

was, in fact, virtuous and economical, but he was obstinate, self-centred, and Dutch. The writer considers his alienation of the catholics by attempting to capture the control of clerical education in 1825 as having given the first impetus to the separatist movement. In 1827 he yielded to the church party, but meanwhile an energetic liberal party, led by clever journalists and orators, had entered the field against him, irritated by his disregard for Belgian sentiment. The French revolution of July 1830 inspired both these antagonistic elements to make common cause. The two most striking features in the author's story of the actual rising are the accidental origin of the first outbreak at Brussels, and the king's extraordinary slowness and incapacity in trying to stem the tide of rebellion. It started as a wholly unorganized orgy of window-breaking and shop-lifting on the part of a mob of young men; their excesses forced the bourgeoisie to take steps to restore order in the absence of government troops, and it was the bourgeoisie who really guided the country to independence. The underlying cause of the rising was not so much the king's insistence on enforcing unpopular taxes, as his impolitic determination to unify and 'Hollandize' the administration of the Low Countries. The population of Belgium was over three and a half millions, that of the Netherlands barely two, but the whole system of civil, judicial, and military organization was concentrated in the northern community, in whose eyes Belgium was but a territorial acquisition. Even parliament, though it sat alternatively at Brussels and the Hague, was composed of Dutch representatives to the extent of half its personnel, and the use of the Dutch language was insisted on in all courts of law and public offices. So one-sided a policy was bound to provoke national hostility in Belgium.

Professor van Kalken's most suggestive pages are those which argue that the king's dream of amalgamating the two peoples was inevitably bound to fail. This view is not so much based on the previous historical cleavage between the two, as on their intrinsic differences of race, religion, customs, language, and mental bias. The one chance of successfully working the dynastic arrangement of 1814, for which neither people was ever really anxious, was some such dual sovereignty as that of Austria-Hungary. Absorption of the one state by the other was essentially impossible. The English reader will be glad to find that in this particular instance, for once, Palmerston's foreign policy was as effective as it was spirited. The author regards him as 'the father of Belgium' by reason of his decisive influence in securing the recognition of Belgian nationality by the powers. He was also largely responsible for ending the 'ten days' campaign' undertaken by the Dutch by way of reprisal in 1831, and for the selection of Leopold of Saxe-Coburg as king of the Belgians.

Some thirty portraits of leaders of the day add to the value of the book.

GERALD B. HERTZ.

Oesterreichs innere Geschichte von 1848 bis 1907. Von RICHARD CHARMATZ.
2 vols. (Leipzig: Teubner, 1909.)

HERR CHARMATZ, whose volume of essays on Austrian politics¹ attracted considerable attention, has earned the gratitude of students by this

¹ *Deutsch-Oesterreichische Politik*, Leipzig, 1907.

admirable textbook. As the title indicates, the foreign policy of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy is touched upon only in so far as it influenced the course of internal politics in Cisleithania. But perhaps in no European country has this influence been so pronounced as in modern Austria. It is only necessary to point out that the gradual triumph of constitutional over absolutist government between 1860 and 1867 was the direct result of the disastrous Italian campaign of 1859; that the compromise of 1867 was in great part due to the defeat of Königrätz; and that the dual system would have given way to federalism in 1870 but for the victories of Germany. The author gives a brief clue to the interconnexion of internal and external affairs; but his main task is to unravel the tangled thread of constitutional and parliamentary progress in Austria. The first volume falls into two main divisions. The first deals with the revolution of 1848, the short-lived constitutional experiment of Kremsier and the *oktrojierte Verfassung* of March 1849; the long period of reaction associated with the name of Alexander Bach; the vacillating policy which ended with the Austro-Hungarian Ausgleich of 1867, and its complement the 'December Constitution' for Austria. The second section treats of the first eleven years of the dual system, the period during which the policy of abstention adopted by the Czech leaders enabled the German Liberal party to dominate Austrian parliamentary life and to leave their stamp upon Austrian institutions. Herr Charmatz describes this 'golden age' of the Reichsrat with genuine impartiality. He is by no means blind to the shortcomings of the old-fashioned German Liberal school, and does not hesitate to criticize Herbst and Giskra and other leaders, just as, earlier in the book, he frankly admits Schmerling's lack of respect for parliamentary forms and his hostility to freedom of the press. On the other hand, he does full justice to men who, with all their limitations and despite their narrow outlook in racial and international questions, unquestionably set themselves a high standard in public life and made the modernization of Austria their foremost aim. The corruption which raised its head for a short time under the liberal régime, and which Herr Charmatz treats with perfect frankness, cannot fairly be regarded as touching the core of Austrian public life. It coincided with an era of overgrowth and over-speculation, and the great financial *Krach* of 1873—which led somewhat unfairly to the rise of anti-Semitic feeling—certainly roused public opinion to action. If the general standard of parliamentary life tended to deteriorate under the 'Iron Ring' of Count Taaffe, and during the stormy decade which his resignation ushered in, this was not due to any grave moral defects, but to the unsound, because essentially unreal, basis upon which the franchise rested, and to the racial rivalries which prompted the dominant parties to perpetuate an electoral system that set logic and reason at defiance.

