

the fourth treaty Austria had made with France within sixteen years. In this treaty of Vienna, which Napoleon negotiated while occupying the palaces of the Austrian emperor, the frontiers of Bavaria were strengthened and extended, so that this ally of France might not be again so defencelessly exposed to Austrian invasion. Saxony received an additional population, amounting to a million five hundred thousand. The kingdom of Italy also received important accessions of territory, that it might present a more impregnable front to its despotic and gigantic neighbor. France strengthened her allies, but added not a rood of ground to her own domain.

"When compared," says Lockhart, "with the signal triumphs of the campaign of Wagram, the terms on which Napoleon signed the peace were universally looked upon as remarkable for moderation."

Soon after this, Austria became intimately allied with France by the marriage of Maria Louisa, the daughter of the emperor, with Napoleon. It was supposed that this measure of State policy would secure the peace of Europe by preventing any further acts of hostility on the part of Austria. The divorce of Josephine was the great mistake, and, in the sight of God, the great sin, of Napoleon's life. Savary, the Duke of Rovigo, who was familiar with all the details, thus describes the motives which led to this sublime tragedy:—

"Nothing can be more true," says he, "than that the sacrifice of the object of his affections was the most painful that Napoleon experienced throughout his life. A feeling of personal ambition was supposed to be the mainspring of all his actions. This was a very mistaken impression. With great reluctance he had altered the form of government; and, if he had not been apprehensive that the State would again fall a prey to those dissensions which are inseparable from an elective form of government, he would not have changed an order of things which permanently secured those principles. He desired to hand his work down to posterity. He could not be blind to the fact that the perpetual warfare into which a jealousy of his strength had plunged him had in reality no other

object than his own downfall, because with him must necessarily crumble that gigantic power which was no longer upheld by the revolutionary energy he had himself repressed.

"The emperor had no children. He dismissed the idea of appointing Eugene his heir, because he had nearer relations; and it would have given rise to dissensions which it was his principal object to avoid. He also considered the necessity in which he was placed of forming an alliance sufficiently powerful, in order that, in the event of his system being at any time threatened, that alliance might be a resting-point, and save it from total ruin. He likewise hoped that it would be the means of putting an end to that series of wars, of which he was desirous, above all things, of avoiding a recurrence. These were the motives which determined him to break a union so long contracted. He wished it less for himself than for the purpose of interesting a powerful State in the maintenance of an order of things established in France."

The marriage-ceremony of Napoleon and Maria Louisa was celebrated in Vienna on the 11th of May, 1810. The Archduke Charles, brother of the Emperor Francis, stood as proxy for Napoleon. A little more than two years from this time occurred the dreadful disaster of the campaign of Russia. A French army of nearly half a million was buried beneath the snows of the North. Europe again sprang to arms to crush, in the person of Napoleon, free institutions. With almost supernatural energy the French emperor raised another army, and, with fearful odds against him, was holding at bay the armies of England, Russia, and Prussia upon the plains of Dresden. Austria seized upon this occasion again to join the allies, that she might recover what she had lost. Francis raised an army of two hundred thousand men; and with the ringing of bells, the explosion of artillery, and the flight of rockets, on the 12th of August, 1813, this proud army joined the ranks of Napoleon's already outnumbering foes. Napoleon was on the banks of the Elbe with but two hundred and sixty thousand troops. The allies surrounded him five hundred thousand strong. The battles of Dresden and Leipsic en-



sued. Napoleon fought with heroism which amazed the world but finally, overwhelmed with numbers, fell.

The allies marched to Paris, leading the Bourbons behind their guns, and replaced them upon the throne of France. Napoleon was sent to Elba; and Maria Louisa, with her son, taken captive by her own father, was conveyed by a guard of soldiers to Vienna. The sublime drama of "The Hundred Days" soon ensued, followed by the disaster of Waterloo. Napoleon was entombed in the glooms of St. Helena; and despotism was re-established all over Europe.

