ROUTLEDGE REVIVALS

The Republican Tradition in Europe

H. A. L. Fisher



The Republican Tradition in Europe

H. A. L. Fisher



First published in 1911 by Methuen

This edition first published in 2011 by Routledge 2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon, OX14 4RN

Simultaneously published in the USA and Canada by Routledge

711 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10017

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or utilised in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

Publisher's Note

The publisher has gone to great lengths to ensure the quality of this reprint but points out that some imperfections in the original copies may be apparent.

Disclaimer

The publisher has made every effort to trace copyright holders and welcomes correspondence from those they have been unable to contact.

A Library of Congress record exists under LC Control Number: 11011905

ISBN 13: 978-0-415-67953-4 (hbk) ISBN 13: 978-0-203-80631-9 (ebk)

Routledge Revivals

The Republican Tradition in Europe

First published in 1911, this pioneering and ambitious work provides a history of the evolution of republican thought and practice in Europe from the fall of the Roman Empire to the beginning of the twentieth century.

Based a series of lectures delivered by the author at the Lowell Institute in 1910, this is a comprehensive treatment of the subject which moves deftly from the political thought of the middle ages through to the rise of Protestantism, the wave of revolution across Europe in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, concluding with an analysis of the republican cause and the permanence of the republican idea in the consciousness of Europe.

THE REPUBLICAN TRADITION IN EUROPE

比为试读,需要完整PDF请访问: www.ertongbo

BY THE SAME AUTHOR

THE MEDIEVAL EMPIRE

STUDIES IN NAPOLEONIC STATESMANSHIP

BONAPARTISM

A POLITICAL HISTORY OF ENGLAND, 1485-1547

FREDERIC WILLIAM MAITLAND: A BIOGRAPHICAL

SKETCH

THE REPUBLICAN TRADITION IN EUROPE

ΒY

H. A. L. FISHER, M.A.

FELLOW OF NEW COLLEGE, OXFORD, AND FELLOW OF THE BRITISH ACADEMY

METHUEN & CO. LTD. 36 ESSEX STREET W.C. LONDON



A. LAWRENCE LOWELL

PRESIDENT OF HARVARD UNIVERSITY

DEAR PRESIDENT LOWELL,

This book is the fruit of a course of lectures delivered at the Lowell Institute in the first year of your College Presidency. Will you allow me to dedicate it to you as a token of sincere admiration and friendship, and with every hope that the great University of Harvard may go from strength to strength under your vigorous and enlightened rule?

Though there have been a few alterations and additions, this little volume substantially represents my lectures as they were written for delivery, nor have I attempted to convert a series of discourses intended for a general audience into a complete or systematic treatise. The subject is large, and I do not profess to supply more than a bare outline of the course of Republican thought and action from the downfall of the Roman Empire to the present day. But the matter is comparatively unfamiliar, and, save for Emilio Castelar's "Historia del Movimiento Republicano," a characteristic monument of Andalusian exuberance, I am not aware that it has been made the subject of a book. To an American audience, nurtured

vi THE REPUBLICAN TRADITION

in the Republican tradition of the New World, it may be interesting to learn at what epochs, and within what limits, and with what results a political ideal similar to their own has been an operative force in European politics. For even in the Old World there have been moments when some have dreamt the dream of Abraham Lincoln: "Friend, the Lord prefers common-looking people; that is why He made so many of them." And so I venture to transgress the very sound maxim which reminds us that what will do well enough in a lecture-room is very seldom fit for the society on a book-shelf.

Yours sincerely,

HERBERT A. L. FISHER

New College, Oxford
January 1911

NOTE

I cannot allow this little book to go out without acknowledging the valuable help which I have received from my friend and colleague, Mr Leopold Wickham Legg, who has been kind enough to read the sheets as they passed through the Press.

xii

CONTENTS

I. MEDIEVAL THOUGHT AND ANCIENT TRADITION .

PAGE

I

CHAP.

