APPENDIX.

LATER HISTORY.

JUNE 1, 1882. — More than eleven years ago the author ended his labors upon this volume, and, six years later, died. What he would have to say now, if living, of the later history of Germany and France, and of the condition of the European nations in general, can only be conjectured. To his numerous readers and friends, whether or not sharing his enthusiasm for the late Empire of France, it must be a source of regret that he is not here to speak for himself in this later edition of his work. They know how earnestly and carefully, from his very boyhood, he had studied the history of Europe, and with what independence, sincerity, and courage he was wont to declare his opinions; and they would gladly listen once more to a man for whose judgment while living they had the profoundest respect. In the peculiar circumstances of the case, it seems fitting that this volume, as he left it, should now be supplemented by a very brief review of the recent history of the two nations to which it principally refers.

I. — GERMANY.

Whatever Americans may think of the Absolutism that so long reigned in Prussia and that now characterizes the government of the German Empire, it cannot be denied that much has been accomplished in the last few years in the way of consolidating and harmonizing the heterogeneous elements of which that empire is composed, and that it seems now to be as firmly established as any government on the continent of Europe. Count Bismarck, though now an old man somewhat broken in health, is still at the head of affairs, having maintained his ascendency to the present time without a break, and without for one moment compromising or forgetting his absolutist principles, or turning aside from his main purpose. He has ruled with an iron hand, using now one political party and now another, as an instrument to accomplish his designs. The unity of the empire, its security against foreign aggression, and its industrial and commercial prosperity, is his master passion, to which his great energies are devoted, and to which he subordinates every thing else. To be consistent in this, he is willing to seem inconsistent in minor things. Political parties are to him like the counters on a chess-board, to be played off against each other, and moved hither and thither for the accomplishment of his one great end. His foresight is marvellous, his knowledge of men intuitive. He knows when to retreat, or to seem to do so, in order that he may the more securely advance; when to overcome his enemies by open assault, and when to resort to diplomacy and stratagem. He has succeeded, in face of great obstacles, in developing among the German people

an invincible sentiment of nationality, and a willingness on their part to subordinate to that sentiment many questions of high importance, in which they feel a very deep interest.

The royal proclamation announcing the revival of the ancient title of Emperor of Germany was issued Jan. 18, 1871, in these words: —

"We, William, by God's grace King of Prussia, hereby announce that the German Princes and Free Towns having addressed to us a unanimous call to renew and undertake, with the re-establishment of the German Empire, the dignity of emperor, which now for sixty years has been in abeyance, and the requisite provisions having been inserted in the constitution of the German Confederation, we regard it as a duty we owe to the entire fatherland to comply with this call of the United German Princes and Free Towns, and to accept the dignity of emperor.

"Accordingly, we and our successors to the crown of Prussia henceforth shall use the imperial title in all our relations and affairs of the German Empire; and we hope to God it may be vouchsafed to the German nation to lead the fatherland on to a blessed future under the auspices of its ancient splendor. We undertake the imperial dignity, conscious of the duty to protect, with German loyalty, the rights of the empire and its members, to preserve peace, to maintain the independence of Germany, and to strengthen the power of the people. We accept it in the hope that it will be granted to the German people to enjoy in lasting peace the reward of its arduous and heroic struggles within boundaries which will give to the fatherland that security against renewed French attacks which it has lacked for centuries.

"May God grant to us and our successors to the imperial crown, that we may be the defenders of the German Empire at all times, not in martial conquests, but in works of peace in the sphere of natural prosperity, freedom, and civilization."

The enthusiasm of the German people in view of the results of the war was boundless. The churches were crowded with worshippers returning thanks. The sufferings incident to the conflict, which had been severely felt by burgher, peasant, and upper-class families alike, were almost forgotten in the scenes of public rejoicing that followed the return of the army from the field of its triumphs.

The empire is composed of twenty-six states, of which four are kingdoms, six grand duchies, five duchies, seven principalities, three free cities, and the province of Alsace-Lorraine, wrenched by the war from France. The constitution defining the powers of the central government and the reserved rights of its constituent parts, is dated April 16, 1871. By its terms all the states of Germany "form an eternal union for the protection of the realm and the care of the welfare of the German people." The legislative branch of the government consists of the *Bundesrath*, or National Council, and the *Reichstag*, or Diet of the Empire. It is a constitutional government only in a very restricted sense, — the emperor, when his plans are defeated in the parliament, determining for himself the degree of respect to be paid to the decisions of that body. He holds himself under no obligation to choose his ministers from among those who agree with the parliamentary policy. The German people have liberty, but it is like that of the boy who said he always did as he

pleased whenever his grandfather would let him! Bismarck has been out-voted in the parliament many times; but he goes on governing the nation all the same, according to his own sweet will. He has even dared to say, that, if he thought the interest of the country would be best promoted by such a step, he should not hesitate to advise the emperor to assume the powers of a dictator.

