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LOUIS KOSSUTH

AND THE

East Revolution.

IN

HUNGARY AND TRANSYLVANIA.

CONTAINING

A DETAILED BIOGRAPHY OF THE LEADER
OF THE MAGYAR MOVEMENT,

&c., &c., &c.

LONDON,

JOHN ROXBOROUGH, 45, NEW BOND STREET.

1850.



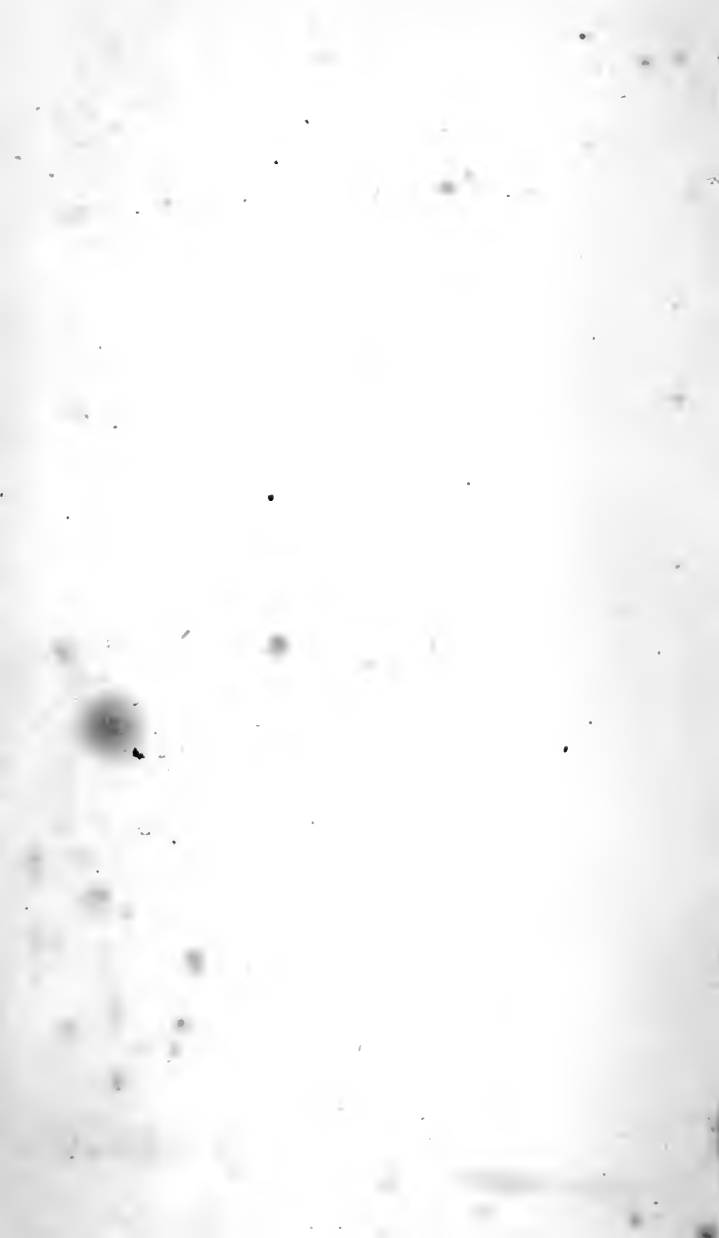
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CHAPTER I.

FRANCIS RAGOTZY AND THE PRAGMATIC SANCTION.

WHILE Louis Kossuth, deluded by his insatiable ambition and grandiloquence, flattered himself that he was capable of towering to the height of Washington, he ranked, in the opinion of impartial critics, rather with the Catilines, the Massaniellos, and Pugatscheffs of ancient and modern times. We are moreover convinced that he, the prototype of all enemies of dynasties and leaders of rebel hordes, was, in his own person and in the peculiar event of the time, neither more nor less than a re-

production of Francis Ragotzy and the stormy period from 1701 to 1711; and we take the liberty of directing the attention of our readers to the leading features of that memorable period.

Francis Leopold Ragotzy, or, perhaps, more properly speaking, *Rakoczy*, a stepson of Tököly, was, when a mere youth, mixed up in a conspiracy against the constitution of the realm, and for the purpose of enforcing the secession from Austria of Transylvania and all the Hungarian countries. Ragotzy found his earliest champions among the robbers, Cikoschs, and refractory peasants; but after some time his force was recruited by the adhesion of several Magyars of birth and station. Among them were the Counts Alexander Karoly, Nikolaus Bercseny, and Forgatsch. These rebel hordes were called *Kuruzzen* (*Curonnes*), and their *raids*, accompanied as they were by waste and havoc, seemed to belong to the darker ages; for they robbed, burned, and murdered, somewhat in the manner of the Huns, Vandals, and Avari. The conspirators relied on the support of France,

but Longueval, whom they commissioned to treat with Louis XIV., revealed their treasonable plans to the Emperor Leopold I., and it was by his intervention that the heads of the conspiracy, and Ragotzy among them, were arrested. But Francis Ragotzy, full of diabolic cunning and gifted with the powers of persuasion, found means to bribe one Captain Lehmann, who favoured his escape from the prison of Neustadt. He fled to Poland, for that country seemed to him the most proper spot to prepare his revenge against Austria,—a country for whose overthrow he joined the rage of the scorpion to the guile of the serpent. (1701.)

Nor was it long before he succeeded in assembling an army of 100,000 men, and since it happened that the Emperor's armies were engaged, partly in Italy and partly on the banks of the Rhine, there was but an inconsiderable force at hand to oppose the rebels, and to dam the torrent of destruction which, favoured by the erroneous policy of France, swept its fatal course onward, not only through the greater part of Hungary, but

also through Moravia, Austria Proper, and Styria, and whose surge beat against the very walls of Vienna.*

After Leopold I. came his son, Joseph I.† Francis Ragotzy had already usurped the title of Prince of Transylvania, and in the course of the Diet which the malcontents assembled at Seczin, he styled himself the “Duke of the Confederation of Estates.” His pride and conceit kept pace with his influence and his power. He had already obtained possession of the whole of Hungary, with the exception of a few cities and strongholds. The mines and revenues of the kingdom were in his hands; and a large army, led by Polish and French officers, acknowledged him as their chief. Well might he deem his position unconquerable by the whole world, and, of course, by the Emperor of Austria especially, since, in case of need, he could rely on the sympathies and on the *Landsturm* of all Hungary and Transylvania. And since the Emperor’s armies

* At Schwechat.

† 1705.

were still engaged in foreign countries, and since Joseph I. desired above all to put a term to this fatal civil war, he condescended to treat with Ragotzy ; by the interference of the Archbishop of Kalocza, a Congress assembled at Tyrnau, and the Ambassadors of Great Britain and Holland, who acted as mediators, attended the sittings and watched the negotiations of this Congress.

Prince Ragotzy and his adherents, blinded by their successes and instigated by French agents, dared to make proposals and to submit conditions which were altogether incompatible with the honour of the Imperial House and the tranquillity of the Empire. The negotiations were broken off and another appeal was made to the force of arms, and although Austria was still unequally matched against a superior power, and although up to the year 1707 she did not indeed succeed in wringing any advantage from her antagonist, still she preserved and defended her right and her dignity with that majestic firmness which cannot, at any time, fail to paralyse all criminal resistance.

“It is impossible,” says a historian, “to give an adequate idea of the terrible calamities which Hungary suffered at this time, by the blindness of ambition and the haughty and overbearing spirit of some magnates, who were partially misled by foreign influence. The more fertile provinces were devastated; flourishing cities and villages were transformed into ashes and ruins.

At last, in the year 1708, the gallant Imperialist generals prevailed against the insurgents, to such an extent that Ragotzy was induced to sue for the help of the czar, Peter of Russia, and to appeal to the most high Porte. But, as a meet reward for his flagrant rebellion, help was denied him on either side. Besides the horrors of sword and flame, pestilential diseases were ravaging the country and preying on its inhabitants, who, weary with the unjust and fatal war, were most sincere in their wishes for peace. The brilliant victories of the Imperialist generals, to wit, of Rabutins in Transylvania, of Heister at Trentshin, and of Colonel Baron Sickingen in the murderous battle at Romhaz

(1710), as well as the diplomatic negotiations of the Count Palffy, served to suppress the embers of war to such an extent, that Ragotzy, defeated in the field and in the cabinet, found himself at length unequal to continue the contest. Having lost all his strongholds, except Kaschau and Munkacs, his army having been routed and a panic having spread among his adherents, he, knowing there was no place of safety for him in Hungary, fled into Poland, where he made vain efforts to enlist fresh champions to his cause and to interrupt the negotiations for a peace, which in 1711 were opened and concluded at Szathmar. Soon afterwards (on the 1st of May, 1711), the Estates of Hungary in parliament assembled at Kavol signed a treaty with Austria, in virtue of which all the conspirators received a full amnesty, while they were entitled to the restitution of their confiscated property; their religious sects received a promise of toleration; and the whole of the Hungarian nation was blessed with the assurance of the restoration of their liberties and privileges. For the

Count Palffy was invested with full powers to conclude a peace on any condition, if he could only insure the succession and the abolition of the famous clause in the decree of King Andreas.* The Estates of Hungary accepted the conditions of the peace, and again tendered their oath of allegiance to their king, Charles II. (the sixth emperor of that name), who had succeeded to the throne after the decease, on the 17th of April, 1711, of the Emperor Joseph I.

When the draft of the treaty of peace was sent to Poland for Ragotzy's signature, he most obstinately refused to sign it, and he studied how he might, with the aid of the powers of Hell, succeed in breaking the peace, and relighting the torch of war against Austria, which he hated with all the madness of crime. The treaty of peace was consequently ratified without his concurrence, and

* This clause provides that Hungary is and shall be an independent and elective monarchy, according to the free will of the nation. The Emperor Leopold I. did, however, as early as 1702, declare the country to be an hereditary monarchy.

Ragotzy with his obstinate and maddened companions were declared to have lost their property and to be outlawed. Still thirsting for revenge he repaired to France, and from thence to Turkey, where he died at his seat in Roumelia, in the year 1735.

We ought here to make mention of the Pragmatic Sanction ; of that important document, by virtue of which the Emperor Charles VI., the last male scion of the house of Habsburg, assured the succession in all estates to his female descendants, on the 19th of April, 1713. This law of succession was published in 1720, and for Hungary it was published in 1722, when Charles appeared in person at the Hungarian Diet at Pressburg. The following are the chief parts of this document :—

1st. The whole of the hereditary estates of Austria shall be indivisible and inseparable, now and for all time to come.

2dly. So long as there shall be male issue of the Arch House of Austria, the said male issue shall succeed, according to the right of primogeniture.

3dly. In default of male heirs the female descendants shall be admitted to the succession in the same order as the males would have been, to wit, according to the right of primogeniture: so that the daughters of Charles VI. shall have the first right, and in their default the daughters of Joseph I. and of Leopold I.

For the purpose of giving some introduction to this fundamental law, Charles VI. convoked Diets in all his hereditary possessions, and he received the promise of his Estates that they would at all times stake their blood and their property in defence of this law. And when in the above-named year Charles was crowned at Pressburg with the crown of St. Stephen, the nation insisted on having their privileges again confirmed by a solemn oath; and when the new-crowned king, with the consent of the representatives of the Hungarian nation, established the royal Stadtholderate (*Regium Locumtenentiale Consilium*), which in the year 1748 was removed from Presburg to Buda, and when he negotiated about acceptance

of the Pragmatic Sanction in favour of his daughter Maria Theresa, the negotiations were brought to such an issue that the Hungarian nation resigned the right of free election in case their King should die without male heirs, and that the right of succession was likewise extended to the female descendants of the family. It was on this occasion, too, that Charles effected some notable improvements in the two highest courts of the Hungarian empire (*Tabula Regia et Septemviralis*), that he created four distinct courts at Tyrnau, Güns, Debreczin, and at Eperies, and founded a general archive at Pressburg. The Hungarian nobility, too, which is so numerous and so preposterously privileged, was declared to be free from taxation, but they were bound to military service in case of need.

CHAPTER II.

MARIA THERESA AND THE PATRIOTISM OF HUNGARY.

IT is well known how great the sacrifices were at the cost of which the Emperor Charles VI. endeavoured to induce foreign powers to give their guarantee to the Pragmatic Sanction, and what the demands were which in 1740 were preferred against his great daughter and successor, Maria Theresa, by the three powers of Bavaria, Spain, and Saxony, as well as by King Frederick II. of Prussia. It is likewise well known that the Princess, in the last extreme of misfortune, trustfully appealed to the noble Hungarians. In the national costume of the Magyars, though in mourning, the crown of St. Stephen on her head, and girded with his sword of state, she, dazzling with majesty and beauty,

burst like the sun of morning upon the Diet ; she ascended the regal throne, and in sweeping eloquence she depicted the miseries of her hereditary dominions, the faithlessness of her conspiring enemies, and the salvation of which her only hope lay in the loyalty, the gallantry, and the generosity of the Hungarian nation. Than this History knows no scene more touching or more grand. The generous representatives of a heroic people seized their swords and half unsheathed them, and loud and unanimous was their cry, "Let us die, let us die for our Queen !" This solemn promise was renewed when Maria Theresa proposed to her husband, Francis Stephen of Lorraine, to be co-regent, and when, on the occasion of the solemn institution and installation of the latter, she showed her young Prince Joseph, the descendant of so many kings, to the assembled Estates. It requires an intimate knowledge of the character and temper of the Magyars to understand the length to which their enthusiasm will go, and the zeal which, by its own agency, rises into fanaticism. We know

of no people on earth which possesses so extensive a share of physical and moral strength, and which can be brought to grasp an object or idea with the burning enthusiasm of a deep and powerful mind. Its feelings once awakened are not easily kept back; they sweep along like a stream of burning lava; they break through the firmest dykes, and they require many months and days to return to order and to less violent views.

When the Palatine with the echoing voice of the Assembly summoned the military power of the Hungarian empire, he found himself surrounded by such crowds of volunteers that for a moment there was a lack of weapons for them. The whole of the nobility took the field, and swore to devote their properties and their lives to the dynasty and the country. The Magyars, moreover, vied with the Sclavonians, and Germans, and the Wallachians, in touching fraternity, and they were most liberal in paying subsidies of money and other stores for war. Nay, more, they protested that every one of them was prepared, in case of need, to offer his

jewellery and plate as a sacrifice to the country.

In this period the patriotism of the Magyars showed itself in the most brilliant and praiseworthy light. They showed the same patriotism at an earlier period, in their long and bloody contests with the Crescent, and at a later time in the French wars; and they gave for more than three hundred years the most eminent proofs that they considered the cause of Austria as their own, and that they were firmly resolved to identify the fate of Austria with their own fortunes.

