

wreak upon them merciless vengeance. In a state of indescribable consternation the whole city sprang to arms. On the morning of the 20th of October, 1848, the bombardment commenced. The roar of artillery, the shouts of battle, the bursting of shells, the shrieks of the terrified, the cry of the wounded, the frenzy of women and children, ruin, conflagration, blood, all presented a spectacle which the most vivid imagination cannot conceive.

All the day and all the night the horrible storm continued. The city was now on fire in twenty places. The streets were clogged with the mangled bodies of the dead. The flames, spreading rapidly, and flashing to the skies, threatened to consume the whole city and all its inmates. Shells, like hailstones, were falling everywhere, and there was no place of safety. The city could no longer be defended, and was compelled to capitulate. The imperial army, composed mostly of mercenary troops, marched in ferociously, and took military possession of the city. All hopes of popular reform were now at an end; and the old despotism was reconstructed, and cemented in the blood of the people.

But Ferdinand I. was now weary of his crown, which to him had proved truly a crown of thorns. He resolved to abdicate; and as he had no children, and as his brother Charles refused the perilous gift of sovereignty, the sceptre was transferred to Francis Joseph, the son of Charles, a young man eighteen years of age. It was the 2d of December, 1848. The young emperor, hoping to quiet the restlessness of his re-enslaved people, promised to confer upon them a liberal constitution, — a promise which it became subsequently manifest that he had no intention of performing. The inhabitants of Vienna, exhausted by war, in submission, accepted the promise.

But the inhabitants of Hungary, while willing to acknowledge the sovereignty of the emperor, still demanded a parliament of their own. The kingdom of Hungary contained one hundred and thirty-three thousand square miles, being one-tenth larger than England and Ireland united, and numbered

a population of about thirteen million. They firmly claimed, that, while they cordially accepted the executive authority of the Emperor of Austria, they should enjoy a Hungarian legislature. But the young emperor, Francis Joseph, flushed with the subjugation of his subjects in Austria proper, treated the demand as insolence. He abolished the Hungarian constitution, dissolved the legislative bodies, and threw into prison the Hungarian commissioners sent to confer with him. At the same time the imperial army, which by a bombardment had so successfully chastised Vienna into subjection, was sent into Hungary to inflict the same doom upon Pesth, then the Hungarian capital.

All the horrors of civil war now desolated Hungary. Jellachich, the Austrian commander-in-chief, issued a proclamation, in which he threatened to shoot every Hungarian taken with arms in his hands, and to demolish every town which should present the least resistance. As the imperial army with its veteran soldiers approached the capital, the Hungarian Government, with Kossuth at its head, retired to Debreczin, about two hundred miles east of Pesth. It was on the 5th of January, 1849, when this retreat commenced; and the Hungarian army, encumbered with thousands of citizens, women and children, suffered all that mortals can endure, multitudes perishing of cold, starvation, and misery. The Austrians took possession of Pesth; but, with the mercury only five degrees above zero, they did not venture to pursue the retiring Hungarians.

In this dark hour a speech from Kossuth seemed to electrify all Hungary; and the nation, as one man, sprang to arms. Month after month the war raged all over the kingdom with varied success. But gradually the Hungarians were gaining ground. In battle after battle they were driving back their invaders; and Austria found that her mercenary troops were not able to crush a heroic nation roused to despair. Francis Joseph then appealed to Russia for help. The great northern autocrat listened eagerly to the appeal; for Nicholas feared, that, should the Hungarians secure constitutional liberty, the Polanders might demand the same boon. There was not a

single nation in Europe in sympathy with the Hungarians, excepting France; and France was then menaced with a coalition of all Europe to restore that aristocratic *régime* which for a fourth time she had rejected. Even the British Government, through Lord Palmerston, sanctioned the intervention of Russia in this cruel war against Hungary, assuming that the Hungarians were subjects in revolt against their lawful sovereign.

The serried battalions of Russia were instantly on the march, a hundred and sixty-two thousand strong, to join the vast armies which Austria had raised, the two most powerful despotisms on the globe combining against a heroic people, demanding only a constitutional monarchy. Still Hungary bore up bravely, without one thought of yielding even to Russia and Austria in coalition. By a stupendous effort an army was raised of one hundred and forty thousand men. Renowned battles ensued, and victories were won, which struck the allies with dismay, and which caused every Hungarian heart to throb with rapture. There were many deeds of valor and magnanimity performed by the Hungarians which merit immortal renown. But, unfortunately, there now arose a serious division among the Hungarian chiefs. Kossuth, the intellectual guide and head of the Hungarian struggle, was for declaring independence. Georgey, who was commander-in-chief of the army, was in favor of still remaining under the Austrian monarchy, seeking only the reform of abuses. The counsels of Kossuth triumphed; and on the 14th of April, 1849, Hungary issued her declaration of independence, and Kossuth was by acclamation elected governor. There was extraordinary unanimity throughout the nation in these measures; but Georgey, whose counsels had been rejected, was exceedingly chagrined and indignant.