The Monarchical Faith in Europe—Bossuet on Louis XIV. and the Qualities of Monarchy—Eclipse of the Republican Tradition under the Roman Empire—The Barbarian Monarchies—Monarchy in Early Medieval Literature—The Commonwealth of Iceland, 930-1264—Medieval Theory of Politics—Papacy and Empire—Monarchy the Most Perfect Form—Absence of Systematic Democratic Thought in the Middle Ages—John Wyclif, d. 1384.		
II. VENICE AND FLORENCE		13
The Roman Republic, 1155-1354—The Italian Conception of Liberty—The Rise of the Despots—Tyrannicide—Influence of the Classic Spirit—Political Revolutions in Florence, 1494-1530—Venice and Florence—Reputation of Venice—Donato Giannotti, 1492-1572—His Views on the Republican Experiments in Florence—The End of the Republic in Florence—The Catholic Reaction in Italy—Estimates of Popular Government—Niccolo Machiavelli, 1469-1530—Francesco Guicciardini, 1482-1540.		
III. THE PROTESTANT SPIRIT		34
Protestant Leaders and Political Obedience—Political Speculations of the Huguenots—Rise of the Dutch Republic, 1568-1581—Its Influence on Political Speculation—Triumph of Monarchy in the Seventeenth Century—Resistance to the Crown in England, 1603-45—The Democratic Party—The Opportunists—Oliver Cromwell is offered the Crown, 1657—Aristocratic Character of the Commonwealth—Sir James Harrington, 1611-1677—Milton's "Ready and Easy Way"—Algernon Sidney, 1622-83—Republicanism and Classical Literature—Republicanism and the Protestant Spirit.		
	vii	

IV. THE RISE OF THE FRENCH REPUBLIC

View Enlightened Despotism — Philosophic Monarchy—Idea of the Republic in the Writings of the Philosophers—Turgot (1727-81) on Republics—Influence of America—especially in France—Practical Character of the Cahiers of 1789—Monarchical Professions, 1789-91 —Intellectual Influences making for Republicanism—Polemical Advantage of Extreme Opinions—First Signs of a Republican Party—Influence of the King's Character—Mistakes of the Court—The Flight to Varennes -The Interregnum-Growth of Republican Literature -Condorcet's Argument-Royalist Reaction, July-September 1791—The Legislative Assembly, September 1791 to September 1792—The Capture of the Tuileries, August 10, 1792—Psychology of the Terror—Hesitations of the Assembly—The Invasion of France—Elections to the Convention, September 1792—The Republic proclaimed—Character of the French Monarchy—Influence of the War-The Guns at Valmy, September 20, 1792-Influence of Cicero and Plutarch on the French Revolution—Classical Character of French Education— J. J. Rousseau, 1712-78.

V. THE REVOLUTIONARY STATE

88

Unique Character of the French Republic—Its Sanguine Psychology—Centralization of Government—Its Anticlericalism—Growth of Scepticism in France—The Civil Constitution of the Clergy—Erastian Character of the Settlement—Civil Marriage and Divorce—Schism and Separation—September 1794—Propagandist Character of the French Republic—Defiance of Treaty Rights—Traditional Ambitions—The Rhine Frontier—The Humanitarian Strain—Condorcet, 1748-94—The First Republican Constitution, 1793—The Machinery of the Terror—The Eclipse of Freedom—Reversal of Early Principles—The Royalist Cause—Beginnings of Reaction—The Constitution of 1795—Government of the Directory—The Crime of Fructidor—The Last Two Years, 1797-99—The Fructidorians—Phenomena of Revolution—Work of the Jacobins.

VI. THE SOWER AND THE SEED

120

Germany and the French Revolution—Discredit attaching to the Republican Idea—The Work of Napoleon—Italy on the Eve of the Revolution—The Risorgimento—Influence of France—Bonaparte and

Italy—The Cisalpine Republic—The Dynastic Tradition broken—Flight of the Bourbons from Naples—The Parthenopean Republic—Its Constitution—Unpopularity of the French—Fall of the Republic—Permanent Influence of the Napoleonic Policy—Course of Political Opinion in England, 1689-1789—Essential Conservatism of the English People—The Revolution Societies—Constitutional Character of the Agitation—English Republicans—Thomas Paine, 1737-1809—William Godwin, 1756-1836—Robert Southey, 1774-1843—Samuel Taylor Coleridge, 1772-1834—Walter Savage Landor, 1775-1864—William Wordsworth, 1770-1850.

VII. AUTOCRACY AND ITS CRITICS

150

The Reaction, 1815-30—Special Influence of the Revolution in the Latin Zone—The Restoration in France—Antithesis between Social and Political Institutions—Insecurity of the Monarchy—Coalition of Republicans and Bonapartists—Liberals and Ultras—Charles X., 1824-1830—Godefroy Cavaignac (1802-57) and the Revolution of 1830—The Duke of Orleans reaps the Fruit—Jeremy Bentham, 1748-1832—Bentham on Monarchy—Current Administration of America, 1800-1830—The Belgian Revolution, 1830—Dutch Errors—And Belgian Protests—The National Congress—Arguments for Monarchy.

