

a specimen of the degradation to which republican institutions doom the laboring class.

A few years ago an English gentleman dined with Prince Metternich, the illustrious prime minister of Austria, in his beautiful castle upon the Rhine. As they stood, after dinner, at one of the windows of the palace, looking out upon the peasants laboring in the vineyards, Metternich, in the following words, developed his theory of social order:—

“Our policy is to extend all possible *material* happiness to the whole population; to administer the laws patriarchally; to prevent their tranquillity from being disturbed. Is it not delightful to see those people looking so contented, so much in the possession of what makes them comfortable, so well fed, so well clad, so quiet, and so religiously observant of order? If they are injured in persons or property, they have immediate and unexpensive redress before our tribunals; and, in that respect, neither I nor any nobleman in the land has the smallest advantage over a peasant.”

## APPENDIX.

### THE NEW CONSTITUTION, AND SEPARATION FROM GERMANY.

THE REICHSRATH TRANSFORMED INTO A NATIONAL LEGISLATURE.—THE “PATH OF CONSTITUTIONALISM.”—JEALOUSY BETWEEN AUSTRIA AND PRUSSIA.—WAR WITH DENMARK.—QUARREL BETWEEN AUSTRIA AND PRUSSIA ABOUT SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN.—ALLIANCE BETWEEN PRUSSIA AND ITALY.—THE SIX WEEKS’ WAR AND SADOWA.—ITALY GAINS VENETIA.—AUSTRIA LOSES HER PLACE IN GERMANY.—THE PATH OF CONSTITUTIONALISM ONCE MORE.—RECONCILIATION OF HUNGARY.—BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA.

THERE is an old proverb which says, “It is always darkest just before daylight.” This seems often to be the case, not only in the lives of individual men, but also in the history of the great advances in reform and freedom which have been made among nations. The history of Austria is a good illustration. As was said in the last chapter, the year 1860 found Austria sunk in the darkest night of despotism. The heroic struggle of the Hungarians for freedom had failed. Their chains seemed to be more firmly riveted than ever. The constitution, which had been wrung from the emperor by the agitation which the Hungarian uprising had produced, after a languid existence of a few years, was withdrawn. Except Venetia, the Italian provinces had indeed gained their independence; but poor Venetia seemed to be held in a grasp as cruel and hopeless as ever.

The tranquillity of repression and despair reigned, but already the sun of a more hopeful day was rising. The year 1860 saw the beginning of a new era for Austria. Her wis-

est statesmen saw that she could no longer stem the rapidly rising tide of liberal influences, and keep her place among the nations.

Without warning, — apparently by a sudden impulse, — really, doubtless, because he had the wisdom to see that he could no longer do otherwise safely, the Emperor Francis Joseph entered “on the path of constitutionalism.”

The numbers and the power of the Reichsrath, or council of the empire, were enlarged by a patent issued in March; and on the 21st of October a new constitution was promulgated, in which the emperor expressly renounced the despotic powers which he and his predecessors had so long and so earnestly cherished, and declared that hereafter the right to issue, alter, and abolish laws was to be exercised by him and his successors only with the co-operation of the lawfully assembled diets and of the Reichsrath.

This was followed by propositions in regard to similar changes in Hungary; and on the 27th of February, 1861, a decree was issued, that Hungary, Croatia, Slavonia, and Transylvania should have the constitutions restored which formerly belonged to them respectively.

At the same time a “fundamental law” was established, which decreed representative institutions for the empire. By this law the Reichsrath was converted into a constitutional legislature composed of two bodies; viz., peers and deputies. That is, an upper and a lower house, similar to the Lords and Commons of England, or the Senate and Representatives of our own country. And this fundamental law declared the constitution and duties of each body. On the 1st of May the new Reichsrath was formally opened by the emperor at Vienna. He then declared his conviction, that “liberal institutions, with the conscientious introduction and maintenance of the principles of equal rights of all the nationalities of his empire; of the equality of all his subjects in the eye of the law; of the participation of the represent-

atives of the people in the legislature, — would lead to the salutary transformation of the whole monarchy.”

Hungary, Croatia, Slavonia, and Transylvania declined to send representatives to this Reichsrath. They claimed that they had constitutions of their own, and rights distinct from those of the empire at large.