The fact that there are some dark spots and shadows in such a galaxy of light is not to be charged on the nation at large, for whenever the nation has been at fault it was in consequence of some temporary delusion, produced by the deceptive glare of some will-o'-the-wisp, which among them rose from its sloth of egotism. We might have referred to the egotistical intrigues of Zapolya, Botschkay, or Abethlengaby, but we take as the most striking example the last arch-traitor, Francis Ragotzy; because, as

we hinted before, his destructive course has in these latter days found a repetition ; because his disgusting picture is reproduced in all the chief features of Kossuth ; and last, not least, because, according to the unchangeable progress of History, the consequential result of the former phenomenon allows of our making a conclusion upon the probable results of the latter, and upon the future of Austria and Hungary. But before we proceed to draw a conclusion from the premises thus given us, we must cast a look upon the picture of the modern Ragotzy, and upon the peculiarities of the time which bore it to its surface.

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CHAPTER III.

KOSSUTH'S PERSON.

ALTHOUGH there are but very few points in which there is any similarity between Napoleon and Kossuth, and however great the difference is of their path in life, it may at least be said that the man of the sword has in so far been a prototype and teacher to the man of the tongue, since he, too, desired to become great and immortal at the expense of Austria. But the warrior and conqueror had a nobler starting-point than the traitor and rebel; and while the former shook the whole of Europe with an iron hand, the latter moved nothing in Europe but the tongues of men. Buonaparte, the native of Corsica, used the French as mere tools for his selfish plans, in the same way in which

Kossuth, by birth a Slavonian, made use of the Magyars. Napoleon and Kossuth flattered the deluded people with the cunning of serpents, and sought by endearments to poison, to mislead, and finally to enslave them ; but here again Kossuth has the worst of the comparison, because his hostile endeavours were directed against his own tribe, —against the Slavonians.

We will not, however, try the patience of our readers by following up the weary mazes of this simile, but we will cast a glance at Kossuth's person, such as in the midst of 1849 it was introduced to public notice by the *Hue and Cry*. The following is the laconic expression of the official style:—

Age—45 years.

Place of Birth—Jascperin, in Hungary.

Condition—Married.

Religion—Catholic.

Language—German, Hungarian, Latin, Slovak, and French.

A Barrister and a Public Writer ; of late, President of the Hungarian Committee of Defence.

Size—Middle and Spare.

Face—Round and Full.

Complexion—Brown.

Forehead—High and Open.

Hair—Black.

Eyes—Blue and protruding.

Eyebrows—Large and Black.

Nose—A little flattened.

Mouth—Small and neatly formed.

Teeth—Full in numbers.

Chin—Round.

Black whiskers and moustachios.

Other distinguishing marks—his hair has a natural curl and begins to get thin on the top of the head; his behaviour is flattering and insinuating; it is not possible to state his dress, but he prefers caps to hats.

Let no man suppose us capable of taking this portrait in enmity and malice of spirit, for the purpose of scandalising the deluded friends and champions of this arch-agitator. If we were capable of doing such a thing, we should be forced to resign all claim to the honourable name of historian, whose first principle ought to be that of perfect impartiality. On the contrary, we promise our readers that we will continue to adhere to the truth, and to draw our information from the most authentic sources, and that steering a middle course, we will

keep clear of anything like an apotheosis of the so-called Messiah of Liberty, as well as of libels of another kind in which he is designated as a Judas to his Lord and King, as Antichrist, as an associate of robbers and criminals, as Evil incarnate, and as Satan himself.

According to the above statements, Louis Kossuth was born in the year 1804. According to another account, he was born on the 27th of April, 1806, in a wretched village,—Botrog-Szerdahely, in the county of Zemplin, in Upper Hungary. His father was a Slovak nobleman, who at one time had lived in the county of Thurocz, where the people of his tribe used to call him *Kohuth*, that is to say, “cock.” When he changed his residence at the commencement of the present century, he Magyarized his name into Kossuth, and he became a bailiff on a nobleman’s estates, under such hard conditions that it required the greatest economy and labour to keep himself and his family. Louis, when a child, displayed extraordinary talents, a lively fancy, quick conception, and so in-

sinuating an address that he was the favourite of his parents, who regretted that their means would not allow them to give the boy a first-rate education, and by his means to raise their house to that degree of comfortable independence which their ancestors had formerly enjoyed.

It is a fact of strange and striking interest, that the county of Zemplin has at all times been either the birthplace or the scene of action of the greatest Hungarian revolutionists. It is as if the spirit of Attila, whose unknown and five-coffined grave is by many supposed to be under the hills of Tokaj, had from time to time some influence on the new-born boys of that district.

The poorer north is inhabited by Sclavonians, while the gifted and blooming south has fallen to the lot of the Magyars,—of the conquerors of the country who drove the conquered race into desert Pusztas, or sterile mountains and forests, to call them back at a later time to till the land and tend the cattle. This climatic difference and these national relations were not lost upon

the spirit of the boy Louis Kossuth. The contrast was too wide and striking, and besides, the senses of the sober poor,—such as the family of Kohuth, or Kossuth,—are much more sharp and piercing than the senses of the rich, surrounded as they are by the mist of a continuous plenitude, and intoxication of enjoyment.

From the description which we have quoted above it appears that Kossuth is a Roman Catholic. This is a mistake ; he is a Protestant, as his parents were before him, and we have no authentic information of his ever having become a convert to the Roman Catholic Church. Since his parents wanted both the time and the means to provide for the education and instruction of their boy, he was for a time left to himself, like any other child of the village. At a later period, he found a friend and a teacher in the young curate of a neighbouring village. This man introduced him to the elements of science, and prepared him for a higher course of teaching. The relations between tutor and pupil were of a brotherly kind ; and for that

very reason they were much more favourable to the developement of his reason and mind than the sulkiness and the despotism of our usual schooling, which is much more calculated to suppress talents than to wake and foster them.

The earliest youth of Kossuth passed quickly by like spring, and it vanished like a beautiful dream from which we wake to stern reality. He lost his kind tutor, who was removed to another place, and he found no one to fill up the void thus created. His beloved father died, and he stood alone and orphaned like a young tree whose supports have been struck down by lightning. He stood alone, and he knew not,—indeed, he had no idea—what trials and what miseries the future might bring. Such trials are severe, but they are also instructive and invigorating. The man that never passed through the school of suffering, will never know the strongest lever of his moral force, for it is the dread conflict of impending misfortune which calls forth the spirit of

invention and resistance, as the steel strikes sparks from the cold stone.

The poor boy found sympathy and support at the house of some relations, who, though by no means in affluent circumstances, enabled him to attend the Gymnasium at Eperies. We need scarcely inform our readers of the indifferent condition of the Austrian schools; but the Hungarian Gymnasiums especially treat their pupils as one would a field, which is but slightly touched by the plough, and on which the seed is thrown in a grudging and niggardly spirit. The boys at the Hungarian Gymnasiums were indeed taught to speak Latin with great fluency, but they were not introduced into the spirit of the classic authors; and all other branches of learning were taught in such a manner as to exercise rather the memory than the judgment. Little is known of this period of Kossuth's life. Accustomed to the solitude of the country, and thrown back upon his own resources, he was at first rather awkward in his conversation. He

was apt to quarrel with his fellow pupils, not only because he was more powerful of mind and quick of tongue than most people, but also because in him there was a spirit of opposition and contradiction, which in his intercourse with his neighbours gave him the character of a stinging-nettle or of a frowsy hedgehog. Great talents are not generally fond of poring over books. Still it is found that a talented youth will take up any subject which strikes his fancy, and that he will devour it with insatiable avidity. It was with this spirit that Kossuth at an early age found his pleasure in historical studies. He read with enthusiasm the historical works and ethnological writings relating the memorable periods of his fatherland, which at the time of the conquering Romans was known as fertile Pannonia, and which still more, during the great migration of nations, became an object of desire and a battle-field for the inhabitants of all countries. But with the greatest predilection Kossuth studied that part of his country's history which is filled with the deeds of the

rebel chief, Francis Ragotzy, and which is especially attractive to a youthful fancy, whose peculiar leanings are much more in favour of men of this kind, and of great bandits and bold corsairs, than of the history of a wise legislator, a great artist, or a learned and distinguished statesman or regent. Kossuth read the chronicles and the legends of which Ragotzy was the hero, and he knew much more of him than the most circumstantial biographies of the time ever set forth. It appeared as if he were resolved either to write a new book on the life and deeds of this arch-enemy of Austria, or of imitating them whenever he found an opportunity for doing so.

Our readers will now understand why we have given a short sketch of Ragotzy's life, and why, in contradistinction to it, we mentioned the patriotism, of which the Hungarians gave such brilliant proofs in the time of the great Maria Theresa. Then, as now, to their disgrace and to their glory, to their misfortune and to their blessing, they have unmistakeably shown that in the

sphere of political life they are mere babes, which blindly follow the impression of the moment, and the dictates of their lively fancy and touchy temper.

In 1826, Kossuth became a member of the University of Pesth for the purpose of studying law, although the number of barristers who then infested Hungary precluded all favourable expectations for the future. He was still in a manner supported by his relations and friends, but as his wants increased he was compelled to give lessons, and to copy and abstract briefs. But not only was the competition great, but Kossuth's fiery impatience was not made to tend these stony and sterile fields with quiet self-negation and iron perseverance. He became embarrassed in his circumstances, and to alleviate his distress he sought for more comfortable means, which were by no means compatible with the dictates of sound morality, or the requirements of a spotless reputation. We allude to his gigantic passion for gambling. He was a clever and a bold player, and play became in many instances

a source of profit to him, but it spoiled the finest nights of his youth; it increased the irritability of his nerves, and while it led him to frequent libations, it sacrificed his spirit to the wild storm of ill temper.

Most extravagant in his political professions of Liberalism, he took his stand on the foundation of mere natural law, without paying any attention to the results of experience and the guarantees of history. In his discussions on such points he frequently had the best of the argument, for it so happened that he was far superior to his adversaries in sophistic cunning, clearness, versatility of mind, and power of words. He cared little for the enemies which his liberalism and spirit of contradiction made him, for, on the other hand, he gained as large a number of sympathisers and admirers, and this was enough to satisfy his vanity. He used to read the debates of the French and English Parliaments with a zeal which on important occasions maddened into passion. He knew many of the speeches by heart, and he discoursed on them in such

a manner that he was always surrounded by large crowds of hearers, who predicted that at a future time he would be a great public writer and parliamentary orator.

In the year 1830 Kossuth had finished his juridical studies at Pesth, and he made some vain endeavours to find in that city an occupation and a profession suitable to his acquirements. He did not, therefore, remain long in the capital of Hungary, but he returned to the county of his birth and settled at Zemplin, the chief city of the county, where he had the good fortune of attracting the attention of Baron Nicholas Vay, the high-sheriff of that county. The constitution of the Hungarian counties had originally, as well as in these times, little or nothing in common with the organization of a commenary constitution, according to the newest style. It was founded on aristocracism. Its functions lay in a narrow compass: they comprised the administration, the drawing up and the expedition of the letters plenipotentiary for the Diet, the election of county functionaries and deputies,

and a variety of matters of more parliamentary than local interest, since they related more to the other parts of the country than to the requirements of individual counties. Among these was the right to propose new laws and statutes, to assess taxes and imposts, to construct highways, canals, and railroads, &c.

Baron Vay discovered the curious intellect, the gift of eloquence, and the fund of legal and historical knowledge, which the young lawyer possessed, and it struck him that such a man might be most useful to the interests of the county, and of the country at large, if he had but an opportunity of turning science into practice, of rounding the rough corners of his opinions, and of tempering his fancy by the power of reason and the dictates of written law. He therefore resolved to patronise Kossuth, whom he introduced to the principal personages of the town. It was in this manner Kossuth, by the protection of a generous magnate, was established in a certain though limited sphere of action.

Kossuth remained in this position to the year 1832, when the Hungarian Diet at Pressburg was opened. His conduct during these two years was again of a kind which procured him many friends and admirers, but also many enemies and detractors. In the course of his official practice he was guilty of some actions which will always remain indelible spots on his character. It is proved by the protocols of the county of Zemplin that he behaved in a dishonest manner respecting the property of some orphans which was placed in his hands; but it appears that he found means to refund the sums which he had taken, and thus to escape the disgrace and the danger of a judicial inquiry. It is also proved that he committed a gross fraud upon a lady of rank, who had made him her steward. The circumstances of the latter case are familiar to almost all the inhabitants of the county. It is likewise said that he disowned the liability of a very large debt (not to mention some lesser gambling debts) in a very ungrateful and dishonest manner. In consequence of

these circumstances he was excluded from many circles at Zemplin. We may add to this his unconscientious and almost thieving, swindling speculations, which at a later time he notoriously committed as Director of the Fiume Railway Company and of the Hungarian Trading Association. The shareholders of these unfortunate and adventurous schemes are in a position to throw a strong light upon his conduct in these affairs. We sincerely regret that we are compelled to report such things of a man who has attained so high a degree of mental cultivation, and whose duty it was to protect his neighbours in their personal and civil rights.

CHAPTER IV.

KOSSUTH AT THE DIET.

THE Paris Revolution of July, the expulsion of the elder branch of the Bourbons, the Polish Revolution and the final conquest of Warsaw by Paskiewics, the secession of Belgium from Holland, and other events, filled at the time the columns of the newspapers with such a deal of important and interesting matter, that, in spite of the severity of the "*censur*," people in Austria began to have serious thoughts about the political condition of the country. They made comparisons, and allowed foreign events some influence on their own political creed. It was especially remarked that in Hungary a more lively exchange of opinions was taking place, and there was a movement in

the minds of the people, which seemed the more fraught with danger to the stand-still principle of Metternich, since that diplomatist was aware of the fact that the Hungarians, in their plenitude of physical and moral power, in their violent longings for liberty and independence, and their innate pride, were likely to be much more obstinate and violent than any other people if their minds were once gained over to one leading idea. Such a dangerous ferment of the minds displayed itself throughout the country in the elections of the Diet for 1832. For not only did the Hungarians wish to sail with the spring-tide of the time, and to rise to the level of the other nations, but they proposed also to do away with a variety of statutes which partly clung to the old constitution of the country, and which partly resulted from the relations between Hungary and Austria, —relations which had long been in want of a modification and timely reform. It was, therefore, with great curiosity, not unmixed with anxiety, that the eyes of politicians were directed to the meeting of the magnates

and jurates at Pressburg. For the political horizon was sultry and lurid, as though a fearful tempest were impending. These fears increased when it became known that the diplomacy of the Vienna cabinet had not everywhere succeeded in preventing the election of Liberal deputies. Nay, it was well known that many counties sent opposition members to represent them at the Diet.

Kossuth, too, who had hitherto acted as Baron Vay's political champion, received, according to his wishes and desires, a mandate for Pressburg, where he was sent as the representative of a magnate, who was prevented from taking his seat at the Diet. In consequence Kossuth took his seat, not in the first, but in the Second Chamber, and, as proxy for an absentee, he was only admitted to a subordinate and passive part. Nevertheless, there were many young lawyers who thought it a good fortune and honourable distinction to be allowed to attend the Diet as proxies, for not only did the office give them an opportunity of studying the forms

and the business of Parliament, but, in spite of their subordinate position, they had some chance, at least, of attracting attention and of making advantageous acquaintances.