VIII. THE SECOND REPUBLIC IN FRANCE .

171

The Revolution in Retrospect—The Napoleonic Legend—Growth of Socialist Ideas—St Simon, 1760-1825—Influence of Socialist Writers—C. Fourier, 1772-1837—Louis Blanc, 1811-82—Growth of a Socialist Party—Defects of the July Monarchy, 1830-48—Agitation against the Government—The Paris Revolution, February 1848—Resignation of the King—The Birth of the Republic—Extraordinary Enthusiasm—Work of Lamartine's Government—The National Workshops—Paris and the Provinces—The Days of June—The "Red Spectre"—The Constitutional Committee—The Presidential System—Permanent Effects of the Second Republic.

IX. ITALY

193

Europe in 1848—Policy of Metternich, 1815-1848— The Carbonari — The Austrian Dead Weight—Giuseppe Mazzini, 1808-72—His Distrust of Piedmont—

 TILL RULL ODDICH TIMEDILLOI.
Source of his Power-His Political Ideal-Scope and
Limits of his Influence—The Disunion of the Patriots
-Italian Union impossible in 1848-The Venetian
Republic-Flight of Pio Nono from Rome, November
24, 1848—Declaration of the Roman Republic—
Garibaldi, 1807-82—The Siege of Rome—The Retreat

of Garibaldi-Effects of the Republican Resistance.

X. THE GERMAN REVOLUTION

Y

. . 211

Condition of Germany, 1815-48—American Influence—Influence of the Polish Dispersion—Radical Movement in Switzerland—Action of France on Germany—Karl Marx (1814-83) on the '48—Confusion of Political Ideals in Germany—The Republicans—The Baden Rising—The Frankfort Parliament and the Danish Question—The Last Republican Rally, April-May 1849—The Republican Federalists—The Unitarians—A Story of the Revolution.

XI. THE THIRD REPUBLIC

228

Early Popularity of Napoleon III.—And Subsequent Discredit—The Autocratic regime—The Period of Concessions—Ollivier and Liberalism—The Liberal Empire, 1870—The Republican Opposition—The Internationale and the Doctrine of Class War—The Individualist Republicans and Léon Gambetta—Fall of the Empire, September 3, 1870—Origin and Character of the Third Republic — The Assembly of Bordeaux — Adolphe Thiers, 1797-1877—His Opposition to the Second Empire — The Pacte de Bordeaux — Outbreak of the Commune—Communard Philosophy—The Achievement of Thiers—Royalism's Last Chance—The Republican Solution, 30th January 1875—Orleanist Defections—Gambetta (1838-82) and the Third Republic—Gambetta's Fundamental Beliefs—The Latin Schism.

XII. AN EXPERIMENT IN SPAIN

255

Charles Bradlaugh (1833-91) in Spain—Undercurrent of Republican Feeling in England—R. Carlile, 1790-1843—The Spainsh Republic—Effects of Peninsular War in Spain—Working of the Constitutional System—The Revolution of 1868—Forced Resignation of Amadeo of Savoy—The Federalists—Federalist Philosophy—The Federal Republic and the Cantonal Insurrection—Emilio Castelar, 1832-99—Fate of the Republic, 1874—The Federal Cause.

CONTENTS									xi	
XIII. 7	HE R	EPUBL	ICAN	CAUSE						270
Improvement in the Position of European Monarchies since 1848—This Improvement specially evident in England—Causes of the Popularity of Monarchy—Expansion of Popular Liberty found to be consistent with the Retention of Monarchy—Diversion of Interest to Social Problems—The Success of Bismarck—Influence of Imperialism—Dynastic Alliances—The Instance of Norway, 1905—Reasons for preferring a Monarchy to a Republic—Influence of Historical Memories in Norway—Permanence of the Republican Idea in the Consciousness of Europe.										
Notes										287
INDEV										207

THE REPUBLICAN TRADITION IN EUROPE

CHAPTER I

MEDIEVAL THOUGHT AND ANCIENT TRADITION

Moribus antiquis res stat Romana virisque.—Ennius

Let this moment be the beginning of an epoch of austere morality
and of immaculate justice.—First Manifesto of the Portuguese
Republic, Oct. 5, 1910

MONG the political records of Europe there are few documents more instructive than those austere and noble pieces of pedagogic literature which were composed for the only son of Louis XIV. by the greatest Catholic Bishop of the seventeenth century. Of the moral elevation and literary splendour of Bossuet's spacious treatises, of the "Discours sur l'Histoire Universelle," which first inspired the ambition of the youthful Napoleon, and "La Politique tirée de l'Ecriture Sainte," it is needless to speak in this connexion; they have been appraised by many qualified judges. But some words may be said about the political creed which is expressed with so patient and systematic an intellectual procedure and in terms of such tranquil and unfaltering conviction. It is the creed of Catholic and Monarchical Europe formulated by a mind which saw in the resplendent triumphs of the French Monarchy fresh

1