But although all the details of the reform could not be carried out at once, although all the conflicting claims of the many and varied nationalities which compose the Austrian empire could not be satisfied and adjusted in a moment, the “path of constitutionalism,” which had seemed so dreadful heretofore to the Emperors of Austria, was now fairly entered upon; and, with a few exceptions, up to the present time it has not been departed from. Indeed, Austria has gone so far and so long in this path now, that it would be difficult if not impossible for her to turn aside from it into the old ways of autocratic repression. The spirit of the age has fairly lifted this old despotism off its feet, and set it on a higher plane of freedom; and this has been done by an apparently bloodless revolution. But not really so; for the revolts of 1848, and the apparently disastrous struggle of the Hungarians for freedom, have borne late fruit in the reformation of Austrian government. Not only that, but the events which we are now about to describe have helped on the cause of constitutionalism by changing entirely the position of Austria in Germany.

Austria had for centuries held the leading place in the German Confederation; but, since the days of Frederick the Great, Prussia had been rising in power and influence. The smaller States of Germany grouped themselves about these two great powers. Between them there had naturally arisen a great and growing jealousy. The North of Germany, represented by Prussia, was commercial in its interests. The South, represented by Austria, was agricultural. In the North, there was industry, progress, education. In the

South, there had been more repression and conservatism. The North was Protestant, and had experienced all the awakening tendencies which Protestantism has always carried with it. The South had remained under the blighting influence of popery. Since the days of the Reformation, North and South Germany, Prussia, and Austria had more than once been at war with each other; and these conflicts were not forgotten. Now a new tide of popular impulse was rising, which was destined to renew the conflict. Since the days of the wars of Napoleon, a great desire had arisen for the union of the German people under one government. German patriots felt that it was a great loss and damage to this great people — one in language and in interests — to go on longer weakened by petty political divisions, split up in a crowd of discordant kingdoms and principalities, only loosely held together in a confederation when they might be one great nation. The Prussian Government, guided now by Bismarck, the keenest, most daring, and most able of modern statesmen, constituted itself the champion of this national aspiration. It was natural that German patriots should look to Prussia rather than Austria as their leader, because, although Prussia was far from being liberal in government, she was purely German; while the Austrian empire was made up of many nationalities, and only a small part of it was German at all. Bohemians and Hungarians and Croats could have little interest in a united German fatherland.

The first step toward the realization of this long-cherished dream was now to be taken. The means which were used to further this noble end were, we must admit, unworthy of so great a cause.

Three small German duchies, Schleswig, Holstein, and Lauenburg, had been attached to Denmark. By a treaty called the Treaty of London, made in 1852, the succession to the government of these duchies was fixed in the Danish

crown. Austria and Prussia had signed this treaty. On the 15th of November, 1863, Ferdinand VII., King of Denmark, died; and there was a general ferment of opinion throughout Germany on the subject of these duchies. There was a doubt as to the right of the new Danish king, Christian IX., to the succession. It seemed possible now to do something toward uniting Germany. Austria and Prussia denied the right of Denmark. The matter came before the diet. The duchies were claimed as part of Germany, and a decree of execution was put forth against Christian IX. by the diet of the German Confederation.

It was intended that this decree should be carried out by detachments of such troops of all the States included in the Confederation as might be determined upon by the diet; and, in accordance with this, troops from Hanover and Saxony marched into Holstein, and the Danes retired into Schleswig.

But this did not suit the purpose of Prussia. She artfully proposed that Austria and Prussia alone, as the leading powers in Germany, should execute the decree. To this Austria assented; and hostilities began Feb. 1, 1864. There could be but one result of such a war. It was the strong against the weak. On whichever side the right was, the might was not with the Danes. Perhaps they ought to have had the assistance of England. She was one of the parties to the Treaty of London. But England was not prepared to go to war with Austria and Prussia. The Danes got only an empty sympathy from England; and after a heroic stand, in which they proved themselves worthy foes of their powerful antagonists, they were conquered. On Oct. 30, 1864, the Treaty of Vienna was signed, making over the duchies to Germany.

Now the question was, how to dispose of them. Prussia laid claim to Holstein. She said it was hers by inheritance; that annexation to Prussia would be very advantageous to the interests of Germany in general and not antagonistic to Austria in particular; that the geographical position of

the two countries would make it necessary for Prussia to guard Holstein.

Austria said No! to all this. She had been intrusted by the diet with the carrying out of this matter, and could make no such arrangement as Prussia proposed. At any rate, Austria could not allow Prussia to have this increase of territory without a corresponding increase on her part.