Austria and Russia now roused themselves to redoubled efforts. They raised a united army of two hundred and forty thousand men, and with this enormous force again marched upon Hungary. But there was no longer confidence between the governor of the republic and the commander-in-chief

of the army. Georgey openly proclaimed his disapproval of the declaration of independence, and Kossuth watched him with an anxious eye. A series of unfortunate battles ensued, in which the Hungarians, though they fought with bravery never surpassed, were generally worsted. Treason was bitterly suspected as the Hungarians were again and again overpowered. At last it became evident that Hungary must fall. These reverses, seeming to confirm the judgment of Georgey, strengthened his influence, and roused his party to more decisive action.

Under these circumstances Kossuth resigned his office of governor, and Georgey was invested with dictatorial power. The other leading generals of the army, with Kossuth, felt that they had been betrayed. General Bem, in an interview with Georgey, was so impressed with the conviction of his treachery, that he refused to accept, in parting, his proffered hand. Mounting his horse, he galloped to meet at an appointed rendezvous, in the ancient forest of Lugos, several hundred of his fellow-soldiers, chiefly officers.

"Hungary," said he, "has fallen, betrayed rather than conquered. To-morrow it will be proclaimed that 'order reigns in Pesth,' — the order of the executioner. I have no wish to influence others; but so long as I have an inch of steel in my hand, or a brave man at my side, I will defend the cause to which I have devoted my body, my soul, my blood, and my life."

Nearly the whole band received these words with acclamation, and, conscious of their inability any longer to maintain the struggle, retreated to the mountains of Transylvania. Georgey made an unconditional surrender of his whole army of nearly thirty thousand men, with one hundred and forty guns, to the Russians. The scene of surrender was made by the proud victor one of great military pomp and triumph, and to the vanquished it was as melancholy and humiliating as can well be imagined. This event took place at two o'clock in the afternoon of the 14th of August, 1849, at Szollos, which spot has thus been rendered forever memorable.

At the same time, by the order of Georgey, all the fortresses in his possession, and the dispersed corps of the army, were surrendered to the allies, and Hungary was again a shackled slave at the feet of her conquerors. Confiscations, imprisonments, and executions ensued, which extorted a wail of anguish so loud and prolonged, that it thrilled upon the ears of all Christendom. Georgey was pardoned; but fourteen of his highest officers, men whose virtues and heroism had secured the admiration of Europe, perished upon the scaffold. Kossuth, accompanied by about five thousand Hungarians, escaped into the Turkish territory, and took refuge in Orsova, where they were nobly protected by the Sultan from their foes, clamorous for their blood. From Turkey they finally secured a passage to England, and thence to America, and were scattered all over the world, the martyrs of liberty.

Kossuth, after pleading in America the cause of his country in strains of eloquence never surpassed in Ancient Greece or Rome, returned to England, where he has since remained, almost the idol of every generous heart, despairingly awaiting the dawn of a brighter day. The infamous Haynau, who by his atrocities in sending the most illustrious men to the scaffold, and in causing ladies of the highest rank to be scourged, has acquired the nickname of the "Hangman" and the "Hyena," was appointed the Austrian governor of Hungary; and he ruled the subjugated realm with a rod of iron. The constitution was annulled, trial by jury abolished, the censorship of the press established, and freedom of religious worship prohibited. The Jesuits were again restored to power.

Austria, having been thus effectually aided by Russia, could not join England, France, and Turkey against the Czar in the campaign of Sevastopol. Francis Joseph assumed neutrality. But Nicholas was highly indignant that the Emperor of Austria did not fly to his aid. Consequently, at the close of the war, the Emperor of Russia, rejecting friendly intercourse with Austria, sought friendship and alliance with France. Still it was manifest that the interests of Russia and Austria were so identical, as the two leading aristocratic despotisms

of Europe, that, to resist the people struggling for liberty, they would be compelled to unite.

The rapid advance which Sardinia has recently been making in the path of constitutional liberty was exciting the Austrian dominions in Italy to strike for the same progress. Austria, alarmed, sent an army of two hundred thousand men into Sardinia. France immediately sent an army, which the emperor led in person, to aid the Sardinians to repel the invaders. In every battle the Austrians were routed. They were driven out of Piedmont and of Lombardy; and, after the dreadful carnage of Magenta and Solferino, the French and Sardinians were about to drive the Austrians from Venetia, and thus entirely from Italy, when Russia, Prussia, and England interposed their remonstrances. Their threat to unite with Austria against France, Sardinia, and all Italy, then rising in arms, which would have introduced, probably, the most desolating war earth has ever known, compelled France and Sardinia to assent to the treaty of peace called the Treaty of Villafranca.