The victorious despots met in congress at Vienna in September, 1814, to divide the spoil. There were present at this congress the Emperors of Austria and Russia, the Kings of Prussia, Denmark, Bavaria, and Wurtemberg, and also a large number of princes and dukes. The Pope was represented by Cardinal Consalvi. England sent as her representatives Lord Castlereagh, the Duke of Wellington, Lords Cathcart, Clancarty, and Stuart. The Bourbons of France were represented by Prince Talleyrand, and several others of the most illustrious of the *ancienne noblesse*. Ambassadors from Spain, Portugal, and Sweden, were also admitted to the deliberations. Prince Metternich, who has been justly styled, "The incarnation of Austrian despotism," presided. The result of the long deliberations was summed up in one hundred and twenty-one articles, which were signed on the 9th of June, 1815. By these treaties the Austrian despotism received vast accessions of strength. The constitutional kingdoms of Italy were annihilated; and the woe-stricken Italians, bound hand and foot, were surrendered again to their former masters. Austria received Venetia, Lombardy, Tuscany, Modena, Parma, and various other minor States. Naples was restored, re-enslaved, to the infamous Ferdinand. Austria constructed Venetia and Lombardy into a kingdom, over which she placed one of her archdukes as viceroy. The remaining States she parcelled out among her dukes and princes. Again the repose of the slave-plantation was spread over Europe. In reference to the acts of this congress of the allies, "The British Quarterly" says, —

"The treaties of Vienna, though the most desperate efforts have been made by the English diplomatists to embalm them as monuments of political wisdom, are fast becoming as dead as those of Westphalia. In fact, they should be got under ground with all possible despatch; for no compacts, so worthless, so wicked, so utterly subversive of the rights of humanity, are to be found in the annals of nations."

After the perpetration of this great crime, Austria remained comparatively quiet, with occasional outbreaks but no great change, until the year 1836. On the 8th of March of this year, the Emperor Francis died. Regarding his throne as the great bulwark of absolutism, he ever manifested the most relentless hostility to constitutional freedom. It is reported, that when his physician, Baron Stiff, in a congratulatory address upon his health, remarked, —

"There is nothing, sire, like a good physical constitution," the emperor nervously interrupted him, exclaiming, —

"What do you say? Let me never hear that word again! Say my *robust health, strong bodily system*, but never say my *constitution*. I have no constitution; and I never will have one."

The death of Francis produced no change in the national policy. He died at the age of sixty-seven, having outlived three of his four wives, and having manifested, it is said, at the death of each, about as much concern as "old Bluebeard himself." Ferdinand I. succeeded Francis, and governed his vast and discordant estates with ordinary ability until the revolution in Paris of 1848, which overthrew Louis Philippe, and introduced to France first the republic, and then the empire under Louis Napoleon.

This immense revolution, overthrowing a despotism wielded for the benefit of the aristocracy, and introducing in its stead a despotism which maintained the cause of the people, shook all the realms of Austria like an earthquake. The significance of this revolution in France has not generally been understood in the United States. It has been generally regarded merely as a change of masters, France exchanging the despotic



Bourbons for the equal despotism of Louis Napoleon. Instead of this, it was a radical change of administration, overthrowing the reign of aristocratic privilege, and introducing the reign of republican equality. In the present state of France, it is said that no government can stand which is not upheld by the energies of despotism. The people have, then, only to choose between a despotism upholding the assumptions of the aristocracy, and a despotism maintaining popular rights. Of course, they choose the latter.

Thus the empire in France was re-established by the masses of the people. They drove aristocratic absolutism from the throne, and placed Louis Napoleon, the representative of democracy, upon it; and they cheerfully gave into his hands enough of despotic power to enable him to maintain their rights against the immense pressure of all the nobles of France, combined with the sympathies of all the monarchies of Europe. With skill and fidelity never surpassed, Louis Napoleon has proved himself equal to the trust. Had his government been less decisive and energetic, long ago popular rights would have been trampled in the mire. Under his sway, France has risen to be at the head of all the European monarchies.

A few years ago Louis Napoleon needed money. He appealed to the people for a loan of one hundred and fifty millions of dollars. In crowds they rushed to his treasury, bringing with them the almost incredible sum of nearly eight hundred millions of dollars, — five times as much as he asked for, or could consent to receive. This one fact sufficiently illustrates how differently the people regard the dictatorial power they have placed, for their own defence, in the hands of Napoleon, from the despotic power swayed by the Bourbons.