There has been a powerful opposition in Hungary at all times, and stormy debates have often been caused by it, but in the present instance their position displayed so much energy and boldness that the Conservative Austrian party was almost always in a state of siege. The nucleus of this Conservative party was formed by the Catholic clergy and by the nobility of the country, although there were many magnates, and among them neither the tamest nor the least well-bred, who belonged to the opposition, which in the present instance was a decided democracy. We need scarcely mention that Kossuth was heart and soul on the side of the opposition, and that he was deeply grieved that his position prevented him speaking. The principal speakers of the opposition were Francis Deak of Kehidda, and that great patriot Stephen Szechényi. The most important question which Deak

moved was the liberation of the enslaved peasantry from urbarial bonds, and the improvement of their truly wretched condition. Deak's motion was followed by very violent debates, which found their echo out of doors, and Kossuth took a great interest in the cause of the oppressed.

The most distinguished person was doubtless Stephen Szechényi, who at that time sat at the magnates' table with Ladislaus Teleky, Joseph Eötvös, and Count Mailath, where the Palatine and Archduke Joseph presided, and where the Prince Archbishop of Gran, as primate of Hungary, took the first place. Of Szechényi it has been truly said that he came in time to save the nation from perfect dissolution. The unhappy country wanted a man of his stamp. Nor was it in vain that he spoke, wrote, and acted. His perseverance and activity made itself felt in all circles; he awoke the slumbering powers of the nation, and he convinced every body that the old and withered work of time must yield to new elements and new forms. It is simply ridiculous that there can be

people who accuse this great man as the first promoter of the present Hungarian movement. As well might we pronounce an anathema over all the great men of history, by making them responsible for all later caricatures of their words and actions.

Kossuth's studies at Eperies and Pesth, all the results of his reading and of his conversations with learned men and public writers, were eclipsed by what he learned in this parliamentary school, in this moving arena of debating statesmen and men of the people. This Diet was the cradle of his new life, and the opening to a career which he was firmly resolved to enter upon, because he felt within himself that he would run his race with the mobility, which would be sure of the rewards of good fortune if he tempered his progress to the dictates of law. For he never thinks of stumbling and drowning who with all the passion of truth selects his career, and whose eyes are riveted to the splendid goal, but not to the obstacles on the road, and the abysses which yawn at its side.

Such was Kossuth's idea. With a child-like veneration he clung to the words of his great master, and each word was a fruitful seed in his mind. In the presence of so much majesty and greatness he felt his own lowliness; still he resolved to shape his flight to that proud height. Next to Szechényi, his sympathies were especially engaged by the boldest and fiercest representatives and speakers of the Second Chamber, such as Nicholas Wesseleny, the most violent speaker against Austria; Eugene Beötty of Bittax, who was called the Scourge of the Roman Catholic clergy; Gabriel Klauzal and Francis Kolosy, whose liberal speeches were distinguished by their political enthusiasm, and whose words were as many torches in kindred minds.

Kossuth was at this time too far removed from these gentlemen to be admitted into their confidential circles. He moved in the chiaro-oscuro of a lower sphere, where the superiority of his mind and of his tongue ensured him a flattering tribute of admiration. A lawyer who at that time was in

the habit of seeing him tells us that Kossuth had great weight with men of this kind, whom he used to address in fiery speeches. Nor was it at that time difficult to recognise in him a commencing volcano, which, though still lowly situated and exhaling hot steam instead of lava, gave every reason to fear that one day it would cause a terrible eruption. It was at this time that he declared there was something *nameless* in him.

The printing and publishing of the debates of the Hungarian Diet was at that time illegal. But the Radical opposition endeavoured cunningly to evade the law by clinging to the letter, and they contrived by lithography to publish the debates in the form of a Parliamentary Gazette, of which Kossuth was the editor; but the business had scarcely commenced when it ended by another decree of the government. Upon this, Kossuth engaged several clerks, and had the debates published in writing. We need scarcely remark, that his gazette had a very different tone from that of the newspapers which appeared under the protection of the govern-

ment and the "*censur*," and which published only extracts of parliamentary debates, while Kossuth gave the whole of the debates and dialogues, and while he accompanied them with the most biting remarks. One should have said that such a paper ought to have had a large number of subscribers. But this was not the case. On the contrary, Kossuth had great trouble to cover his expenses, and his self-conceit or vanity was violently hurt by the indifferent success of his undertaking, while he had good cause for believing that in the Cabinet of the Prince Metternich he had come in for a black mark.

The difficulties of a literary, artistic, or scientific career are very great in Austria, but they are still greater in Hungary, where mental refinement, generally speaking, is much more rarely to be met with, where the splendour of an overbearing and purse-proud nobility is jealous of emulation; and where a learned man and an artist meets with a favourable reception only when he can bring a brilliant reputation from a foreign country. There is, therefore, a just cause for Kossuth's

disgust and displeasure, although it sprang from vanity and egotism. His struggles to rise from low places to high ones, to leave the darkness and to soar to the light, were arduous, and continued for years. He had to contend with the overbearing temper and the stupidity of the aristocracy, with the avarice and the indifference of the rich, and with the narrowmindedness, the envy, and the malice of all. In short, as a man of genius, his was the fate of a prophet who finds no believers in his own country. Add to this that a journalist, like Kossuth, was contemned and despised by most people, while others considered him a dangerous character, and hated, despised, and attacked him accordingly.

Now, as for Kossuth, it cannot be said that he, at the time we speak of, remained free from the usual reproach which affects public writers. He entered into communication with a person of the name of Orosz, and relying on the distance from the Austrian frontier, he hoped to employ his lithographic press with greater success than

ever. He was mistaken. His press was ordered to be seized by the government, but he sold it to the then Chancellor, Count Cziraky, at his own valuation, viz. 150*l.*, at the same time most solemnly pledging his word to the Chancellor, that he would never attempt the like again ; and it was on such promise that all further legal proceedings were stopped by the government ; and *although he was indemnified for the loss, it was intimated to him that in case of a second violation of the law, instead of an indemnification, he would be handed over to the courts of criminal justice.* This promise was not, however, strong enough to deter him from his former course. Again he published his newspaper by means of copyists. This course of action was neither more nor less than open defiance of the law, of the will of the government, and of the wishes of the whole Conservative party, whom he opposed with the greatest violence, and whom he affronted with so much scorn and daring, that those were not far from wrong who protested that in Kossuth there was a dia-

bolical spirit of contradiction, and that he had in him a bit of the devil.

Far more cutting and poisonous than his writings were the words which he spoke. The lightnings of his tongue were like a thunderbolt of Jove, which he hurled against the Austrian government with such extravagant expressions and tropes that even his most cordial friends stood aghast. His bold and mad opposition did not indeed rest on firm convictions or on erroneous views; it proceeded from a desire to attract attention to gain importance, and to turn his notoriety to account.

He obtained his object, inasmuch as he was able to engage a larger number of copyists, for his newspaper increased in popularity. It was sent from the capital to all cities of the kingdom, and in many places it was received like Gospel. People were surprised to see a public writer at odds with the all-mighty Prince Metternich; they were amused with the sarcastic additions and remarks, with the signs of exclamation and interrogation, which he added to the decrees

and laws of the government and to the debates and resolutions of the counties, and no one could understand how this kind of thing was allowed to go on, although a free word had a longer tether in Hungary than in Austria.

Kossuth was an energetic and consistent supporter of Wesselenyi, Kemeny, and other men of the same opinions. He had the sympathies of a large number of the inhabitants of Buda Pesth, and he received a promise of defence and protection in case the Palatine, obedient to instructions from a higher place, should suspend his newspaper or endanger the safety of his person.

The Diet was again to be opened on the 6th of February, 1835. The electioneering agitations commenced amidst a sultriness of the political atmosphere which oppressed many a heart, and which filled many with anxiety. People felt that they were on the eve of important discussions and events. It was then that the ultra-Radical, Baron Wesselenyi, became entangled in the net of his too liberal speeches, and although those

speeches related to the final liberation of the peasantry from urbarial burdens, and although such a subject ought to have claimed a more tender consideration, the Baron was denounced and imprisoned as a democrat and a rebel.

The Baron publicly addressed a regiment of Hussars (Szekler Hussars) in the Austrian service, and told them their allegiance was at an end, in consequence of some refusal of the government to give its assent to a bill of the lower house. It was in consequence of this attempt to seduce Austrian troops from their duty that the Baron was arrested.

This event, which created a great sensation, ought to have induced Kossuth to modify the tone of his newspapers, and to yield to the circumstances of the time. But, relying on the promise of the county of Pesth, he was far from bridling his aspirations for liberty; he scorned to deprive his public writings of the biting acid of sneering irony, and of the poison of open ridicule. On the contrary, he dealt his blows much more largely and severely, and despised even

a well-meaning warning which the Palatine gave him in asking him to resign the editorship of his newspaper.

Thus it happened one fine morning, when the journalist was promenading in the vicinity of Buda, that he was seized by the myrmidons of the law and confined in the lower walls of the fortress, there to consider, in darkness and solitude, how dangerous it is to defy a powerful government, and to swerve from the path of law and of prudence.

CHAPTER V.

KOSSUTH IN GAOL, AND THE "PESTI HIRLAP."

THE Hungarian Diet was closed on the 2d of May, 1836, by the Emperor Ferdinand, after an unusually long duration of fourteen months. The imprisonment of Kossuth took place fourteen months later, and it was in so far connected with the transactions of the Diet as, in the course of its sittings and afterwards, he had given full vent to his irony and malice. His imprisonment, which lasted three years, and which certainly was not effected in due legal form, caused a great sensation throughout the country, and gave occasion for expressions which we will not here repeat. The almost simultaneous imprisonment of Wes-selenyi, and the arrest of his friend Lovassi,

increased the rage of the opposition, and produced so unfavourable an effect that we are free to confess that the Vienna Cabinet would have acted much more wisely if they had sought to conciliate and to gain over men of such great popularity.

The spirit hostile to Austria spread most fatally over a considerable part of Transylvania, of the interests of which principality Wesselenyi had been the especial champion. They are not, therefore, very far wrong who protest that the late revolution of Hungary had its first germs in those mysterious days, or that it was like a volcano, which hoards the combustible matter for many years before it vomits its spires of fire and ashes.

The latter simile applies to Kossuth. According to the letter of the law he could not complain of injustice ; but still, so grievously had he been wounded that it would have required much more humility and self-denial than he ever possessed to make him consider the loss of his liberty as a well-deserved punishment, which was to reconcile

him to the law and to improve him for the future.

The sympathy with Kossuth's fate was much greater than he deserved. People protested that he was a martyr of liberty, and they pointed out his old mother and his three sisters, whom he had supported by his labour, and who were now without protection. Liberal subscriptions were raised in favour of the family, and since this sympathy vented itself in expressions accusatory of the policy and gloomy severity of Austria, we may safely style it a kind of demonstration, although it was too well cloaked and justified to provoke the interference of the government. Violent speeches were made against the pressure of the "*censur*," which was said to be incompatible with the requirements of a constitutional country, and great anxiety was expressed lest the government should intend to smuggle Sedlnitzky's system of oppression into Hungary. Such a thing would indeed have been a flagrant violation of the constitution of the country. But if we go to the bottom of this demonstration we find that

neither more nor less was intended than a total emancipation of the press. Thus it appears that the more intelligent among the Hungarians acted in concert with the Reformed party in Germany, and that they had a mind to establish themselves as a revolutionary party. We are not sufficiently versed in the secrets of the cabinet and the police to affirm with certainty that an understanding did exist between the men of progress in Germany and in Hungary, but we have reason to believe that various powers co-operated all around Austria for the purpose of breaking the iron tower of absolutism, of enfeebling the press, and of driving away the cold and gloomy darkness of night by the morning light of popular liberty.

After what we have said, there can be no doubt but that Kossuth, no matter whether a free agent or a conspirator, was one of the ablest and boldest champions in the ranks which blockaded and besieged Austria; and this explains why his tragical lot awakened for him the warmest sympathies.

Those sympathies were even increased when it became known that the three martyrs were in a dark and damp prison, and that they were so badly treated that in a very short time they must perish. Wesselenyi, indeed, lost the sight of his eyes; Lovassi, Kossuth's friend and companion, was struck with insanity; and the physicians testified that Kossuth was on the point of falling a prey to a serious malady.

When three years afterwards, in 1841, an amnesty was granted, and Kossuth was allowed to return to the light, he showed by his debility, by his pallid and spotted face, and by the broken and glassy look of his eyes, the most unequivocal traces of great sufferings of mind and body, which had changed him to a kind of shadow of his old former self.

A writer of that time says:—"In the Matra mountains, near Gyöngyös, is the watering-place of Parad, whose mineral fountains have not at present so great a reputation as they deserve. In the season of 1841 a handsome man, in dressing-gown and slippers,

was seen moving about the place. The yellow spots which marked his face, and the deep langour of his features, proclaimed him an invalid. This man was Louis Kossuth. He was fresh from prison. In the course of his three years' imprisonment public interest in his favour had risen to such a height that large sums were subscribed for the benefit of his family, and that his name was put on an equality with the best names in the country. The latter had indeed cause to be astonished at this, because their struggles for popular favour had been much more arduous; but still they received the new favourite with great kindness, for they had themselves in the Diet and in the debates of the counties spoken so frequently for the 'Martyr of the Liberty of the Press,' that they were compelled to accept the verdict of public opinion, and to honour it as their own.

“Although all the society in the watering-place made a point of treating Kossuth with silent veneration, it was but rarely that he shared their noisy and rude pleasures.

There was a gulf between their feelings and his own. I, too, had no sympathy with the life and the ways of thinking of the watering-place of Parad; and as I found myself much attracted by Kossuth, I joined him in his walks to the forest-clad hills and the lonely valleys, where it was but rarely that a resident at Parad intruded upon our conversations. Nature having given to both of us a large share of fancy and sentiment, I had no difficulty in entering into his feelings; and the song of birds, a group of trees, the strata of stones, and even the most insignificant phenomena of nature, furnished occasion for conversations on natural history."

"The beautiful wife of the Lord Lieutenant Gy——," continues the writer from whom we quote, "the daughter of the Count A. V., was at that time at Parad. She would have liked to have made Kossuth's acquaintance, and she asked me to introduce him at her house. I had scarcely told him of her wish when I saw his features assume that mysterious and nervous expression which showed that his passions were

still awake. 'No,' cried he, 'I will never go to that woman's house: her father subscribed fourpence for a rope to hang me with!'