And so the quarrel about the dividing of poor little Denmark's spoils went on, as doubtless Bismarck expected it would. For really it was more than a quarrel about which should get a small slice more of territory than the other. It was the beginning of strife between the old order of things and the new spirit of German unity. It was becoming evident that a united fatherland would exalt Prussia and injure Austria. And so the policy of Austria was to keep the small German States separate. She made herself the champion of the Confederation and the diet which had designed making Holstein an independent state under the auspices of the diet and governed by some popular prince.

It is a singular fact, that not only the conservative attitude of Austria as to German politics was getting her into trouble with Prussia, but her new departure toward constitutional freedom was actually a means of aggravating the difficulty. For Prussia and her great prime minister, Bismarck, although representing the patriotism of Germany as to the question of a united fatherland, came very far from representing popular liberty. The Prussian Government was a despotism more enlightened, but not less stern, than that from which Austria was just emerging. The liberals in the duchies, while they may have loved German unity, loved freedom more; and Austria with her new constitution began to seem like a great sun rising out of midnight darkness. They, therefore, turned to her, and preferred that she, rather than Prussia, should control their destinies; and others of the smaller German States sympathized with them. Particularly in Schleswig,

which for the present was under the joint administration of Austria and Prussia, things were said and done which gave offense to Prussia. Her officials wanted to repress the expression of popular feeling. Austria, consistently with her new-fledged freedom, and, perhaps, because popular expression favored her side of the quarrel, encouraged it. Bitter recriminations passed between the courts of the two great powers.

At last the strife was quieted by a meeting of the Emperor Francis Joseph with King William at Gastein near Salzburg. An agreement was then made between them, by which the administration of the newly acquired territory was divided, Prussia taking charge of Schleswig, and Austria of Holstein.

The "Convention of Gastein" seemed to produce quiet, but there were other causes of disturbance. Italy, ever on the watch for an opportunity to redeem Venetia, was cultivating friendship with Prussia. Bismarck, seeing doubtless that the trouble with Austria was quieted only in appearance and for the moment, and knowing how valuable the aid of Italy might be in the near future, was meeting her advances in a way that could not but excite Austrian jealousy.

And then there was beside, the irrepressible though at present repressed contest for supremacy in Germany, — a contest which inevitably went on in spite of outward friendliness. There was nothing durable in the arrangement made at the meeting of King William with the Austrian emperor. Perhaps Bismarck, who was the master spirit in all the affair, did not mean that there should be.

On the 30th of January, 1866, he sent a note to Austria, protesting against the freedom of discussion which was allowed in Holstein, the discussion complained of being against Prussia.

Soon after a second note was sent. This spoke of "the happy days of Gastein," but mourned that affairs were now

assuming a very serious aspect ; that the bearing of the government of Holstein must be regarded as directly aggressive. It said that Prussia had a right to request Austria to maintain Holstein *in statu quo*, as Prussia felt bound to do in regard to Schleswig. Austria was required to ponder and negotiate, and the note closed with a threat. It stated, that if a negative or evasive answer should be returned, painful as that would be, Prussia would be forced to believe Austria no longer friendly. If it should be impossible for her to act in concert with Austria, Prussia must contract closer alliances in other directions for the advancement of her own immediate interests.

This was supposed to refer to an alliance with Italy, Austria's mortal enemy. The note itself was considered almost a declaration of war. Austria did return a negative and evasive answer. The crisis was fast developing. A council of war was held at Vienna. As to Italy, detested as she was by the Austrians, war would be welcomed with her. If the war gave Italy a chance of gaining Venetia, it also might give Austria a chance to recover what she had lost by the battles of Magenta and Solferino. As to Prussia, it was thought that her army was neither large nor in good condition. It was thought that the German Confederation might be induced to demand decisive action on the Schleswig-Holstein affair. If, in response to this demand, Prussia yielded, her prestige would be destroyed. If she did not yield, she would have all the diet against her ; and a decree of federal execution might be obtained against Prussia, and then she might be crushed with all the combined forces of the Confederation.

After the council of war, Austria began secretly to make preparations. The fortresses, especially Cracow, were strengthened : the troops in Bohemia, which lies near Prussia, were re-enforced.

The attention of Prussia was excited, and she began to ask the meaning of all these warlike preparations. Austria re-

plied that the populace in Bohemia had broken out in riots against the Jews.