A revolution of so marked a character taking place in France, of course, agitated Europe to its centre. The Austrian provinces in Italy immediately arose to strike for freedom. By the treaty of Vienna, Sardinia had been constituted nominally an independent kingdom, embracing the Island of Sardinia, and the continental provinces of Piedmont, Savoy, and Nice. This feeble kingdom was not allowed to retain the free

institutions which it had enjoyed as a part of the kingdom of Italy under the protection of Napoleon; but it was watched with an eagle eye, and was overawed by Austrian despotism on the one side, and by the re-established Bourbon despotism on the other. As the Italian provinces of Lombardy and Venetia rose to break from their Austrian masters, the Piedmontese, sympathizing with them, and also wishing to escape from the despotism ever brooding over their realm, marched to the aid of their brethren.

The Austrians were driven out of Lombardy, and across the Mincio. Venetia threw off the hated yoke, and declared for independence. Hungary rose, almost as one man, demanding the restoration of their ancient constitutional rights. The doom of the hoary despotism seemed to be sealed; but the sympathies of all the courts of Europe, excepting that of France, and even including England, were hostile to these peoples struggling for constitutional rights. In the pages of Sir Archibald Alison, the court historian, we meet with the most painful demonstration of this fact.

"It is," says "The Edinburgh Review," "utterly repugnant to the first principles of our own policy and to every page in our own history, to lend encouragement to the separation of nationalities from other empires, which we fiercely resist when it threatens to dismember our own."

Thus frowned upon by all Europe, and swept by the disciplined armies which Austria poured down through all the passes of the Tyrolese Alps, Italy was again subdued. Radetzky, in command of these forces, with tiger-like ferocity desolated the land with fire and sword. Sardinia was compelled to make a humiliating peace. The unhappy Italians were punished as slaves are punished who attempt an insurrection with partial success, but with final defeat.

The conflict in Hungary, and around the very throne of the Austrian emperor, demands a more particular notice. The intelligence of the revolution in Paris reached Vienna on the 1st of March, 1848. The whole population of the city was thrown into a state of the most intense excitement. The professors



of the University of Vienna, with the students, two thousand in number, accompanied by an immense concourse of the people, crowded the imperial palace, presenting a petition to the emperor, respectfully but firmly demanding that the government should "introduce measures of reform tempered by wisdom." They implored a constitution which should confer religious liberty, freedom of the press, and a national legislature, in which the people should be represented.

Prince Metternich, who had ever been the great bulwark of despotism, was the especial object of popular hatred. In terror he fled from his palace, scarcely venturing to lay aside his disguise, or to look behind him, until he found refuge in London. Ferdinand, paralyzed and overpowered by the popular feeling, which in such resistless billows was dashing against his throne, granted all the patriots asked. The ministry was changed, a national guard organized, and despotic Austria seemed on the eve of regeneration. The people, demanding only a *constitutional* instead of an *absolute* monarchy, had no disposition to dethrone the emperor, and least of all did they desire to run the risk of attempting to exchange the monarchy for a republic. Gratified at the compliance of the emperor with their reasonable requests, they rallied around him with enthusiasm, greeting him with applause whenever he appeared. This event, so animating to every lover of human freedom, Sir Archibald Alison describes:—

"As a convulsion which brought Austria to the brink of ruin, all but swept it from the book of nations, and reduced it to the humiliation of invoking the perilous intervention of a foreign power."

The intelligence of the revolution in Paris reached Presburg, the capital of Hungary, when the diet of that kingdom was in session. Kossuth and the leading advocates of reform immediately sent an address to the Emperor Ferdinand, petitioning for a redress of grievances in Hungary. The Hungarian patriots were willing that Hungary should remain under the executive of the Austrian emperor: they only demanded that they should have a legislature or parliament of their own,

with freedom of the press and of religious worship. Such a request was reasonable and moderate in the extreme.

Kossuth, accompanied by one hundred and fifty Hungarian gentlemen, repaired to Vienna, and presented this petition to the emperor. Immense crowds in Vienna greeted this delegation with shouts of "Long live Kossuth!" The emperor, conscious of his powerlessness, promised to grant their just demands. A constitution was adopted in Hungary, abolishing all aristocratic privileges, and making both prince and peasant equal in the eye of the law. The peasants in Hungary had long been feudal slaves, attached to the soil, and transferred with the estates, and deprived of all political rights. Kossuth and his friends carried in the Hungarian diet a decree of absolute and universal emancipation.

"This sudden transition," it is recorded, "of the peasantry from servitude to civil and political liberty, was nowhere stained in Hungary by riots or disorder, as was feared, or perhaps hoped, by the court party: on the contrary, on most of the estates the peasantry contributed, by their own free will, to the work of the landlords during the time of mowing and harvesting, that the crops might not be damaged through any difficulty in securing hired laborers for those agricultural operations."