"This spirit of revenge often showed itself in the most amusing conversation, when anything occurred which touched a deeper chord of his memory. It was then that he became pathetic; it was then that he spoke with the fearful earnestness of conviction. But his morals had claws; his hate was a scalping-knife; his sentences, most laboured, weltered in phrases, while he, in a fearful manner, imparted to them breath, sound, and passion. The rusty axe was newly set and polished."

Does not this description recall the pale and weird image of Monte Christo—such as Dumas painted him—of Monte Christo, who, after a fourteen years' imprisonment in the Castle of If, enters the world as the incarnate spirit of revenge? A feature of still greater similarity lies in the fact that both were irreconcilable in their hatred—that both obtained fabulous means of wreaking

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their revenge on their enemies—that they entered into communication with robbers—that they were both dead shots with the pistol—and that they both had an opinion that they were instruments in the hands of Providence.

Kossuth, who, during the preceding ten years (from 1832 to 1842), had been an useful instrument in the hands of the democratic party, now took the lead of the Magyar opposition. That opposition had, after a violent contest at the last Diet, succeeded in establishing the Magyar language as the language of business throughout the country; and thus the Magyar nation, with all their rights and privileges, with all their historical and deserved prerogatives and traditions, had come to be placed above all the other tribes of the united kingdom. He became editor of the Pesth Gazette (*Pesti Hirlap*), which was printed and published by Landerer, at Pesth; and he announced this organ with a pomp which was the more certain of its effect, since the very name of

the editor was sufficient to electrify one half of Hungary. This speculation, which had its blood-red focus in the very heart of the country, and which darted its dazzling and burning rays in all directions, was the more successful since Wesselenyi, the old democrat, travelled from one county to the other, preaching the liberation from urban burdens and rural freedom. Wesselenyi, in harmony with that newspaper, also made speeches, attacking the higher aristocracy, the Roman Catholic clergy, and especially the Austrian government, on whose discomfiture and overthrow he seemed as seriously intent as Kossuth himself. Generally speaking, it was the fashion of the time—and, indeed, it was a very profitable speculation—to make poor and fettered Austria the butt of all blame and scorn. It is, however, just to remark that, however blameable the former system of government may have been, still these attacks were for the most part unjust, because Austria's adversaries took the field with the poisonous weapons of untruth, malice, exaggeration,

and personal revenge. We need only remind our readers of the numerous books and pamphlets which in the course of these ten years had been published at Hamburgh, at Leipsic, and in Switzerland.

It was in the same spirit and with the same tendency that the *Pesti Hirlap* was edited, only that the tiger claws were a little more carefully concealed, the teeth were not so openly shown to the enemy, and the low roaring more resembled a painful groaning, as though a heavy and oppressive weight were bearing down the sufferer. The journal was in a short time enabled to print a larger number of copies, which in many circles were read with great avidity; and the result was that Kossuth came into possession of an income of from four to five thousand florins. Besides its hostility against Austria, which pervaded it as a leading idea, the journal advocated the supremacy of Magyarism, and no regard was paid to the constitutional equality of rights of the Germans, the Slavonians, the Wallachians, the Servians, the Greeks and Armenians, the Gipsies and Jews, who were

likewise settled within the shade of the crown of St. Stephen, and whose rights to the soil on which they lived were, to say the least, quite as good as those of the Magyars.

The articles which emanated from Kossuth's pen were admirably calculated for the great majority of the Hungarian nation. In the eyes of a thorough-bred public writer they were nothing but froth and foam, the result of passion, egotism, viperous revenge, vain-glory, and ambition. Kossuth boasted of being a lawyer, but certainly nothing could have been more difficult for him than to furnish sound legal reasons and proofs for the assertions which he made in his paper, and in such a tone, too, as though he were dealing with incontrovertible matters of fact only, and as though he were himself a prophet who had a mission to fulfil in the country of Attila and Arpad. The lively sympathies which were engaged in favour of his newspaper, may be explained by alluding to the mental condition of the great majority of his public, and by the fact that he fondled

his readers like so many children, and that he roused their hopes by showing them the future in the brightest possible colours.

The advice and example of the Count Széchenyi, had pointed out the direction in which Hungary ought to have proceeded. It was the path of improvement. But Kossuth's journal, from the very day of its foundation, represented the restlessness and impatience of a more youthful party, which struggled to reach the desired goal by the shorter road; and it represented, also, that stubborn pride which the Magyars opposed to the other tribes.

While this young and fantastic party rushed into one extreme, it itself gave birth to another extreme. Its vagaries produced a stand-still party. Many of those who had a great stake in the country thought, in the Diet of 1844, that Széchenyi's plans of national reform might possibly be fraught with danger; but since those plans were based on moderate demands, and rested on very exact calculations, they did not at that time produce a reaction. Far

different was the effect of the *Pesti Hirlap*. That journal's tendency was clearly directed towards the oppression of all other nationalities. This was more than sufficient to spread alarm through the ranks of the aristocracy. It was thought that Kossuth's party aimed at the destruction of all existing institutions, and the *Pesti Hirlap* was very persevering in its demands that the house-tax should be paid by all classes of society, including even those who had the privileges of nobility. It was but natural, therefore, that a party of the other extreme was formed; and this party, which was leagued together for the preservation of existing institutions, styled themselves the party of cautious progress, for they saw that the government was not averse to moderate reforms.

The leader of this party was Count Aurelius Desewffy—(he died in 1842)—and their organ was the *Vilag* newspaper. There were thus three leading parties in Hungary. First, the original and central party of Count Széchenyi, who looked to the higher nobility

for the protection of the constitution and of liberty, and who, therefore, supported the maintenance and extension of the right of primogeniture and of entails, but who, in all other respects, advocated the curtailment of the peasant nobility, and of the political rights which that class was in the habit of grossly abusing. They were, moreover, in favour of an extension of popular rights, until they merged with the privileges of nobility, of the introduction of a more liberal administration, and the improvement of the financial condition of the country. Secondly, the extreme party of the *Pesti Hirlap*, which, with Kossuth as chief editor, tended in a fanatical manner to overthrow all existing institutions, and most maliciously to attack and defeat the government and the dynasty; and thirdly, there was the ultra-Conservative party, which declared that the best form of government for Hungary was a limited, though absolute government, supported by the privileges of the aristocracy.

Thus monarchy, aristocracy, and the destructive elements of the revolution, with the

republic in the rear, were represented by these three parties. Kossuth poured the poisonous cup of his rage over all existing institutions, all sacred rights, and over each royal decree, no matter how well meant it was. His newspaper was a most efficient organ for disseminating his ideas, and for the instruction of his followers. The noble Count Széchenyi, who was highly disgusted with Kossuth's viperous missive, and who was alive to the dangerous views of his newspaper, published in 1842 a pamphlet, which was directed against Kossuth, and which bore the title of *The Nation of the East*. In this pamphlet he protested that he was in direct contradiction to Kossuth's manner of thinking and acting, and that he feared lest the nation, deluded by the blandishments of that demigod, would be led to the brink of the gulf, which was insidiously covered with the most beautiful flowers. By this time we are aware that the great statesman spoke with the words of a prophet, and that his was the fate of Cassandra; and a reperusal of Kossuth's articles, after our

late melancholy experience, has firmly convinced us of the existence in those days of a secret party in Hungary (perhaps with Kossuth at its head), which stood in close connexion with the most dangerous and the most daring revolutionists in Poland, France, and Italy.

CHAPTER VI.

KOSSUTH'S MARRIAGE, AND FURTHER CAREER.

KOSSUTH chose for his bride Theresa Meszliny. We cannot say to what conclusion a Gall or a Lavater would have come from an inspection of her head, but a distinguished portrait painter, who for many years studied physiognomies, thus expressed himself in our presence :—“ The features thus set forth may in the most favourable case form an interesting face, a brown and fiery southern woman ; but they have no claim to female beauty, and such a mask must cover a proud, haughty, and passionate character.” This is, indeed, true. From all we have heard of Theresa Kossuth, we gather that she is a bold, imperative, and angry woman, though cold of heart ; and that, though she may

accidentally succeed in dazzling and ensnaring a man, she is not likely to make him truly and permanently happy. And this the less since she has no higher cultivation, no noble and quick sense for what is good and beautiful. But in return she has an insatiable ambition, which impels her, like the Roman Tullia, with a flaming scourge to urge her husband on those paths which lead to sensual enjoyment, glory, splendour, and distinction, without once thinking whether or not that wild career is compatible with the laws of God and man, or whether it defies all laws and prescriptions. It is, therefore, clear, beyond the possibility of a doubt, that Kossuth, moved by love or by an unmanly spirit of yielding, was weak enough to allow his evil genius to persuade him to actions which militated against his better conviction, and that she hurried him into faults whose bearing and consequences he was unable to understand. For, though not the first, he is in this respect the most remarkable example in history; for, hand-in-hand with his aspiring wife, he struck into a path which necessarily

must lead him to the gulf of perdition. We shall have occasion in another place to return to Madame Kossuth.

The success of his newspaper enabled Kossuth to take the lease of a small farm near the capital, where he intended to imitate the life of the great and rich, whom he was so fond of holding up to public odium. He also became dissatisfied with his title of editor or notary, and purposed to practise as an advocate in Pesth; but though he made all the necessary preparations, he did not succeed so well as he thought he had a right to expect.

At this time he took a journey to Vienna; where, it is said, he made violent efforts to obtain a license for a newspaper. But his name was known too unfavourably in the secret cabinet of Prince Metternich, and his efforts proved unavailing. We repeat that the policy of Austria at that time was wrong. Men of Kossuth's stamp ought to have been gained over, so as to make them harmless, even if there could have been no idea of employing them in situations of confidence.

Thus it happened that Kossuth left the capital in a much more bitter and revengeful spirit than he entered it, and that he studied with more eagerness how to harm and annoy the Austrian empire. He therefore assisted in the foundation of the so-called Protectionist Association, and his advocacy and incendiary speeches induced many speculators and rich magnates to join the association, which professed a purely patriotic tendency, and which, in case of success, gave hopes of very large dividends.

By this great project it was intended to improve the industry of Hungary, and to raise it to such a point as to enable the Hungarians to dispense with all foreign manufactures, including those of Austria, Bohemia, and Moravia. This Protective Association was created by a company of shareholders, and its members entered into an engagement to use articles of Hungarian industry only, intending thereby to ruin, or at the least to weaken, the industry of Austria. From time immemorial Hungary

has been an agricultural state. It was impossible suddenly to transform it into a manufacturing country, for so great a change would have required much more preparation, ability, and confidence, than the Hungarians possessed. Thus it happened that the undertaking was stifled in its birth. Most of the manufacturers who had established themselves in Hungary left the country much poorer than they entered it, and the shareholders were compelled to bid an eternal adieu to their money, which, somehow or other, had vanished under Kossuth's protectorate.

A contemporaneous writer has the following statements:—

“ The money for the support of this Association was paid him in a decreasing ratio, and in 1844 it was stopped altogether, and with it Kossuth's sphere of action. But, nothing abashed, he created immediately a trading society of shareholders. His being merely the editor of a newspaper and an advocate, but by no means a merchant, caused him no difficulty. In short, he did not care

for trifles; he fancied that he was fit and proper for anything, and he placed himself, as president, at the head of this mercantile undertaking. The port of Fiume was to be the port of export and import, and as director of this grand undertaking he appointed a certain Paul Szabo, whom the shareholders received with the greatest confidence. The Magyars placed their fullest trust in Kossuth, because he had at that time already become the demigod of Hungary, and the morning star of freedom and democracy. Szabo made the most formidable use of this general temper. He falsified the books, took the contents of the money-chest, and started for the New World, where he met with a cordial reception. Happy America, what specimens of the human race are sheltered under thy starry banner!"

Some people there were who reproached Kossuth with negligence in auditing the accounts, but this reproach and the voice of suspicion was lost in the noise which he made as editor of a newspaper, as advocate,

and as popular orator. Well may he be called the Alcibiades of Pesth, for he always gave new matter for tongues to wag about, while, on the other hand, he furnished work for pencil and lithographic presses; for his portrait was multiplied in a hundred forms, and met with a large sale.

As an appendix to our remarks about that unfortunate Protective Association, which, according to the verdict of the great Frederick List, was most impracticable in its principles, we will quote the following words of a public writer:—

“ When Kossuth saw how his grand plans dwindled away, he took his Protective Association to the Pesth County Saloon, where the great battles in public debates were fought, and where the most important questions were brought forward. Taking his withered-up Association in his hand, Kossuth squeezed as much demagogics from it as the laws would allow. Public meetings were held, at which advocates and agriculturists gave vent to their profound cogita-

tions on the subject of manufactures and political economy, while care was taken to unite agreeable with useful things by attacking the Austrian government as the arch promoter of all the sufferings of Hungary. These meetings were attended, not only by the *élite* of the female world, but also by the delegates of the provincial associations. The natural consequences of the narrow Hungarian views of their legislation, and of their want of material elasticity, were laid at the door of Austria; while, on the other hand, the opposition took a delight in representing this very Austria as the original source of all obstacles and impediments, and they crucified it and held it up to the sneers and the hatred of the masses. Still it was in themselves that the Magyars ought to have looked for the causes which impeded their progress.

Although the influence of such doings did not at the moment exhibit itself in its worst form, still it confused the masses of the people by a violent, irregular, and one-

sided instruction. The greater part of this evil seed was cast in the time, from the year 1842 to 1847, when Kossuth endeavoured to realise the motto of Cato, *Austriam esse delendam*, with the most wretched consistency, and with a diabolical cunning.

CHAPTER VII.

THE MAYORALTY OF THE DISTRICTS.

IT was in the month of March, 1845, and in the County Saloon of Pesth, that Kosuth delivered an oration, in which he poured out all his irony on the system of mayoral administration, as it existed in Austria. His intention, evidently, was to have a full fling at the Austrian government. He was the more profuse in his rage and passion, since, a short time before, he had slipped down between two stools. Having, in consequence of a quarrel with the publisher of the *Pesti Hirlap*, resigned the editorship of that paper, and being disappointed in his hopes for the license of a new Hungarian newspaper, he felt deeply hurt, and grievously disappointed; and, in short, his position

was such that it would have taxed the patience of even moderate men. His speech was produced by a decree of the government, which provided that the lord-lieutenant of a county should in future be replaced by a royal administrator. Kossuth considered that such a functionary would hold the place of the mayor of an Austrian district, and that such appointments were consequently illegal. The following explanations will not, we trust, be considered as an unnecessary commentary to that most famous speech. The lord-lieutenant, who was appointed by the king himself, was the first functionary in every county; all other officials were subjected to the election of the magnates. It was the lord-lieutenant's duty to superintend and direct the magistrates in their administration of justice and police, and in the presidency of the county meetings. But since it very often happened that a lord-lieutenant, as a high aristocrat, had some other office in the State, and since he was frequently found to want either the time or the inclination to inquire into the affairs of

the county; nay more, since he was often ignorant of the Hungarian language, laws, and proceedings; the administration of the county was almost exclusively conducted by elected functionaries, with a sheriff at their head; and these men, because they depended upon the triennial elections, offered no guarantees whatever for an efficient and just administration. This was proved by a variety of abuses and encroachments, and acts of injustice and violence, which these elected functionaries either suffered or permitted.