The population of Germany numbers 45,234,000. Those who have the right of suffrage number 9,090,381. The number of actual voters at a recent election was 5,300,784. This is what passes for "universal suffrage." Three political parties, or factions, divided the country at the first: viz., 1. The Revolutionists, or Socialists; 2. The Clericals, or Ultramontanes, — embracing all who, in the dread of infidelity and democracy, welcome any arbitrary dictum which promises to limit the exercise of the human intellect; 3. The Liberals, whose aim was to steer forward steadily between both extremes, and who were hated accordingly by both, and feared so much, as carrying with them the weight of material strength and a sound public opinion, that Socialists and Re-actionists were fain at times to approach each other, in order the more effectually to hamper the arm of authority. Romish infallibilists preferred Garibaldi to Victor Emanuel; and German high-church priests were known on occasion to connive at Socialist intrigues, in order that the odious Protestant government of Wilhelm I. and Prince Bismarck might be brought into difficulties. The emperor found it almost as hard a task to defeat the Ultramontanes as to fight the French.

The emperor opened the first parliament in a speech,

in which he said that Germany henceforth "leaves it to every nation to find its own way to unity, to every state to determine for itself the form of its constitution. We trust," he said, "that the days of interference in the life of other nations will never, under any pretext or in any form, return." The Clericals saw in this the annihilation of all their hopes for German interference on behalf of the Pope's temporal sovereignty. They had intended that the emperor should make the interests of the Pope his own, attack Italy, and restore the temporal power. The address of parliament in response to the emperor's speech sanctioned what he had said. Eminent Bavarian Catholics supported it, and it was carried by a vote of two hundred and forty-three to sixty-three.

Next came the revision of the constitution. The Catholic party, disguising its plans under specious professions of regard for popular liberty, which were at war with the traditional policy of the Church, moved an amendment which required "liberty of the press, liberty of speech, liberty of assemblies and associations, liberty of religion, and the claim of every church to settle its denominational matters as 'fundamental rights.'" To an American this seems only reasonable; but in Germany the Protestant Church is wedded to the State, and the Catholic Church itself partially so, its bishops and priests, in common with the Protestant clergy, deriving their support from the public treasury. The government could not, without danger to its own authority, accord complete liberty to churches thus supported, least of all to a church which claims to be infallible. Churches which insist upon sucking at the breasts of the State must submit, in many things, to

its authority, however inconvenient or annoying it may be. The amendment proposed by the Clerical party was voted down, two hundred and twenty-three to fifty-nine. Not even the Revolutionists were caught by the chaff which the Ultramontanes strewed on the wind to blind their eyes.

The assumptions, demands, and intrigues of the Roman Catholic Church in Germany, governed as it is by a foreign power claiming to be infallible, and superior to all civil authority, have been the source of perpetual embarrassment to the government. The struggle involved also at particular points hostility to the high Orthodox Protestant Church, which had long flourished side by side with the Catholic on the principle of concurrent endowment, in a species of ill-assorted companionship, the one living bond of which was opposition to the inquiring spirit of the age.

We cannot here enter at length upon a history of Prince Bismarck's conflicts with the Roman Catholic Church. It will be sufficient to point out quite briefly some features of the struggle, by which its nature and objects may be clearly understood.

In one of the debates on the subject in the National Council, Dr. Falk, the minister of public worship and education, read an extract of a speech made in 1851 by Herr Von Buss, a leading Austrian Ultramontane, which was received as a clear disclosure of the spirit and aims of the Roman Catholic Church in Germany: —