This beneficent revolution introduced the slavonic races to all the constitutional rights and privileges which had been so long withheld from them. The Magyars were consistent; and, in acquiring liberty for themselves, they conferred the same inestimable boon upon the enslaved races.

But Ferdinand, while making these forced concessions, and assuming content, was perfidiously preparing for resistance. An army was raised and sent into Hungary, and it endeavored to take possession of Prague. The Hungarians resisted. The Austrians planted their batteries on some neighboring heights, and for forty-eight hours bombarded the wretched city, until it presented the most awful aspect of smouldering ruins and blood. The patriots for a time were crushed; but the cry of indignation was so loud and fierce, not *only* throughout Hun



gary, but through all the streets of Vienna, that Ferdinand, in terror and disguise, escaped from his capital, and fled to Innsbruck, a strong fortress in the Tyrol, three hundred miles south-west from Vienna.

The flight of the emperor created throughout Austria a sensation hardly exceeded by that excited in France by the flight of Louis XVI. It was a declaration of war against the people, and against all popular reform. The standing army of Austria, ever the pliant tool of despotism, was now called into requisition. The imperial troops commenced, in Hungary, a war of devastation such as earth has not often witnessed. The sky through the wide horizon was illumined by night with the fires of burning villages, and was obscured by day by the smoke of these vast conflagrations.

As we have before mentioned, there were two principal races in Hungary, — the Slaves and the Magyars, descendants of ancient Gothic tribes. The Magyar race had been decidedly in the ascendancy, the superior race, in the possession of all the political power; while the Slaves, greatly depressed, occupied the position of a servile peasantry. Nearly all the imperial troops drafted from Hungary were taken from the Slaves, who composed about one-third of the Hungarian population. With the most atrocious perfidy, Austrian gold was lavished to incite the Slaves to rise against the Magyars, though there was no shadow of a plea for such action, the Slavonic races having been reinstated in all the rights and privileges of manhood. Many of the Slaves, ignorant and debased, were induced to enlist in the army of the emperor.

The emperor now returned to Vienna, and, with his troops ravaging Hungary, he issued an edict demanding the expulsion of Kossuth, the leader of the patriots, from the Hungarian ministry. Kossuth was thus compelled to resign, and his post was assigned to a partisan of the emperor. But the people rallied around Kossuth, who had been sacrificed for his love for them; and the cabinet at Vienna resolved with all the horrors of war to bring Hungary again into abject submission to its sway.

On the 11th of September, 1848, an army of thirty thousand men, under the Austrian general Jellachich, crossed the Drave, the frontier river of Hungary, and marched upon Pesth. With singular unanimity, nearly all Hungary sprang to arms in self-defence. The troops were placed under the command of Georgey, a Hungarian noble, who had espoused the popular cause. But Kossuth was the intellectual head of the nation, and the soul of the war which now ensued. His genius inspired every movement; and the Hungarians rallied at his call with enthusiasm which perhaps has never been equalled. One hundred thousand men were speedily enrolled, and on the march to repel the invaders.

The heads of the two armies came together in many bloody conflicts; and the Austrians, routed again and again, were compelled to sue for an armistice. The popular party in Vienna were in strong sympathy with the Hungarians; and it was with manifest reluctance that the Austrian troops could be brought to fight against those who asked only for constitutional liberty. Under these circumstances, a new revolution swept the streets of Vienna; and in one day of frenzied uproar and carnage the monarchy was again laid prostrate at the feet of the people. But though the populace, in their just and wild wrath, could destroy an execrable despotism, they had not sufficient intelligence and virtue to construct a stable government upon its ruins.

A "committee of public safety" was appointed, at whose demand the emperor was compelled to dismiss his aristocratic ministry, and appoint a popular one in its stead. The emperor also recalled his proclamation against Hungary, removed the detested Jellachich from the command of the army, and granted a general amnesty for all political offences. Again the emperor sought refuge in flight. All the troops who could be relied upon were speedily assembled around the emperor, from their wide dispersion throughout the empire, and were ordered to march upon Vienna. From the steeples of the city the dismayed inhabitants soon beheld an army of sixty thousand men — infantry, artillery, and cavalry — approaching to