It was at this time that the newly-appointed Hungarian chancellor, Count George Apponyi, took the reins of the Hungarian government. He stood forth with great firmness and courage, and he took a fair view of the interests and endeavours of the opposing parties, as well as of the real wants of the country. It was his first care to improve the fitful and irregular administration and supervision of the counties, by the legal substitution of administrators. And since these government men possessed great power and influence, they

were naturally enabled, not only to act as a firm centre to the Government party, but also to weaken and defeat the forces and intrigues of the opposition. This policy was the more likely of success, since the agitations, which chiefly proceeded from Kossuth, spent their fury almost solely on the city and county of Pesth, while the majority of the nobility in the other counties relied on, and supported, the reforms of the Conservative government.

Having, as we take it, placed our readers in a position to form a correct judgment of the speech to which we alluded, we quote that speech to the following purpose:—

“ Although the future of our country is hidden behind a veil of darkness, still I protest I have hopes of a better future, and a brighter fate. One of those moments of hope dawned before us when the Government appeared to concur with our sentiments, and when it seemed to resolve to walk with us in the path of progress which our own endeavours had cut out for us—when it held out its hand to satisfy the wants of the time to

make up for the falls of our fathers, and to save the people from their forlorn condition. The Diet knows it, and the whole country knows it, that at times we are prepared to bury the remembrance of a three-hundred years' mourning, and that, trustingly, we waited for that career of labour which was to take the place of those painful, unremitting, but secret contests, which we have fought in defence of our liberties and our rights. We were doomed to be mistaken. We found that we were left alone and solitary on the path of progress. Another step in advance and the combat was to recommence. So let it be. Those who were making their peace with power, are again called upon to defend their rights as freemen and citizens of a free country.

“ I am convinced that the king is not allowed to govern us in any other manner than by means of the constitution, and that those statesmen who would attempt to introduce an illegal administration into this country would be certain to lose the confidence of his majesty. And as for this

system, I will call it by its true name ; I will show you its origin, and I will tear the veil of legality with which some persons endeavour to shroud it.

“ There are certain things which are allowed to happen only because people do not give them their real name. I do not, therefore, hesitate to name this Vienna policy, which is neither Hungarian nor constitutional, and I call it a system of district mayoralty, for this policy is too Austrian and too despotic. It has no place in the Hungarian dictionary. This name will remind you that the same system has already been tried in our country. And who made the trial? A great prince, who found the nation slumbering, and the nobility intoxicated with the atmosphere of the court. And what was the success of that system? It had no effect whatever, but it prevented all the good which that great king might have done. God be thanked, we are awake by this time ! We have been awake during twenty-five years of war in the king’s cause, and not in our own ; for what had we to

do with the French wars? We have been awake, and we have grown up in the time of peace which followed those wars. We have come to men's estate. Let us persevere, and the system of district mayors will fall, as it fell on a former occasion.

“ The lord-lieutenant has hitherto been the dignitary of the county. The administrator who supplied his place was the county's servant, and elected by the county. It is now intended to transform that functionary into something like a French prefect, with the sole, but with the important difference, that he is appointed, not by a responsible cabinet, but by an invisible and unreachable chancellory, from which he receives secret instructions, and to which he sends in secret reports, and upon whose arbitrary power he depends. Such a functionary, under a responsible government, has a striking, but fatal likeness, to the district mayors of Bohemia and Galicia.

“ Let us add, that this prefect is liberally paid by the government, that he has

a considerable staff of underlings, that he has the disposal of military power, and that he is likely to usurp the right of marking out the candidates for the elections; that he has the disposal of large sums of money, that his mighty hand grasps all the means of bribery and intimidation, that he will regularly preside over all courts of justice, and that every man's life and property will depend upon his influence. Can we, in common honesty, say that such a functionary is an Hungarian dignitary as the lord-lieutenant has been? Is he not, indeed, a Bohemian district mayor, who is likely to paralyse our municipal system—that palladium of our political existence? This bastard system would in a very short time be as unlike our national institutions as the Postulate Diets of Galicia are to the Parliaments of the Jagellonen.

“What is to be the condition of the sheriff?—for it is he who, according to the spirit of the law, acts as chief of the administration, since the seal of the county is kept, not by the lord-lieutenant, but by

him. What is to be his condition at the side of our Austrian district mayor, and surrounded by an Austrian bureau? And what is to be the condition of the county under a sheriff whose activity has been reduced to nought? I do not stand here to plead for individuals; I plead for our municipal organisation, which cannot possibly stand the shock of that destructive system. Never, since the government of Joseph II., has a man been found who attacked our constitution in a more tender point; for history teaches us that Hungary must descend to the level of a wretched Austrian province whenever our municipal rights cease to be an active truth.

“It has been said that the opposition is at war with chimeras, and that the power and the pay of the new administrators has not yet come to be an official fact. Well said, indeed! Let a man see his house in flames, he will certainly not wait for official information before he stirs his limbs to help and to save. It has likewise been said, that the appointment of lord-lieutenants is a royal

prerogative. So it certainly is, but let the king appoint lord-lieutenants, do not let him appoint district mayors. And, lastly, it has been said (for I should like to know what has not been said in justification of the government),—lastly, I say, it has been said, that these extraordinary measures are required for the maintenance of order. By G——, this is the very word of which despotism makes such a disgusting abuse! It was in the name of order that Nicholas murdered Poland; it was in the name of order that Ernest Augustus annihilated the Hanoverian constitution; and it was in the name of order that Philip II. turned the Netherlands into a graveyard. God be thanked, Hungary knows nothing of this order! God forbid she should ever know it! Hungary is governed by her own laws, and when the interests of order require a change in the government it is necessary that the whole nation should meet, and that it should assent to the change. Any other measure which might be arbitrarily impressed upon us is not a measure of order, but of des-

potism — of illegality ; that is to say, of disorder.

“ In conclusion, I support the motion of Mr. Joseph Patai ; and I join my entreaties with his, begging that you will make a formal declaration of the fears which you entertain of the Austrian policy, and that you will record these sentiments in the protocols. And I move that you enjoin the sheriffs and exhort them to the energetic defence of the administrative and political independence of the counties. And having said thus much, let me conclude with the words of the poet, — ‘ Hungarians, arise ! If you sleep, who is to watch over the safety of your country ? ’ ”

The parliamentary speeches of Kossuth were, even at that time, like burning arrows, which he hurled into kindred minds, thereby urging them to fanatic enthusiasm. The meeting resolved unanimously to oppose the new arrangements of the Austrian government, and to resist the installation of a royal district mayor. They considered this institution in the light of a system which the

Emperor Joseph II. in his time had attempted, and they believed that the government had the cunning device of murdering the constitution by its own agency. A contemporaneous writer says they saw in the new system a Chinese contrivance, which was to reach through a centralised machinery into all the crannies of social and political life by means of bribery and favouritism. For the purpose of effectually meeting this dangerous opposition, it was necessary that the government should be sure of its right, and firmly resolved to triumph over all obstacles. Count Apponyi showed, indeed, so much firmness and energy, that he stood his ground, and disarmed even his most rancorous enemies.

Thus was Kossuth defeated, and his defeat was the more painful since many of his friends left him and joined the ranks of the other party. It is said, that in this time of disappointment he suffered greatly, and walked about like a shadow of his former self, and that he avowed his resolution to quit the political arena for the obscurity of private life. He was thus like a tiger,

which having in his predatory excursions struck a thorn in his paw, retires to his cave until his wound is healed, and passion drives him forth again to murder and destroy.

CHAPTER VIII.

LIGHTNING ON THE FAR HORIZON.

THE outbreak of the French Revolution gave birth to the most fatal ideas, which placed the world in a grand conflagration; which tarnished the splendour of purity; which, like a destructive rust, devoured the shining shield of virtue, of civic faith, and of religious simplicity; and which contaminated mankind in all that is most sacred. Still this pestilence of moral depravity was mixed up with something like good, for man the freeborn attained a clearer insight into the dignity of his nature, and the idea of liberty created a yearning for freedom, although those who were more rational could not help acknowledging that the masses had not attained that degree of

ripeness and mental cultivation which enabled them to plant the tree of knowledge and of life.

Great anxiety was felt when the atmosphere behind the Carpathians and the Alps was obscured by lowering clouds (in 1846). We allude to the late insurrection in Galicia, and to the Sonderbund in Switzerland. The division of Poland was a seed of dragon-teeth in the furrows of the time, from which contest after contest is likely to rise ; nor can, indeed, human sagacity see the end of them. The disturbances and violences in Galicia were not only a kind of Lynch law, which the peasants employed against their masters, and against the arbitrary power of the Austrian functionaries,—no ! these bloody scenes cover a well-organised conspiracy, which was principally established at Cracow, Lemberg, Warsaw, and Posen, and which spread over the whole of Europe. And the seeming gain which Austria had in occupying the territory of Cracow proved a far greater loss than it would have been if Metternich had resigned the whole

of the spoils of Poland, and if he had sought to recover the mouth of the Danube.

Almost as fatal were his sympathies for the Sonderbund of Switzerland, for that association was one of the last frantic movements of despotism and religious fanaticism. Their small troop of armed men under Salis-Soglio has, in spite of the Austrian protection, fought against the larger numbers under Dufour; they opposed themselves to the spring-tide of the time, and like dwarfs fighting against a giant they threw down their gauntlet to the irresistible power of the spirit of the time. But Metternich, far from profiting by the defeats of his policy, continued with stubborn obstinacy on the path which he had taken. He induced Louis Philippe to join his system, and by so doing he prepared his fall. He opposed the victorious policy of Palmerston and England; that old ally of Austria became henceforward her most dangerous enemy. At home and abroad he resisted everything which tended to innovation, and he would not be convinced that time will not be forced

back, and that his fatal stand-still principle had become utterly obsolete. Mastai Ferretti was elected against his will, and with unexampled rapidity, to be Pope. He assumed the name of Pius the Ninth. And, strange to say, this corner-stone of Catholic Christendom served as a break to the stream of the time, and that stream shattered to pieces the old rotten state vessel of absolutism, in which Jesuitism had served as ballast. The reforms of the Pope were a scandal and an abomination in the eyes of Metternich, who thought proper to make use of the old right of garrison which the Austrians possess in Ferrara and Commacchio, and thus to drive an iron wedge into the Roman territory. Great was the noise which this state-trick made throughout the world, and from that hour Austria lost the sympathies of Italy.

Still the hydra of insurrection was partially at rest. But every now and then it moved and stretched its limbs, like the volcanos which announce the outbreak by means of thunder and clouds of smoke. The King of Sardinia, the Grand Duke of Tuscany,

and the King of the Two Sicilies, were compelled to break with Austria, and to make important concessions to their people. Austria herself, vexed by revolutionary intrigues in Lombardy, in Galicia, and in Hungary, believed still in the brute power of bayonets and artillery. She prepared to oppose force to force and violence to violence.

She relied, moreover, on the assistance of France; while France herself, by her despotic leanings and moral depravity, stood on a volcano. Crimes abounded in that country, and gave evidence of its demoralization.

The corruption and demoralization among the lower classes was still more shocking, and it was increased by the destructive ideas of Socialism, as expressed in the writings of Louis Blanc, Caussidière, Proudhon, and George Sand. Louis Philippe and Guizot did not profit by the example of Charles X. and his minister, the Prince Polignac, for they believed the best way to avoid the impending danger was to adopt the system of Metternich, and to limit the powers of the

Charter. But this course of action led to the overthrow of royalty; it produced the events of the 24th of February in Paris, and of the 13th of March in Vienna.

But to return to our proper sphere. It is worthy of remark that in 1847 the atmosphere of Hungary was so sultry, so fraught with thunder-storms, and so full of gloom, that every heart was oppressed, and every mind full of bodings. It was but natural that the Austrian government, which had no intention of leaving its narrow and tortuous path, should have some serious misgivings about the spirit which prevailed among the sons of Arpad, especially since the elections for the next Diet were at hand, and the electioneering intrigues were conducted in a manner which was most distasteful to the people of Vienna. We need only say that Louis Kossuth was elected, and this event was of such great importance to Austria and to Hungary that we cannot but devote a chapter to its commemoration.

CHAPTER IX.

KOSSUTH AS DEPUTY, AND PARLIAMENTARY ORATOR.

WE have already alluded to Kossuth's resolution of retreating into the privacy of private life, but this resolution was not proof against his temper and his ambition. The Diet of 1847 was approaching; the call for the election of deputies sounded from county to county, and found an echo in the heart of every patriot, for fresh hopes produced fresh endeavours, and greater animation prevailed in all ranks of society, but especially in the aristocratic and literary circles, for these were the most interested in the debates of the legislature, and every magnate, student, and artist, relied on advancing his own interests.

It need scarcely be said, that the capital

of Hungary was most excited and most noisy, and those who have a proper understanding of Kossuth's character, will easily know that he did not possess that degree of self-denial which might have kept him away from the elections. On the contrary, he emerged from the darkness of his retreat, and it is quite certain that he had sufficient reason to become a candidate, although it is difficult to understand how he found friends to support him. We copy here the description of an authentic witness, on whom we have the greatest reason to rely.

The elections for the Diet of 1847 bore a truly Magyar character. A large number of persons, who had no claim to nobility, took part in the elections, and were admitted on account of their acquirements. They represented the aristocracy of talent, in contradistinction to the aristocracy of birth. The latter, the living representatives of the right of conquest, arrived simultaneously from all parts of the counties, and met in a large square at the further end of the town, where they left their horses and carriages,

and then proceeded through the streets to the County House. The long street which led to this building was suddenly filled with several thousand men. At the head, on steeds caparisoned in the Oriental manner, rode the Liberal magnates, some in their lordly dresses, and others dressed in elegant peasant costumes. The columns came to a stop before the County House. The music ceased, and the cheers died away, and one unanimous shout, "*Halljuk!*" (hear, hear), issued from the crowd, for the Magyars, though usually chary of their words, waste formalities, cheers, and orations on the days of political contest and festivities. The noblemen from the country, who crowded the streets, were aware that they were entitled to hear some doughty things about the country and about the constitution of Hungary. Everybody prepared to listen.

A table was placed on the pavement, and mounted by the two candidates of the opposition, Messrs. Szentkiraly and Kossuth, and by another Liberal candidate, the Baron Joseph Eötvös. Eötvös, speaking in the

name of the electors for Pesth, addressed the future deputies, who replied to him in a manner which elicited violent cheers from the crowd. They stated the manner in which they understood their duties, and added, that in the discharge of those duties they must be assisted by every citizen of the country if Hungary were again to be free, happy, and independent.