By this treaty Lombardy was wrested from Austria, and, to the inexpressible joy of its inhabitants, united with the Italian kingdom of Sardinia. The Duchies of Tuscany, Parma, and Modena also drove off their Austrian masters, and, protected by France against Austrian invasion, joined also the Sardinian kingdom. The Venetians, from the highest elations of hope, were again plunged into unutterable despair, as they were left helpless in the hands of their detested masters. Hungary, also, was on the eve of a new struggle for liberty, elated by the fact that the Austrian army was fully engrossed by the struggle with France and Sardinia. New gleams of joy began to penetrate the despairing mind of Kossuth. He repaired to Italy, issued a proclamation to his countrymen, and in a few weeks would have been at the head of all Hungary in arms, when the peace of Villafranca blighted all their prospects, liberating a veteran army of two hundred thousand Austrian troops to crush the slightest movement of the Hungarian people.

But again Venetia and Hungary are grasping their arms,

preparing to strike simultaneously and desperately for freedom. The wonderful success of Garibaldi, in emancipating Sicily and Naples from intolerable despotism, and annexing them to the Sardinian kingdom, thus forming a kingdom of Italy consisting of nearly twenty million of inhabitants, probably secures the emancipation of the Papal States, also, from the detested sway of the Pope. This will unite all Italy, excepting Venetia, in the Kingdom of Italy. This will certainly be followed by a rising of the Venetians to break the Austrian yoke, and unite with their Italian brethren. Austria will pour her armies into Venetia; and Hungary will instantly rise. Russia, it is said, is even now preparing to march to the help of Austria. France, it is said, is prepared to march to the help of Italy. What will the British Government do?

The last arrivals from Europe announce the following as the substance of an important telegram recently received from Vienna:—

“The Emperor Alexander and his government desire sincerely a perfect reconciliation with Austria. The good understanding between Austria and Russia ought never to have been interrupted. The necessary arrangement for a meeting between the two emperors will be made without delay; and measures will be taken to put an end to the present state of things, which is no longer tolerable.”

Such is the attitude of Austria, and of these great questions of reform, as the autumnal leaves of 1860 are falling to the ground.

This powerful empire, as at present constituted, embraces:—

1. The hereditary States of Austria, containing 76,199 square miles, 9,843,400 inhabitants.			
2. The duchy of Styria	“	8,454	“ “ 780,100
3. Tyrol	“	11,563	“ “ 738,000
4. Bohemia	“	20,172	“ “ 3,380,000
5. Moravia	“	10,192	“ “ 1,805,500
6. The duchy of Auschnitz in Galicia	“	1,843	“ “ 323,190
7. Illyria	“	9,132	“ “ 897,000
8. Hungary	“	125,105	“ “ 10,628,500
9. Dalmatia	“	5,827	“ “ 320,000
10. Venetia	“	8,270	“ “ 2,000,000
11. Galicia	“	32,272	“ “ 4,075,000

Thus the whole Austrian monarchy contains 256,399 square

miles, and a population which now probably exceeds forty millions. The standing army of this immense monarchy in time of peace consists of 271,400 men, which includes 39,000 horse and 17,790 artillery. In time of war this force can be increased to almost any conceivable amount.

Thus slumbers this vast despotism, in the heart of central Europe, the China of the Christian world. The utmost vigilance is practised by the government to seclude its subjects, as far as possible, from all intercourse with more free and enlightened nations. The government is in continual dread lest the kingdom should be invaded by those liberal opinions which are circulating in other parts of Europe. The young men are prohibited, by an imperial decree, from leaving Austria to prosecute their studies in foreign universities. “Be careful,” said Francis II. to the professors in the university at Labach, “not to teach too much. I do not want learned men in my kingdom: I want good subjects, who will do as I bid them.” Some of the wealthy families, anxious to give their children an elevated education, and prohibited from sending them abroad, engaged private tutors from France and England. The government took the alarm, and forbade the employment of any but native teachers. The Bible, the great chart of human liberty, all despots fear and hate. In 1822 a decree was issued by the emperor, prohibiting the distribution of the Bible in any part of the Austrian dominions.

The censorship of the press is rigorous in the extreme. No printer in Austria would dare to issue the sheet we now write; and no traveller would be permitted to take this book across the frontier. Twelve public censors are established at Vienna, to whom every book published within the empire, whether original or reprinted, must be referred. No newspaper or magazine is tolerated which does not advocate despotism. Only those items of foreign intelligence are admitted into those papers which the emperor is willing his subjects should know. The *freedom* of republican America is carefully excluded. The slavery which disgraces our land is ostentatiously exhibited in harrowing descriptions and appalling engravings as

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-