The second volume carries the narrative from the fall of Prince Adolf Auersperg in 1878 till the introduction of universal suffrage in 1907. From the moment when the Czechs renounced their barren policy of abstention and decided to enter the Reichsrat the German majority of Auersperg was doomed. For fourteen years Count Taaffe dominated Austrian politics, by the aid of his so-called 'Iron Ring' of clerical, feudal, and Slav

deputies. His position was strengthened by a partial extension of the franchise in 1882, by which the political centre of gravity was transferred from the liberal *grande bourgeoisie* to the clerical *petite bourgeoisie*, to *der kleine Mann*, who was later on to form the backbone of the Christian socialist party in Austria. Taaffe's famous policy of *Fortwursteln* or 'scraping along'—the phrase was his own invention—grew yearly more difficult, and in 1893 he sought to strengthen his position by fresh electoral reform. Its disapproval by an oligarchic parliament led to his fall, and the coalition which succeeded him introduced a reform which retained most of the evils of oligarchy without securing any of the advantages which democracy could offer. The next decade (1896–1906) is too closely connected with current politics for discussion in these pages. Suffice it to point out that throughout the period preceding the year 1896 Herr Charmatz never allows racial prejudices to influence his narrative, and that the remainder of the book, though written from the distinctively German-Austrian point of view, is far from assigning all the blame to one side, and is not unworthy of an historical writer whose sympathies lie rather with the broad imperial than with any narrow racial outlook upon Austrian affairs. On the other hand, he makes no secret of his anti-clerical views, whenever ecclesiastical or educational matters are under discussion. But here again it is wellnigh impossible for any educated Austrian, even if he be an historian, to avoid taking sides in such burning questions as the Concordat, the marriage laws, or the Roman church's control of education.

One of the happiest features of the book is the author's gift of characterization; in a few terse phrases he brings out the character, motives, and aims of the more prominent politicians who figure in his pages. But he is certainly very far outside the mark when he draws a comparison between the fanatical if gifted Georg von Schönerer and Edmund Burke (ii. 30). With this exception his estimate of Schönerer and of Dr. Karl Lueger is especially instructive; but his theory that Christian socialism owed its triumphs to the strong personality of Lueger and not to its own merits is a dangerous half-truth, and is hardly consistent with his recognition of the fact that Lueger succeeded where Schönerer failed, mainly because the one exploited and the other ignored the decisive influence exercised in Austria by the dynasty and the church.

His criticism of Bohemian *Staatsrecht* as 'an elastic expression which comprises everything and nothing' is indeed only too accurate. But it is impossible to follow with approval the strange remark—all the stranger in so careful a student of parliamentary procedure—that 'constitutional questions are questions of power (*Machtfragen*), as Lassalle has already demonstrated with all possible clearness. He who has the power to break through old forms and to create new ones need not resort to legal protestations; for him it is superfluous to appeal to such a quarter'. Such an assertion goes much too far beyond the somewhat contemptuous but not unmerited reference to Czech political 'romanticism, which combats the course of history by mere paper remonstrances'. On the whole, however, his compressed summary of racial troubles gives the foreign reader some clue to the rivalries and aspirations of German, Slav, and Latin in Cisleithania, though he might have done well to indicate the close bearing of economic

questions upon these rivalries. His interpretation, though it does not contain the whole truth, is absolutely true so far as it goes. In the words of Herr Charmatz's favourite hero, Adolf Fischhof, 'Austria is no accidental conglomeration, but a necessary political entity,' which, 'in order to secure its existence, must be the promoter of a high ethical idea.'

R. W. SETON-WATSON.

Camden Miscellany. Vol. xii. Camden Third Series, vol. xviii. (London : Royal Historical Society, 1910.)

THIS volume contains four interesting pieces. The first is a careful edition, by Mr. C. L. Kingsford, of Two London Chronicles, from the Collections of John Stow in the British Museum. The former of these runs from 1523 to 1555 (its year commencing with the election of the lord mayor, 29 October), the latter from 1547 to 1564. The second piece is the Life of Sir John Digby (1605-45) by a contemporary author, Edward Walsingham, now printed for the first time, by M. Georges Bernard. Sir John Digby, whose fame has been overshadowed by that of his elder brother Kenelm, was a typical roman catholic cavalier, loyal, brave, stubborn, and generous, loved by his dependants and soldiers, respected by his enemies. At the age of fourteen he was sent to Flanders to be educated, and four years later went to Italy. After this he served under the earl of Lindsey at sea, and then under the earl of Arundel against the Scots. During the Civil War he was active in his native districts, Buckinghamshire and Oxfordshire. His greatest exploit was the stubborn defence of Grafton House, near Towcester, with less than 200 men against several thousand of the enemy under Skippon. Prince Rupert failed to bring his promised relief, and Digby was forced to surrender. He was imprisoned in the Tower, and was exchanged for Colonel Buttler just before the royalist victory at Lostwithiel. He was appointed major-general of the army in the west, and was severely wounded in the arm at the siege of Taunton. He died on 16 July 1645 at Bridgewater, a few days before its capture by Fairfax. Walsingham concludes his work with a short character of Sir John, and some indifferent verse on him and other royalist leaders. The third piece, edited by Mr. H. E. Malden, is a diary kept by Adam Wheeler, drum to the Wilts militia, from 16 June to 9 July 1685. The regiment was present at Sedgemoor on 6 July, though not under fire, and as the prisoners passed on their way to Weston Church, Wheeler wrote down their number and description on his drumhead.

The last piece is also the most valuable. It consists of a collection of documents, dating from 1596 to 1622 and 1820, which relate to common rights at Cottenham and at Stretham in Cambridgeshire, edited, with an introduction, by Archdeacon Cunningham. During the sixteenth century the enclosure of commons or waste lands surrounding villages caused much complaint and suffering. This was especially so in the districts round the Fens, where the land was almost useless for tillage, but excellent for pasture. There are records of disputes over pasture rights at Cottenham before 1596, but the agreement of forty-seven articles, between Sir William Hinde of Madingley, lord of the manor, and 130 inhabitants, signed on