The people understood this language: it went to their hearts. When the speakers had ended, they were surrounded by the peasants, who showed their satisfaction by gestures and exclamations. Early on the following morning they occupied the Guild-hall. The court-yard at the principal entrance and the meeting-room were taken by the Liberals; the opposite party had their camp in the back-yard. Large boards, which were hoisted on poles, were painted with the names of the candidates. The same names were written on placards, which were carried about on the points of swords. The stairs and the passages were filled with armed men, who, in anticipation of the mo-

ment of the election, shouted the names of Szentkiraly and Kossuth, as though such noisy manifestations were likely to promote the success of their cause. The most peaceful among the lot stood in large groups in the court-yard, smoking their pipes, which is quite as much an Hungarian as a Turkish custom. Whenever a member of the opposite party crossed such a group for the purpose of joining his friends, he was received with the most biting witticisms; but the appearance of a Liberal elicited thundering cheers. When the two Counts, Louis and Casimir Batthyany, entered the courtyard, they were seized and raised by the peasants, who carried them in triumph to the meeting-room.

At length came the administrator to preside over the election. At the very outset he announced the return of Szentkiraly, who was named by either party; but he also informed them of his intention to have a poll for the election of the second deputy. A large table was placed near the chief gate

of the house, and every elector in going out put down the name of the condidate to whom he gave his vote. The Liberal party have a great majority in the county of Pesth, and the Conservatives have no chance against them. Nor did they expect it. All they wished was to defeat Kossuth, the most dangerous of their adversaries, and to replace him by another member of the opposition. They selected M. Balla, who had already been pointed out by the opposition, and who had resigned in favour of Kossuth. It was in vain that M. Balla protested against this stratagem of the Conservative party. He could not help it, and was forced to submit to the ordeal. But it was he who was the first loudly to applaud the return of Kossuth, which took place after a painful suspense of twelve hours.

The two Deputies, as well as M. Balla, were in the course of the following night serenaded by the jurates and citizens of Pesth ; the three friends came down to the street, speeches were addressed to them,

to which they replied, and they walked arm-in-arm through the crowd, surrounded by a thousand torches.

It was in this manner that Louis Kossuth was returned as a representative for Pesth. The opposition had long delayed this step, for they feared Kossuth's impetuosity, talents, and influence with the people; but there was no resisting the popular demand, which insisted on Kossuth's return.

We have been assured that the royal administrator was severely reprimanded for not having found the means to prevent Kossuth's election. Indeed, the Conservative party had a right to consider this election as a decided defeat, and to entertain the gloomiest apprehensions of the future.

These apprehensions were the more justified since Louis Batthyany, animated by the same spirit with Kossuth, and unmindful of his high birth and station, took the lead of the opposition, and invested his party with all the power of his authority. This authority, founded as it was upon popularity, seemed like an impregnable stronghold, from

which Kossuth, with a flaming tongue, hurled his fiery projectiles ; and so unremittingly did he attack his adversaries that they were almost always defeated. His oratory was like a large battery with heavy pieces of ordnance, whose discharge did the most fearful execution ; and thus there can be no doubt that this antagonist of the Austrian government, this arch-enemy of absolutism and bureaucracy, was one of those great calamities which at that time were preparing to wreak their tempestuous force upon Austria. The poisonous sting of his interpolations, his despotic power in the House, and his intrigues out of doors, formed in themselves a power,—so to say, an army—against the stand-still policy of Metternich, whom these things ought to have induced to make large and important concessions. And this warning struck upon his ear from the west as well as from the east ; for in the middle of February, 1848, the events impending in France cast their shadows before. They were soon to be followed by a terrific reality. The news of the

outbreak of the Paris Revolution, and of the overthrow of royalty in France, reached Vienna on the 1st of March, and Pressburg on the 2d, and created so general a sensation that we dare say the like was never caused by the most important events in the history of the world. Whoever had any knowledge of the condition, and of the political spirit and temper of nations, could not for a moment doubt but that this great fact was the signal for a gigantic commotion, which was likely to rise to a fearful height, if the governments of the despotic states refused to yield to the just wishes and demands of their subjects.

We will not anticipate the course of our narrative by depicting the effect which the events at Paris produced on the Main, on the Danube, on the Spre, and Elbe, and on the other side of the Alps, where the atmosphere had long been lurid and stormy. We consider ourselves for the present confined to the Hungarian House of Parliament, where Kossuth made a speech on the 3d of March. In this speech he does not indeed

mention the events in France, but he gives us to understand that the Vienna cabinet ought to pay some attention to the East, instead of looking to the West. We cannot but copy this long and important speech, for it is a fearful picture of Kossuth's most secret character, and we cannot paint him better than with his own colours. We ought also to add that this speech touches upon the financial state of the Austrian empire,—the most sensitive point, and the one most open to attack. This speech is couched in the following terms :—

“I am happy and grateful in seconding the motion of the honourable member for Raab, although I am firmly convinced that the extraordinary features of the present time compel us to take our leave of private bills. I second his motion, because I think it a fit opportunity to entreat you to be alive to the enormous responsibility of the moment, and to raise the policy of the Parliament to the level of the times. Taking this stand, as I do, I will not enter into the details of the Bank question, for I am convinced

that the prevailing apprehensions concerning the value of the bank-notes, in concert with the motion of the honourable member for Raab, will suffice to make the government understand the necessity of removing anything like suspicion from an institution which so nearly affects all the relations of private life, as the bank undoubtedly does. The consequences of such a suspicion are beyond the reach of human calculation. It defies divisions; it laughs at secrecy. The only way to conquer it is to make a public and candid statement of the state of affairs. I am happy in the belief that the government is prepared to act on this principle, for I understand that the directors of the bank have, in the course of this morning, communicated to several members an official statement of the condition of the bank. From this statement it appears that bank-notes to the amount of 214,000,000 are saved, and backed by specie, and that there is a residue of 30,000,000 in shares. I am inclined to believe that the government is alive to the necessity and to the duty of

officially publishing this very satisfactory fact, and it would be a fatal blunder, indeed, if the publication were prevented by the pretext that the bank is a private affair, and the government is not responsible for its actions. The public are too well aware of the monetary connexion which exists between the bank and the government ; and the bank in its issue of notes is neither more nor less than a faulty, but still an integral institution of the financial system of the monarchy.

“Another reason why I enter into an analysis of these circumstances may be found in the certain knowledge I have that, as far as the price of the bank shares may be taken in evidence for the condition of the bank, the bank was in a much worse condition in 1830 than it is now. Besides, I am convinced that the bank is not now in a position of serious danger, but danger might accrue if the policy of Vienna remains unchanged, and if the State, whose finances in their normal condition exhibit one continued deficit, whether by perseverance in bad policy,

were forced into greater expenses, and consequently into another bankruptcy.

“A radical reform of this policy will calm our apprehensions on the subject of the bank, and it is therefore I desire you will direct your attention to those circumstances which are likely to stem the tide of public danger. For I am convinced that, considering the influence which the Austrian finances has on our monetary and financial circumstances, we cannot stop at the mere desire to have the budget of the bank communicated to us. This is but a question of detail ; it is a conclusion from the premises. What we ought to ask for is the budget of the Hungarian receipts and expenditure, and the constitutional administration of our finances. What we ought to ask for is, in one word, a separate and independent financial board for Hungary ; for, unless we have this, the foreign government, which rules us without our advice, is likely to embarrass our finances almost to hopelessness.

“ But if a responsible cabinet be granted to us we shall be enabled to provide for the

splendour of the throne, for the wants of the country, and for the discharge of our just liabilities; and we shall likewise be enabled to protect the finances of our citizens against all dangerous fluctuations. Respecting the condition of the bank I will only say, that I believe steps have been taken to remove all apprehensions. One of these steps is an official statement of the condition of the bank, and the other step is that preparations are making in all parts of the country to exchange the bank-notes for specie. If, in addition to these matters, a change takes place in the policy of the government, I am positive that confidence will return. A return of this confidence is rather in the interest of the dynasty than our own, and it is for this reason I will trace the evil to its source, and I will point out the means of salvation.

“At the commencement of this session, on the motion of the address, I thought it my duty to enter into an analysis of our situation, not only respecting our home affairs, but with special regard to those

relations, which, by the Pragmatic Sanction, exist between us and the Austrian empire.

“ I expressed my conviction that the constitutional future of our country would not be secured, unless the king was surrounded with constitutional forms in all the relations of his government. I expressed my conviction that our country was not sure even of the reforms which the nation desired ; that we could not be sure of the constitutional tendencies of those reforms, and of their results, so long as the system of the monarchy, which has the same prince whom we have, remains in direct opposition to constitutionalism, and so long as that privy council, which conducts the general administration of the monarchy, and which has an illegal and powerful influence on the internal affairs of the country, so long as that council remains anti-constitutional in its elements, its composition, and its tendency.

“ I expressed my conviction that, whenever our interests meet with the allied interests of the monarchy, the differences thus created can be removed without danger to our

liberty and our welfare only on the basis of a common constituency. I cast a sorrowful look on the origin and the developement of the bureaucratic system of Vienna. I have reminded you that it reared the fabric of its marvellous power on the ruins of the liberty of our neighbours, and recounting the consequences of this fatal mechanism and perusing the Book of Life, which, in the fatal logic of events, proclaims the revelation of the future, I prophesied it in the feeling of my truthful and faithful loyalty to the Royal House, that that man will be the second founder of the House of Habsburg who will reform the system of government on a constitutional basis, and re-establish the throne of his house on the liberty of his people.

“Since I spoke these words the world has witnessed the overthrow of thrones renowned for state-craft, and nations have regained their liberty, which, a few months ago, did not dare to dream of that blessing. But we have for three months incessantly moved the rock of Sisyphus, and the sorrow

of immovability corrodes my soul with cankering care. I see with a bleeding heart how so much generous strength and faithful talent slaves in the performance of an ungrateful labour which is like the torments of the tread-mill.

“Yes, Gentlemen, the curse of a stifling atmosphere oppresses us. The late prisons of the Vienna cabinet send forth a consuming wind, which stiffens our nerves, and which paralyses the wings of our spirit. Hitherto I have been anxious lest the influence of the Vienna cabinet should prevail against our progress, lest our constitutional leanings should be insecure, and lest those differences which exist between the despotism of the government, and between the constitutional tendencies of the Hungarian nation, and which have existed for the last 300 years,—lest, I say, those differences should increase instead of lessen, and lest there should be any necessity for the annihilation of either one principle or the other. But the last weeks have added to my anxieties. I fear lest that bureaucratic, immovable policy,

which is fossilised in the Vienna privy council, should lead the monarchy to the brink of dissolution, lest it should compromise the future of our beloved dynasty, and lest our country, occupied as it is with its own cares, and in want of all its resources of every kind, should be forced into oppressive sacrifices and endless calamities. This is my view of things; and because it is my view, I think it my duty to appeal to you, and to draw your attention to this circumstance, and to the prevention of the evil which is threatening the country. We, whom the nation has commissioned to protect their present time and to secure their future, — we are not permitted to sit down, closing our eyes, and to wait until our country is deluged by an ocean of evils. Our task is to anticipate impending evils, and to prevent them; and I am convinced that if we neglect our duty, we shall be responsible to God, to the world, and to our own conscience, for every misfortune which results from our remissness. If the perversity of policy makes us lose the time of peaceable reconciliation,

when fate rushes on, and when the die has been cast, and when it is found that we have delayed casting the free and loyal voice of the representatives of this nation into the scale,—when the plot has so far thickened that our only choice lies between denial and between sacrifice, of which God only knows the end—then it will be too late for repentance, and the Almighty Himself could not, if he would, restore us the moment which we lost in idleness and sloth.

“ I for one, though doomed to share in the consequences of this late repentance, am resolved to have no responsibility as representative of the people. I would remind you of the French wars. What business had we with the internal affairs of the French people? Our Diet met in the year 1790, but they paid no attention to international policy, and what was the consequence? I will tell you. The curse of the fault, which was not our own fault but which was made our expense, weighed for twenty-five years upon our country, entailing enormous sacrifices of the people’s blood, pro-

perty, and welfare. And amidst these enormous sacrifices our fathers saw the royal house put to flight; they saw the victorious arms of the far west; they saw this city, the seat of our legislature, fall a prey to the victor; they saw the empire crumbling and at the mercy of a haughty conqueror, and they saw lamentable financial embarrassments, which struck our poor and innocent country with the blow of two state bankruptcies. And so great was our misfortune, that we had not even the comfort to be enabled to say that we had done all in our power to avert the impending danger. I pray to God that history may not pass the same verdict over this time. God forbid that our minds should one day be oppressed by the thought that we have seen the danger approaching the throne of our kings; that we have seen it approaching our country, and that we have not stood forth with manly resolution to contend with that danger and to conquer it. May God keep our memory pure from the charge of neglect of duty. I appeal to you. Let us raise our

policy to the level of events; let us find strength in our loyalty, in our responsibility, in our duties as citizens, and let us have that resolution which the temper of the times demands. I will not give you a detailed account of affairs at home and abroad; they are too well known. But I will record my earnest conviction that the Vienna system of government is the real source of the disturbance and want of tranquillity in the empire, and of all the evil consequences which result from that disturbance. And it is with an anxious heart that I record my conviction that the maintenance of this erroneous policy, opposed as it is to the interests of the nations and to the claims of rational liberty, will soon endanger the future of the dynasty. Political systems, however unnatural, may be upheld for a long while, for the road is long from the patience of nations to desperation. But these political systems have not gained strength by duration, and, at length, there comes a time when it is dangerous to approve. The very length of their life makes them ripe for

death. As for death, you can divide it, but you cannot stop it. I am aware an old system is like an old man who clings to the idea of a long life. I am aware that it is a painful thing to see the result of a long life crumbling away bit by bit. But where the foundation is unsound, there the fall must come, sooner or later; and we, whom Providence has intrusted with the fates of the nation, cannot be influenced by the weaknesses of one single man. The nation is everlasting and we desire that this nation's country should be everlasting, that the splendour should be everlasting of the dynasty which reigns over us. The men of the past will soon go down to their graves, but the hopeful heir of the house of Habsburg, the Archduke Francis Joseph, whose first appearance has gained him the love of the nations, will have the heritage of a splendid throne, whose power results from liberty, and whose former splendour cannot possibly be upheld by the fatal mechanism of the Vienna policy. The choice of the dynasty lies between their own welfare and the preservation of a crum-

bling system of government, and I am afraid, unless the loyal declarations of the nations should interfere, that that fossilised policy will sacrifice the fate of the dynasty to a short respite of its own existence, which it may find in a reconstruction of the late Holy Alliance.

“Those men are not in the habit of forgetting anything, but still they are too prone to forget that it was not this Holy Alliance, but the enthusiasm of the nations, which saved the thrones. That enthusiasm was caused by a promise of liberty, and that promise has been broken.

“A dynasty which takes its stand on freedom is always sure to command enthusiasm, for it is only the free man who is truly loyal. If you oppress him he will serve you, because he must. Bureaucracies cannot command enthusiasm. Nations will freely give their blood for a beloved dynasty, but they will not sacrifice a sparrow to uphold the policy of oppressive governments. If there is a man at Vienna who, at the expense of the dynasty, thinks to uphold his power

by despotic alliances, that man ought to consider that some persons are more dangerous as friends than enemies.