"The pacific issue of the Austro-Prussian difficulties is a great blow to the Catholic Church. If our great Radetzky had pushed his army to Berlin, the chief tower of Protestantism would have fallen, and the Pope have been restored to authority in the Prussian capital,

whence he might have brought all Protestants back to the bosom of the Catholic Church. Do not be astonished at what I tell you. . . . In endeavoring to defeat Prussia, our primary intention was to force Protestantism to submit to the Pope. While Protestantism exists, be assured we shall never succeed in reviving the Roman Catholic empire of the German nation. This empire must be re-established. . . . Such an empire, containing seventy millions of inhabitants, with the Hapsburg dynasty upon the throne, will protect the triple crown of the Pope, and again make the pontifical chair the supreme legislator of Europe. The Church never rests on her oars; and, with her powerful machinery indefatigably at work, we shall yet compass our end, and destroy Prussia and Protestantism together. We shall send pecuniary assistance to the few Roman Catholics living in the north-eastern provinces of Prussia, to enable them to become pioneers in the great work. We shall organize a network of Catholic societies in the Protestant provinces of Prussia; and, strengthening the action of these societies by as many new monasteries as we can establish, we shall deprive the house of Hohenzollern of their Catholic possessions."

It was impossible for Prince Bismarck to doubt that the Catholic Church felt even greater hostility to the Protestant German Empire than it had cherished for Prussia, and that it would employ every art and intrigue by which it could hope to fulfil its designs. That Church, therefore, was held as an enemy, to be resisted by every legitimate means. Its control over the schools and universities, by which it could sow the seeds of disloyalty among the youth of the country, must be crippled or destroyed. Its bishops, priests, and nuns

must submit to the civil authority, and become loyal citizens of the empire, instead of tools and conspirators in the service of the Pope. The State must assume the management of educational affairs, institute civil instead of sacerdotal marriage, and make it possible for people to be born, to be married, and to die without paying an enforced tribute to the Church for these privileges. The State must not be left a prey to clerical plottings, to be overturned in the name of religion.

The first measure adopted to restrict the action of the Church was a statute forbidding clergymen to abuse their office by political agitation in the pulpit with a view to inciting their hearers to disloyalty. Next came the School Inspection Bill in the Prussian House of Deputies, "providing that the supervision of all educational institutions, public and private, should be intrusted to the State; that all officers appointed as inspectors should be servants of the State, and in no way responsible to the different religious denominations." The minister of public worship and education up to this time (1872) had been opposed to free thought. In the universities he had installed only professors, whether Catholic or Protestant, of extremest orthodoxy. Science or literature might or might not advance; Catholic catechism and Protestant catechism were to be inculcated at all costs. The minister of education was regarded as the great obstructor of mental progress, and was compared, with his Protestant catechism, to Pio Nino with his syllabus. He was forced to resign, and was succeeded by Dr. Falk, a man in full sympathy with the government. Bismarck, in opening the Prussian Diet, had made a bold declaration of war against the Ultramontanes, saying that they

were leagued with the Radicals to accomplish their purposes. The stiffest orthodox Protestants acted with the Ultramontanes. The Liberal party of all shades combined to support the new measures. Bismarck's policy did not at first please the emperor and queen, but they gave their assent to it at last. Dr. Falk denied that the educational bill was intended to exclude religion from the schools or to establish a godless state. The aim was not to prevent clergymen from taking part in education; but, if a clergyman was employed on school inspection, he was in that capacity the servant of the State, not of the Church. The measure passed in the Diet 197 to 171. In the upper house the majority was larger, 125 to 76.

The Ultramontanes gathered themselves together for resolute opposition. Bishop Krementz excommunicated two professors for denying the doctrine of papal infallibility. On being called to account by the government, the bishop answered, that, where civil and canon law came in contact, he considered it his duty to be guided by the last. The government thereupon issued a decree, in which the bishop was assured of the utter inadmissibility of his principle that obedience to the laws of the country was dependent upon the views entertained on that point by his clerical superiors; that the Catholic Church was subject to the laws of the country; that he was bound by his oath of allegiance to the king; that a sentence of excommunication which injured the civil honor of the subject was illegal. The decree required the bishop to retract, and to make an explicit declaration of obedience. The bishop went his way, taking no notice whatever of the decree.

The next measure adopted was a law of the German

Diet placing the Society of Jesus under police supervision, and giving the Federal Council power to remove its members from any part of Germany where their presence should appear inconsistent with the public interest. It was enacted that all convents and other establishments of the order on German soil should be abolished; that the same veto should extend to all other orders and religious societies connected with the Jesuits, leaving the government to decide which those societies were.

This made the Pope very angry. "Who knows," he asked, "whether a little stone may not soon separate itself from a mountain top, and, coming down unexpectedly, smash the foot of the Colossus?" This was regarded as a provocation to illegal plots against the government. The Pope's organ said of Bismarck, "All that is left of him is a hideous compound of perfidy, dishonesty, ignorance, and mendacity."