But the Jews of Bohemia almost all lived in Prague ; and the Austrian anxiety for their welfare was bringing troops, as it seemed to Prussia, suspiciously near her frontier. Slowly and cautiously the Austrian army was mobilized. That is, the battalions were raised to their full strength, and supplied with the transportation and other material necessary for a campaign. Steps were taken to strengthen the fortresses in Italy. Military preparations were also made secretly in Saxony and Wurtemberg.

But this activity of preparation for war could not escape the observation of the Prussian Government. Prussia was not so weak or so unprepared as she was supposed to be. She had really been leading her rival on toward the conflict. Bismarck had outwitted the Austrian statesmen throughout the whole affair. He now began to show his purpose boldly. A decree was issued in the king's name, which declared that the authors of any attempt to subvert his authority or that of the Emperor of Austria in the duchies would be imprisoned. The Austrian ambassador protested. The reception of his protest was such that Austria told the States of the Confederation to arm themselves.

Then Bismarck declared, that, on account of the armaments of Austria, Prussia was at last compelled to take measures for the protection of Silesia, which lay near the Austrian frontier ; and, moreover, that Prussia must seek guaranties for the future.

This forced from the other German States a declaration of their policy. They wanted to go to war for neither of the antagonists, but to refer the whole matter to the diet. But the days of the diet were numbered. Underneath and far more important than the question as to whether Prussia or Austria should get their way in Schleswig-Holstein, the real question now before Germany was, Shall the old Confedera-

tion be superseded by a new Germany united under the leadership of Prussia? That could be decided only by war, and the time for decision had come.

Prussia now began openly to put her army on a war-footing. The battalions which garrisoned the places nearest the Austrian frontier were increased, but not yet raised to the full war standard. The field artillery was made completely ready. The fortresses were garrisoned and provisioned. Confident in the rapidity with which the whole of her forces could be mobilized under the new system, which had been for a long time silently perfected, Prussia delayed until the last moment calling her men away from their workshops and farms.

Now the two great rivals stood face to face. Before they came to blows they argued with each other, as nations, no less than individual men, who are quarreling, often do. An English writer puts the debate in this way:—

AUSTRIA. "You must disarm. I really don't mean any thing by the troops in Bohemia."

PRUSSIA. "Yes, you do. When you disarm, I will."

AUSTRIA. "Well, then, I will withdraw from Bohemia; but I must take measures for the defense of Venetia against Italy."

But the Prussians say, "This is just as much a threat against us as the troops in Bohemia. When Italy is crushed, then your whole force can be turned against us."

But an Austrian army was got ready against Italy; and then Prussia took her new ally under her protection, and demanded, not only disarmament in Bohemia, but also in Venetia.

Austria answered by increasing her army still more, and then proposed once more to submit the whole question about Schleswig-Holstein to the diet. Prussia would have no more of the diet. She began to mobilize her army; and, at the end of fourteen days, four hundred and ninety thousand men

stood on parade, armed, clothed, equipped, provided with transportation trains, provisions, ammunition, and field hospitals.

It is doubtful whether a great army has ever been put in the field with such marvelous rapidity. The new Prussian system was now for the first time displayed in its full practical power. And along with this system, by which all the able-bodied men of the nation had been made efficient and well-trained soldiers, ready to be called into the ranks at a few days' notice, a new weapon was now to be brought into use, which was destined to revolutionize warfare.

Breech-loading rifles had been tried before on a limited scale; but, though they had been found far more deadly than other arms, they were considered too complicated for the use of ordinary soldiers.

But a breech-loading weapon invented by a humble mechanic had been adopted by the Prussian Government. It was called the "needle-gun," from the peculiar mechanism used to explode the cartridge. A large portion of the Prussian troops were armed with this now historic needle-gun, with what result we shall see.

The war may be said to have begun on June 16, 1866, when the Prussians entered Saxony, which sided with Austria, and marched upon Dresden, its capital. A strong force also occupied Hanover and Hesse-Cassel, thus protecting the Prussian rear. The Saxon army retired as the Prussians approached, and marched to join the Austrians. The Prussians then occupied Dresden, and thus secured in Saxony a good basis for offensive operations.

The Prussians were divided into three armies. The first was under command of Prince Frederick Charles, who afterward became popularly known among the soldiers as "Our Fritz." The second was commanded by the Crown Prince; and the third, or "army of the Elbe," by Gen. Herwarth. In all, they had about two hundred and twenty-five thou-