by a more liberal one still in vigor. The king has at his side a law-making body, called the States-General, composed of two houses. The upper house represents the provinces and is chosen by the provincial legislatures, while the lower house is elected by the people, practically (since 1896) on the basis of manhood

suffrage. The kingdom is a federal state and the component provinces retain a large measure of self-government.

The outlook.

The solid qualities of the Dutch have brought peace and prosperity to the state. The large colonial possessions in Asiatic waters, a remnant of the more considerable territories acquired in the heroic days of the republic, present many difficulties, but are still managed at a profit. Is the state ever likely to be incorporated with Germany, with which it is closely allied in speech and blood? The patriotism and traditions of the Dutch are emphatically enlisted against such a fusion, and the mere suggestion arouses resentment. The question, occasionally discussed by people of a speculative turn, is not likely to become a burning one for a long time. The present sovereign is Queen Wilhelmina, who succeeded in 1890 at the age of ten, and is the last scion of the famous Orange stock.

E. Belgium.

REFERENCES: SEIGNOBOS, Europe Since 1814, Chapter VIII., pp. 244–57; PHILLIPS, Modern Europe, pp. 188–99, 454, 467.

The constitution.

Following their successful revolt of 1830 the Belgian people organized themselves under a liberal monarchical constitution and called to the throne Leopold of the German House of Saxe-Coburg. His family still reigns in Belgium, Leopold I. (1831–65) after a prosperous rule being succeeded by his son, Leopold II. (1865—still reigning, 1906). The constitution of 1831, with a few amendments, is still in effect. It created a Parliament of two houses, an upper house, largely chosen by local bodies, and a lower house, elected by the people. Originally the electors were a small body by reason of a high property qualification, but since 1893 manhood suffrage prevails with the curious feature of

plural votes for men possessed of a more than average measure of wealth and education.

Clericals and socialists.

This recent grant of a liberal franchise was due to the remarkable industrial prosperity of Belgium in the nineteenth century. The little state has taken a place among the great manufacturing countries of the world, and has developed a dense population of over 6,000,000 people, largely laborers crowded together in grimy cities. This proletariat by threatening demonstrations forced the government to extend the suffrage as just noted. The first enlarged election (1894) astonished the agitators, inasmuch as the country returned a large clerical majority. The clerical party, intensely Catholic, immediately carried its favorite measure and put the schools under the control of the Church. Meanwhile the socialists have been growing rapidly, making it plain that the battle for the possession of power will be waged henceforth between the two extreme parties. In the new alignment of issues the old-fashioned liberals, in Belgium as everywhere else, have been crushed between the upper and the nether millstone.

The Congo Free State.

In the scramble for Africa Leopold secured the recognition by the European nations of his sovereignty of the Congo Free State (1884). The sovereignty is personal, but Leopold was obliged to administer his vast realm by Belgian subjects and to develop it with Belgian capital, and has promised in return for this support to leave it to the state on his demise. The Congo Free State is therefore already essentially a Belgian colony. A cruel exploitation of the natives on the part of the companies formed to trade in ivory and rubber has lately come to light, and furnishes an extreme example of the evils attending the rule of savages by so-called superior races, but the indignation of the civilized world directed at the Belgian companies also shows where the corrective of these abuses lies.

F. Denmark.

REFERENCES: SEIGNOBOS, Europe Since 1814, Chapter XVIII., pp. 554–56, 566–78; PHILLIPS, Modern Europe, pp. 314–15, 326, 394, 409–12, 418–19.

Denmark and the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein.

The political power of the feudal orders lasted very long in Denmark, and not till 1660, in the reign of Frederick III., was it replaced by the absolute monarchy. This system continued well into the nineteenth century, but in 1848 the liberal agitation was successful and induced the king to grant a modern constitution. At the same time the interest of the nation became absorbed in the question of the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, which, inhabited for the most part by Germans and bound to Denmark only by a personal union, were aiming at independence. We have followed the struggle (pp. 447–48, 456, 470–71) to the interference in 1864 of Austria and Prussia, who compelled the surrender of the two provinces to themselves. Later, in 1866, Bismarck obliged Austria to forego her claim.

Domestic affairs.

Since the defeat of 1864 Denmark has devoted herself to domestic affairs. A promising beginning was made in 1866 by a new constitution, which created a parliament of two houses. The upper house is largely appointed by the king, while the lower house is elected by manhood suffrage. Increasing prosperity tends to strengthen the democracy, but the king remains an important factor in the government. Christian IX., who succeeded to the throne in 1863, reigned until his death in 1906. Owing to the brilliant marriages of two of his daughters to the heirs respectively of the thrones of Great Britain and Russia, he was known humorously as the father-in-law of Europe. From 1877 to 1891 he maintained a contest with the lower house over the question as to who controlled the ministry, himself or the representatives, and to all appearances he came out victorious.

The arctic island Iceland is a Danish dependency, but, already possessed of extensive rights of self-government, inclines to insist more and more on complete home rule.

G. Sweden and Norway.

REFERENCES: SEIGNOBOS, Europe Since 1814, Chapter XVIII., 554–66; R. N. BAIN, Scandinavia, Chapter XVII.

The union of Sweden and Norway.

In return for aid granted to the allies in 1813 against Napoleon, Marshal Bernadotte, crown prince of Sweden, stipulated that Norway be added to his territories. Norway had been for four hundred years a dependency of Denmark, and the Norwegian people hoped that in the general reconstruction of Europe the Danish *régime* would be replaced by independence. The prospect of a new subjection, this time to Sweden, alarmed them, and, rising (1814) in rebellion, they refused to be satisfied until the king of Sweden promised to rule Norway, not as a Swedish province, but as an independent kingdom with its own separate constitution. Thus was created the kingdom of Sweden and Norway, a union of two equal states having little in common beyond the same sovereign.

Quarrels and separation.

Even so the Norwegians were not content. They struggled incessantly to insure themselves the fullest possible control of their own affairs, and from 1872 the relations of the two Scandinavian neighbors became critical. First the Norwegian parliament, called *Storthing*, demanded that it, and not the king, should control the ministry, and no sooner was this battle won, when it demanded a separate Norwegian consular service. As this would have created two separate departments of foreign affairs, the king resisted, and a long struggle ensued, which the Storthing at last ended in 1905 by declaring the king of Sweden deposed and Norway independent. For a moment war between Sweden and Norway seemed imminent, but Oscar II. gave another proof of the sagacity which has won him golden opinions, by bowing to the inevitable. In the fall of 1905 the Storthing with the approval of the people offered the crown to the Danish prince Charles, who, in accepting the election, declared that he would reign under the name, famous in Norwegian story, of Haakon. Norway and Sweden are now in all respects independent of each other, and with every cause of conflict removed may start afresh upon an era of unclouded relations.

Aristocratic Sweden and democratic Norway.

A circumstance which doubtless contributed to the friction between the ill-sorted pair was that Sweden is an aristocratic, Norway a democratic country. This appears from an examination of their constitutions. Not until the middle of the century did Sweden give up its mediæval diet, composed of four estates, for a modern parliament of two houses (1866). The upper house is chosen by local councils and only wealthy men are eligible, while the lower house is elected by the people. The franchise for the lower house is based on an income qualification high enough to exclude one-third of the adult males from voting. These arrangements are due to the traditional influence exercised in Sweden by the clergy and nobility. In Norway, although the clergy is powerful, the nobility counts for nothing, for the Storthing abolished the use of nobiliary titles half a century ago. Since 1884 every man has a vote, with the result that the Storthing is as democratic as the society which it represents.