After the late Vatican Council, there sprang up in Germany a body taking the name of "Old Catholics," and claiming to represent the true Catholic Church in distinction from that which acknowledged the infallibility of the Pope. The government did what it could to foster the movement, hoping it might succeed in breaking the power of the Pope and in establishing a form of Catholicism that would be loyal to the civil power. But the Pope promptly excommunicated the leaders as "wretched sons of perdition," thus rendering them almost powerless.

The next move on the part of the government was the passage of laws applicable to both the State-recognized religions, Protestant as well as Catholic. Their object was, first, to protect freedom of individual persons; second, to secure the training of a German National in contra-distinction from an Ultramontane clergy; lastly, to guard the rights and independence of the clergy themselves as against their ecclesiastical superiors, — in other words, to emancipate the bishops and priests from the power of the Pope. All institutions for training the clergy were placed under rigorous State supervision, while it was forbidden to open new ones. Candidates for the priesthood were required to attend the State gymnasia and universities, so that a portion of their training might be received among the laity. The State also claimed supervision over clerical appointments, and limited the right of dismissal. Fines were imposed for a violation of these laws. A supreme royal court was provided, to have jurisdiction of all controversies between Church and State. It was found that these laws could not be passed without first changing the constitution, but the necessary amendments were promptly made and the bills enacted by both houses.

In the German Diet, in 1873, the Prussian laws against the Jesuits were in substance extended to the whole empire. This, of course, led to great confusion. The new laws were resisted by the bishops by every possible expedient.

At this stage of affairs, the following correspondence between the Pope and the emperor took place, causing a profound sensation throughout the empire: —

THE POPE TO THE EMPEROR.

"Measures of your Majesty's government all aim more and more at the destruction of Catholicism. I confess I am unable to discover any reasons for such a course

I am informed that your Majesty does not countenance these measures, — does not approve the harshness of the measures against the Catholic religion. Will your Majesty, then, not become convinced that these measures have no other effect than that of undermining your own throne? I speak with frankness, for my banner is truth: I speak in order to fulfil one of my duties, which consists in telling the truth to all, even to those who are not Catholics; for every one who has been baptized belongs in some way or other, — which to define more precisely would be here out of place, — belongs, I say, to the Pope."

THE EMPEROR'S REPLY.

"I rejoice in the opportunity to correct errors which must have occurred in communications you have received in relation to German affairs. If reports made to you only stated the truth, it would be impossible for your Holiness to entertain the supposition that my government enters upon a path which I do not approve. According to the constitution of my states, such a case cannot happen; since the laws and government measures in Prussia require my consent as sovereign. To my deep sorrow, a portion of my Catholic subjects have organized for the past two years a political party, which endeavors to disturb, by intrigues hostile to the State, the religious peace which has existed in Prussia for centuries. Leading Catholic priests have unfortunately not only approved this movement, but joined it to the extent of open revolt against existing laws. . . . It is my mission to protect internal peace, and preserve the authority of the laws in the states whose government has been intrusted to me by God. I shall maintain order and law in my states against all attacks as long as God gives me the power. I am in duty bound to do it as a Christian monarch, even when to my sorrow I have to fulfil this royal duty against the servants of a Church which I suppose acknowledges no less than the Evangelical Church that the commandment of obedience to secular authority is an emanation of the revealed will of God. . . . I willingly entertain the hope that your Holiness, upon being informed of the true position of affairs, will use your authority to put an end to the agitation carried on amid deplorable distortion of the truth, and abuse of priestly authority. There is one more expression in the letter of your Holiness which I cannot pass over without contradiction; namely, the expression that every one that has received baptism belongs to the Pope. The evangelical creed . . . does not permit us to accept in our relations to God any other mediator than our Lord Jesus Christ."

This correspondence, it will be seen, is remarkable chiefly for the skill manifested on both sides in evading rather than meeting the real question at issue. It is an exhibition of diplomatic fencing, in which neither of the parties is hit in a vital part. The Pope does not venture to set forth his real demands, and the emperor contents himself with an array of generalities. And yet it is said, that, since Sedan, no incident had produced so powerful an impression on the German mind as this correspondence. The newspaper press was furious against the Pope and his advisers. Congratulatory addresses from popular meetings and corporations were sent to the emperor. Educated Catholics in Rhineland and Westphalia separated themselves from the lower orders led by the priests. A large meeting at Munich