“ Yes, gentlemen, it is my firm conviction that the future of the reigning family is bound up with the alliance of the various nations of the empire ; and this alliance can be produced only by a respect for the various nationalities, and by honest constitutionalism, which awakes kindred feelings in every province. Official despotism and bayonets are a wretched means of union. The motion which I have the honour to propose is taken from a domestic point of view, and God be thanked that this point of view is bound up with the interests of the country. Who can calmly think that the people could be called upon to make sacrifices without a moral, or material indemnification ? If we leave this Diet without giving to the people what they justly expect from their legislators, who will take the responsibility of the events which may possibly happen ? Who will dare to guarantee that the enthusiasm and the readiness for every sacrifice, which re-

sounds through the walls of this house, will find an echo out of doors? You must be alive to the force of circumstances, and I will not, therefore, discuss them, but proceed with my motion, which is dictated by my loyalty, by my duty, and by the feeling of my responsibility. I ought to remark, that although I shall recount some of the questions before the Diet, I make no mention of the grievances—for instance, of the question of the three counties, and of the religious coalition affairs,—I make no mention of these questions, because I propose to move such fundamental demands as, if fulfilled, as I have a right to expect, will carry with them a guarantee for the cure of these grievances. My motion is, therefore, intended to advance some great questions—especially that of Croatia—to a certain solution; and I am resolved that if that solution cannot be effected in this manner—which alone will prevent the tearing open the wounds of the past,—I am resolved, I say, and I think it my duty, to embrace the Croatian question with the whole fervour of

my soul, and even to open old wounds if necessity compels me.”

To this famous speech we have merely to add, that Kossuth mentions the overthrow of the ancient order of things with so much assurance that we cannot doubt but that he was not a stranger to the intrigues of that revolutionary party which undermined one half of Europe, and which overthrew despotic Austria. Twelve days after this speech in Parliament, which was received with deafening cheers, we find the celebrated orator and deputy within the walls of the Austrian capital.

CHAPTER X.

MARCH, 1848.

WE are far from intending to try the patience of our readers with a detailed description of the Vienna events on the 13th, 14th, and 15th of March. They are well known already. We confine ourselves to saying that the birthday of the great monarch, Joseph II., to wit, the fatal 13th of March, the day which shivered the principle of Metternich, produced a similar commotion and debates of an extraordinary kind in the Assembly House of Pressburg, where the Vienna events were partly anticipated. A stormy debate came off on the separation question, according to which the kingdom of Hungary with its crownlands was, in spite of the Pragmatic Sanction, separated from the union

with Austria, in such a manner as to be connected in future with that country only by means of a personal union ; that is to say, by means of a very slender thread indeed. It was the intention of the separatists to obtain a Magyar cabinet, and the supremacy of the Magyar nation ; in short, they wished for the independence of their country. We need scarcely add that this was Kossuth's favourite plan, which he advocated with all the powers of his oratory ; and in spite of the most reasonable and energetic opposition of the Conservative party, his sophisms, his flow of words, and his boldness, prevailed against them, and obtained him a majority.

Thus was the Hungarian capital, on the 13th and 14th of March, scarcely less excited than Vienna herself. Indeed, the waves of the Hungarian tempest were by far more dangerous than those which threatened Vienna, where everybody applauded the overthrow of Metternich and the newly-acquired liberty of the press. The young Palatine Archduke Stephen, who probably had been confused by the late speeches and resolutions of

the Diet, and who felt the direction which the surge was likely to take, hastened to the court to anticipate the shock.

There can be no doubt but that this talented prince was the means to persuade Ferdinand to grant a Constitution to the nations of this empire. We need scarcely say with what transports of joy this gift was received by the inhabitants of the capital, how happy and blessed everybody felt, and how everybody praised the kind monarch as the most generous donor of the greatest of all worldly goods.

The solemn proclamation of the Constitution took place at four o'clock of the afternoon of the 15th of March. The first accents of transport had scarcely ceased, when news arrived of the arrival of 150 Hungarian deputies and about 300 jurats, who came by steamer from Pressburg to Vienna, for the purpose, as they pretended, of sympathising with the Viennese as brothers and as friends; for they said, In future there would be no Hungarian frontier. The third evening, amidst illuminations and torchlight,

amidst music and solemn processions, was indeed a festival. All hearts opened; many wept. Strangers embraced and kissed. There were no Germans, no Sclavonians, no Magyars, no Italians; they were all brothers, they were all freemen, they were all happy. The barrier of nationalities had fallen, and everybody looked only upon the white ribands, and flags, and mottos of liberty, instead of the dress and colour of his neighbour, so that one might really have believed that a heavenly seraph had come down upon Austria and the future that bore no sorrow in its dark womb.

Among the arrivals from Hungary, Kosuth was most celebrated. He was the lion among the strangers. Everybody pressed to see him, to hear him; and most impatient were the ladies, even of the aristocracy, who quite naturally showered upon him nosegays and laurel leaves. The writer of this saw the Hungarian Demosthenes in the open street with a wreath of fresh laurels on his head, and binding the crowd around him with the golden chains of his oratory.

His public speeches were in praise of Austria and her Emperor, but he attacked men in office, courtiers, and bureaucrats, without, however, quoting their names. He warned the citizens of Vienna to be on their guard against these men, and rather to protect than to rejoice over what they had obtained. He also directed their attention to the army; for he said, the soldiers were as likely to be dissatisfied with the new state of things as the high aristocracy and the clergy, who in future would be certain, as far as they could, to force things back into their old position.

In public, he made no mention of the Hungarian deputation, of which he was considered the leader. But it is too likely that he carried on secret negotiations and intrigues with the numerous friends of the Magyars, with the Hungarian Chancellery, and indeed with all those who even then fostered the diabolical scheme of dividing the empire according to its various nationalities, and thus of endangering the existence of that empire, as well as the existence of

the dynasty. This is proved by the bold and even treasonable steps which the Deputies took on this occasion, for they were aware that the Emperor was in a position in which he could not possibly refuse to comply with the demands of a nation. For it was in those days that the messengers of evil pressed upon each other's heels. News arrived of the Italian insurrection, of the invasion of Charles Albert, of the revolution at Berlin, and of the downfall of the German Empire at Frankfort. Nor ought it to be forgotten, that not only the Magyars and Italians, but also the Germans and Slavonians, especially the Poles and Bohemians, had long been infected with the desire of separation, and that the troubles of the times gave a voice to their demands. We would also remind our readers of Kossuth's important speech of the 3d of March, in which he says:—"What we ought to ask for is the budget of the Hungarian receipts and expenditure, and the constitutional administration of our finances. What we ought to ask for is, in one word, a separate and

independent financial board for Hungary ; for, unless we have this, the foreign government, which rules us without our advice, is likely to embarrass our finances almost to hopelessness."

Whenever an unrighteous man is resolved to ask for a few pounds, he will, if circumstances favour his selfishness, ask for a hundred weight ; nor will he care whether his demand is extortionate, or what the feelings of the reluctant giver are. This was the case of the Hungarian deputation ; they insisted upon the appointment of an Hungarian cabinet for home affairs, and for the administration of finance and commerce. In short, what they wanted was an independent legislative and administrative government for Hungary. They likewise asked for the administration of the military frontier, which had hitherto been conducted by the imperial council of war at Vienna ; for in this manner they hoped to bind down the Servians and Croats, who would not join, or rather subject themselves to, the Magyars.

The deputation had no idea that the

concessions which they forced from the King of Hungary were likely to be modified, and even revoked, by the Emperor of Austria. In high spirits with the success of their mission they returned to Pressburg, where their arrival was the signal for a grand national festival.

The Diet was prorogued at the commencement of April, to meet again at Pesth on the 4th of July; and Count Louis Batthyány, whom we know as a member of the opposition, was ordered to form an Hungarian cabinet, of which he himself was to be the President. He selected the following men :—

Foreign Affairs—Prince Paul Esterhazy.

Interior—Bartholomew Szemere.

Finance—Louis Kossuth.

Justice—Francis Deak.

War—Lazar Messaros.

Public Instruction—Joseph Eötvös.

Trade—Gabriel Klauzal.

Agriculture—Stephen Szechényi.

Excepting Esterhazy who resigned, and Szechényi whose mind became obscured by

the storms and weight of events, we find this cabinet animated by a spirit hostile to Austria, and which gave good cause for the greatest anxieties, especially since Kossuth remained the hinge on which every Hungarian question turned.

CHAPTER XI.

KOSSUTH AND THE BAN OF CROATIA —
KOSSUTH'S AGITATIONS.

IN private life it is wrong when a brother robs his younger brothers of their fraternal heritage ; but it is quite as wrong in public life when a tribe endeavours to oppress and keep down its kindred tribes. It is a fact that the Magyar nation, or, more properly speaking, the new Hungarian cabinet, had no other object in view than the subjugation of their neighbouring tribes. We have good reasons for accusing the Hungarian cabinet, for we consider the Magyars, in spite of their national pride and their predilection for old privileges and traditions, as a noble and honest people, which has produced many great men, and which at all times stood by the cause of Austria.

The Magyars in Hungary and Transylvania amount to something like five millions. Their language is likewise spoken by the Szeklers in Transylvania, who, like the Magyars, are descendants of the Huns (that is to say, of Asiatic descent), and kindred with the Finlanders, the Laplanders, the Samojeds, Surjens, Mordwins, and Tschuwasches, who inhabit some parts of northern Russia and Sweden. By their language, by their manners and customs, and, in short, by their peculiar nationality, they are isolated in the Austrian empire. The purest of their race inhabit each bank of the Theiss, but they live also in compact masses on either bank of the Danube, and on the banks of the Save and Drave, where, however, they are frequently mixed with German and Slavonian settlers.

The proportion of their number to the rest of the population is as one to three; that is to say, if the kingdoms of Croatia and Slavonia, and the four departments of the military frontier, are considered as forming part of the kingdom of Hungary. This

proves that the other nations are likely to resist every oppression, and that they will not submit to have the Magyar language forced upon them, instead of Latin, which has hitherto been the usual official language. Indeed the Slavonians have a prior claim to the ground of Hungary.

In the first instance, the honest and energetic Servians of the Banat and of eastern Slavonia boldly refused their obedience to the new resolutions of the cabinet. They protested they would obey no orders but those of the central government at Vienna, and that they would abide by the issue of the sword if Hungary attempted to subjugate them. Rajachich, the Servian patriot, convoked a Diet at Carlowitz, when it was resolved to protect the Servian nationality against the usurpation and tyranny of the Magyars, to obey no authority but that of the Emperor of Austria and King of Hungary, and to rely on his protection and support.

His Majesty the Emperor Ferdinand had meanwhile, in consequence of the no-

torious petition of the 15th of May, left his capital for Innsbruck, from whence he returned on the 12th of August, 1848.

The Magyars did their best to make use of this flight, and of the confusion which it created. They cast suspicions on the Servians and the Croats under their Ban Jelachich, and they took upon themselves to enter the field against them, as though they had to fight not merely against their own enemies, but against the traitorous foes of the empire. It has never been ascertained how far Kossuth was mixed up in these affairs, for from the first it was intentionally confused and obscured by the most cunning intrigues. But since he was the leader of the Hungarian cabinet, and since as Minister of Finance he had the means which are most effectual in such cases, there can be no doubt but that he is responsible for the generous blood which the Servians, in the Roman entrenchments, shed in their combats against the Magyar troops, under General Hrabowsky. We grieve to say they were defeated; they dissolved their central council

at Carlowitz, and they sent a deputation to the court at Innsbruck, while the chivalrous man was restlessly engaged in clearing himself and his people from calumny and suspicion by unmasking the cunning intrigues of the Hungarian cabinet, and by proving his honesty and loyalty to the court of Austria. But all his endeavours were of no avail; the knot was so firmly tied that he could not for a long time succeed in unravelling it, and in spite of his innocence he was doomed to learn that, according to the manifesto of the 10th of July, 1848, he had become subject to the displeasure of his Emperor. But for all that he continued perseveringly to expose Kossuth's treasonable intrigues and those of the Magyar government, to clear up the misunderstanding, and to show the real enemies of Austria in all their native ugliness.

Everything was done at Innsbruck as well as at Vienna, where the Archduke John, the new Regent of Germany, opened the Austrian Diet, to compromise the differences between the nationalities and Hun-

gary. It was found impossible to reconcile the Ban Jelachich with the Hungarian deputies who had been called to Vienna, and to calm the fury which devastated the southern parts of Hungary with fire and sword, while a civil war raged in Italy, and while it was found necessary with the strong hand to suppress the Pansclavonic movements in Bohemia.

The following manifesto of the Ban Jelachich will place us in a position to understand the differences and the state of affairs in southern Hungary.

“ In obedience to the high commands of his Imperial Highness the Archduke John, representative of his Majesty the Emperor King, I have for the third time repaired to the seat of the central government, for the purpose of endeavouring to unite the desires of our home with the wishes and the honour of our neighbours in Hungary, as well as with the interests of the Imperial and Royal House, to whom our own and the Hungarian nation ought to belong, as loyal sons equal in rights.

“Neither the personal danger nor the offensive infamy which threatened me by the continuance of the manifesto of the 10th of July could prevent me from undertaking this new and disagreeable mission, for the object in view was to preserve to my beloved countrymen in Croatia, Slavonia, Dalmatia, and the Servian Palatinate, the greatest earthly treasures—to wit, liberty and peace,—to secure to either party their natural rights and reasonable claims, and to maintain the unity of the countries and peoples which are subject to the Holy Apostolic crown: for to that crown we are bound by sacred treaties; by our love, which has stood the test of evil times and of good; and by the common interest of our own tribe and of that of every other tribe in the Austrian dominions.

“As a foundation to the mediation of his Imperial Highness, I, as representative of the nation, was, according to the resolutions of the last Diet, compelled to demand, firstly, the union of the cabinet of War, Finance, and Foreign Affairs, with

the central administration of the monarchy ; secondly, the protection and equalisation of our nationality and language, as well in the internal administration as in the common Diet of Hungary ; and thirdly, the fulfilment of the wishes and claims of the Servian nation in Hungary. My own convictions would not allow me to abandon this foundation, nor should I have been justified in doing so by the will of the nation.

“Neither his Imperial Highness the Archduke Palatine, who received me with the kindest assurances and the warmest interest for the success of peaceful negotiations, nor the President of the Hungarian cabinet, with whom I treated on the subject of these unalterable foundations, were in a position—owing to the Diet and their party—to enter into them in anything like a satisfactory manner ; and the departure for Frankfort, on the 30th of July, of his Highness the Regent, put a term to this last attempt at a friendly settlement of our national affairs, without giving me the happiness to announce to you the favourable result. On

the other hand, it is with great satisfaction I am able to mention the numerous and decisive proofs of respect and enthusiasm which were given me by the military, by the citizens, and by the national guards of Vienna, Brünn, and Gratz, and even of lesser towns; for I cannot think that these manifestations were devoted to my person. They were a tribute paid to the conviction of the popular and truly liberal tendency of our course, and its importance for the preservation of the Austrian monarchy and its new constitution, of a free developement of the spirit of all nationalities, of a constitution which we greeted with equal transports, and to which we will cling with equal fidelity as the resurrection of our national spirit. Nothing is now left us but to wait for the decision on our last word of Peace of the Diet of Pesth, and to rely on our own strength and union in the defence of our just cause, which is not likely to want either the sympathies of the free nations of Austria and Europe, or the approval of his Majesty, our Emperor and King, or the assistance of

Almighty God, in whom we place our firm and constant trust.

“JELACHICH, *Ban.*

“*Agram, the 6th of August, 1848.*”

Le style c'est l'homme.—We find this borne out by the manifesto of the honest Ban, for his actions tally exactly with his words, and thus the contrast between his and Kossuth's conflicting characters is unmistakably revealed. But it was a pity that either stood at the head of many thousands, and that their conflict was doomed to result in a civil war.

After the publication of the above proclamation, the generous Ban made a tour through the Banat and the Carlstadt frontier. He met with a brilliant reception everywhere, and with the most enthusiastic sympathies for his just cause, and he returned to Agram with a conviction that his summons for a general rising had met with unconditional obedience.

The torch of civil war was meanwhile shedding its destructive glare upon the lower

Danube, and the hatred of the nationalities caused, especially in the storms upon St. Thomas, scenes of rage and horror, the details of which our pen refuses to record. It was as if the times of the Huns and Vandals had returned, and it is scarcely to be understood how Christian nations could so cruelly use the fire and sword against their own flesh and blood. Woe to the promoters of this mischief, if they have a conscience; for life can no more offer them one happy hour: but two-fold woe to them if they have no conscience and no faith, for in that case they will have no repentance and no means of atonement.

The visitor in the Austrian capital in the year 1848, a listener to the conversation of the various groups, or to the transactions of the Committee of Safety, and to the speeches made at the University, in the Odeon Saloon, in the democratic clubs, in the Constitutional Association, in the committee of the Common Council, in the various national assemblies, and in the

coffee-houses ; a spectator of the festive processions and feasts of fraternisation, of the riots by day and the tumultuous assemblies by night ;—the man who saw the German banner waving in a thousand flags at the side of the tri-coloured standard of Hungary and Slavonia, and who did not see the hated Austrian banner of black and yellow ;—the man who saw the elegant lady democrat standing on the barricades by the side of the dirty wife of the workman ; who saw the well-dressed legionary arm-in-arm with the ragged brothers of Lazarus ; while Imperial functionaries, officers, and priests, slunk by with their heads bent down ;—the man who heard the expressions of sympathy for the Italian insurgents and for the perfidious King Charles Albert, for the Magyars and for the Slavonian nations in the south and in the north ;—the man who saw recruitings going on for the Hungarians as well as for the Croatians ;—certainly was tempted to fancy himself the object of a delusion, or to believe in the return of the Babel days of general confusion.

This state of things was according to Kossuth's wish, and he supported it with all his influence ; which, in a Minister of Finance, was considerable, for the confusion of the capital gave an immense advantage to his agitations. The division of Austria was the victory of Hungary ; the downfall of Austria was her certain resurrection. On this volcanic basis of affairs he moved all the levers in his power, and he seemed like a demon whom the spirits of the elements obey, and to whom nothing is too sacred for him to make use of as a means. There are various proofs that he was in uninterrupted correspondence with the King of Sardinia, with the republican governments in Milan and Venice, and with the revolutionists in France, Germany, and Poland, and that he co-operated with them for the overthrow of Austria, which at that time was considered to be impending. He sent his ambassadors to Paris, London, Turin, and Frankfort, and he despatched a legion of agents into all countries in which he expected to find sympathies and forces. He connected himself with the Radical party

of the Frankfort Diet, and with the Radical party of the Vienna Diet, and he paid large sums to bribe the Radical press, especially the pointed pens of advocates and Jews. In this respect his talents and activity are unequalled, and the choice of his envoys shows an admirable sharp-sightedness. We need only consider how actively he was served by Száláy at Frankfort, Splenyi at Turin, Teleky at Paris, and Pulszky, at Vienna at first, and afterwards in various places in conjunction with Fenneberg, Tausenau, Goldmark, Fúster, Gritzner, and Kudlich. Poor Austria was given up to treason and foreign enmities, and her days seemed to be numbered.

Kossuth was however obliged, in spite of his desires for a separation, to keep up at least a seeming connexion with Austria, for the internal affairs of Hungary were not at that time such as to warrant a perfect breach. A large part of the Hungarian army occupied the battle-fields behind the Alps, and though their return was demanded, the demand was not complied with. In spite of his powers of bribery and persuasion, he could not rely

on the Imperial troops which were garrisoned in Hungary ; they occupied the fortresses of Hungary and Transylvania, and Kossuth's store of arms and ammunition was by no means considerable. Add to this that the political and social differences among the nationalities continued, and that there was no likelihood of a fusion of their views and interests, and consequently of a common insurrection and of a real or artificial enthusiasm, and we see that it was impossible to do anything great or important with such a want of the elements of action.

But Kossuth was aware, and experience had taught him, that a popular newspaper is the surest way to circulate ideas, to create sympathies, and to make converts, and that such a national organ, if well conducted, is a power in itself. He founded the notorious *Kossuth* newspaper, giving it his own name and his own protection. There was not at that time in Hungary one paper which enjoyed a large circulation. There was not one which discussed the affairs of the country in a ministerial sense, and which was likely to reunite the hostile parties. The Augs-

burg paper was the most popular, but a foreign newspaper could not possibly satisfy the wants of the country, and the *Vienna Gazette* was as much hated as everything else which was connected with the Austrian government.

Need we say that this *Kossuth* newspaper acquired an unequalled popularity, especially since its founder wrote a powerful introduction, and it was known that he was the author of many of the articles? It was, moreover, a ministerial organ, and as such people were in a manner obliged to subscribe to it, and even to translate it, because there were many who would not stoop to learn the language of the Hungarian state. Root-and-branch Magyarism was the tendency of this paper, and in this gigantic form it appeared like a thunder-cloud, which cast a dark shadow on all other nationalities, and which often crushed them with its thunderbolts.

The first number of this paper appeared at the commencement of July 1848. It was assisted by the Radical press at Vienna, and in other towns, and by newspapers,

pamphlets, and books, which the Minister of Finance supported, not, indeed, by his own articles, but by other voluntary contributions. We would remind the reader of the Vienna journals, *The Constitution*, *The Freimüthige*, *The General Gazette*, *The Radical*, *The Charivari*, *The Student's Courier*, and *The Austrian Gazette*. The language and tendency of these papers was disgusting; the tone in which they spoke of the Imperial house was revolting; and equally shocking was it to see them trampling on everything sacred, and eulogising everything that is vile and detestable. It was revolting to see them tearing up all historical traditions and treaties with the Pragmatic Sanction, for the purpose of justifying the perfidious conduct of the Hungarian cabinet. Equally worthy of curses were the pamphlets of Bakunin and Teleki, which tended to deepen the mines which Kossuth was making against the throne of Habsburg-Lorraine. Kossuth's motto seemed to be, "Everything is good, so it avails;" and the terrible phrase, "Who-soever is not with us is against us," was

frequently heard to fall from his lips. He fancied that everything was to be carried by agitation : but democratic agitations were not his trade ; they were his instruments, for Kossuth was a man of aristocratic leanings. But since he was in the habit of exaggerating things, he soon took the tone of the common agitators, who discovered in the life of the aristocracy an insult offered to the people. He was scandalised by carriages, hunting-parties, and balls, and he advocated the suppression of all balls, because he protested that mankind ought to be too serious for such frivolous amusements. But since he was too easily ruled by the vanity and temper of his Xantippe, he raised at a later period but few objections against the transformation of his house into a palace which would have been a fitting domicile for a nabob. As a reward for this yielding spirit, his wife assisted him in all his agitations ; she excited his ambition and his desire for glory—like Tullia of old, who goaded her husband on from crime to crime ; and she made no secret of the fact. “What a

blessed woman she should be if she could educate her husband to be an Hungarian Washington, or if she could ever live to see the crown of St. Stephen on his head!" She surrounded herself with the most influential ladies of all classes and nationalities; she gave splendid conversazioni, entered into political connexions, and was an important support to her husband's intrigues, especially since the women, who were ever much inclined to him, exerted a great influence on the politics of the day. Indeed, in these latter days, in which reason and experience have no chance against imagination, women have come to be a revolutionary power.

Kossuth condescended even to hire vagrant gipsies and musicians as spies and agents for agitation; and, as apostles of his satanic doctrine, he despatched them in all directions. At this time there was a gipsy-woman at Pesth, who foretold him disagreeable things; she protested that he was doomed not to reach the goal at which he aimed, but that his career would be stopped, and brought to a melancholy close

by the murderous hands of one of his friends. The same woman gave the following explanation of the tricoloured flag of Hungary. "Purple," she said, "is the colour of blood, which will flow in streams, and of fire, which will consume cities and villages; green is the colour of the grass, which will grow from the graves of the murdered people; white is the colour of the shroud in which Hungary is to lie, but it is also the colour of peace, which, at length, will bless her plains." This last phrase of the prophecy, which Kossuth interpreted as though it was he who was to bring about the happy future, saved the life of the gipsy-woman; for Nyary, who had her arrested and brought to Kossuth, insisted on putting her to death.

While Kossuth's agitations were attended with success, and while he won the sympathies of the world for the cause of Hungary, he gained his most splendid victories and triumphs on the rostrum, for that was the soil on which he was at home. He endeavoured to imitate Lord Chatham, and his imitation was so successful that he may be

considered as a faithful copy of the great Briton. The part which Chatham played in the question of the North American colonies, his luxuriant speech, his oratorical thunders and lightnings which he hurled at his adversaries, his bold metaphor, his gusts of temper, his seeming weakness, his fainting fits,—in short, the whole external appearance of that statesman and actor, had been studied by Kossuth, even in its minutest details, and he reproduced that strange character with the happy talent of a Garrick. It is true that Chatham's statesmanlike prudence and conscientiousness would never have allowed him to play the part of Kossuth.

As a most faithful copy of Chatham, he appears especially in that memorable speech which, in July 1848, he addressed to the representatives of the people, and which created so great a sensation that we shall make no excuse for publishing it. This speech is the signal for the separation from Austria; it is the culminating point of Kossuth's agitations.

CHAPTER XII.

KOSSUTH'S MOST MEMORABLE SPEECH.

“GENTLEMEN,—In ascending the tribune to demand of you to save our country, the greatness of the moment weighs oppressively on my soul. I feel as if God had placed into my hands the trumpet to arouse the dead, that, if still sinners and weak, they may relapse into death; but that they may wake for eternity, if any vigour of life be yet in them. Thus, at this moment, stands the fate of the nation! Gentlemen, with the decision on my motion, God has confided to your hands the decision affecting the life or the death of our people. But it is because this moment is most important that I am determined not to have recourse to the weapons of rhetoric; for, however

opinions in this house may differ, I find it impossible not to believe—impossible not to feel the conviction—that the sacred love of our country, and such a feeling for her honour, independence, and liberty, as to render this assembly ready to sacrifice its last drop of blood, are common to us all in an equal degree. But where such a feeling is common, there no stimulus is required: cool reason alone has to choose amongst the remedies. Gentlemen, the country is in danger! Perhaps it would suffice to say thus much; for, with the dawn of liberty, the dark veil has dropped from the nation. You know what the condition of our country is; you know that, besides the troops of the line, a militia of about 12,000 men has been organised; you know that the authorities have been empowered to place corps of the National Guard on a war footing, in order to establish an effective force to defend the country, and to punish sedition, which is rife on our frontiers. This command found an echo in the nation. How could this have been unless the nation felt that there is

danger? This in itself is an evident proof that the presentiment of danger is general. Nevertheless, gentlemen, I think I ought to give you a general, if not a detailed sketch of the state of our country.

“ At the dissolution of the last Parliament, and when the first responsible cabinet entered on its functions with an empty exchequer—without arms, without means of defence, it was impossible not to see and to grieve in seeing the terrible neglect which the interests of the country had suffered. I myself was one of the many who for years have called upon the executive power and the nation to be just at length to the people, for the day would come when it would be too late for justice. The feeling for justice, of patriotism perhaps, and general enthusiasm, may yet avert from our heads the full force of the fatal word, ‘Too late!’ Thus much is certain, that the nation and the executive power have retarded justice; and that by this very delay, the moment when first they became just to the people

caused the overthrow of all existing institutions.

“ Under such circumstances we took the reins of government, menaced by treachery, rebellion, reactionary movements, and by all those passions which the policy of Metternich leagued to us as a cursed inheritance. Scarcely had we assumed the government—nay, not all of us had even assembled—when we already received the most authentic information that the Pansclavonic agitation had no other object than to excite the whole of the upper provinces to open rebellion, and that even the day had been fixed when the outbreak should take place in Schemnitz. But I would only furnish outlines—I desist, therefore; and will only add that, for the present, the upper province is tranquil. This quiet, however, is by no means a safe tranquillity; it is a fire that smoulders under the ashes. In the heart of the country, even amongst the Hungarian race itself—which on the banks of the Drave, and in the vicinity of the O-Kérer camp, gives proofs of

its vitality, with such soul-elating readiness for sacrifices,—it was by no means an easy task, after so long a slavery, to familiarise the people with the idea of liberty, and to lay down its first principles. For agitators were not sparing in their efforts to excite the people's fears concerning those—I cannot find words—gifts, but rights, which the last Parliament had granted them. Nine weeks have since elapsed. In the interior prevails quiet, and the Hungarian race is prepared for sacrifice, and voluntarily—not from compulsion—it carries its life where it is needed.

“Croatia is in open rebellion! Many years have elapsed, gentlemen, when not only one or the other, but numbers, called the attention of the government to the fact, that in encouraging—I say not forgiving, but *encouraging*—the Illyric agitation, it would nourish a serpent in its bosom which would compass the ruin of the dynasty. And since the revolutionary state in which we find Europe shaking on her foundations, the gentlemen in those parts fancied they

might with impunity break out in open rebellion. Had Hungary given any cause whatever for this rebellion, she would, without considering the fact that there is a revolution, ask you to be just to Croatia, and to subdue the revolt, not with the force of arms, but with the sacred name of justice.

“Entertaining, as I do, such sentiments, I am obliged to throw a transient glance on the relations between Hungary and Croatia. Gentlemen, you are aware that the nation has granted all its rights and privileges to Croatia, and that already at a time when it only conferred its own rights on the most favoured nationalities. Since Arpad, Hungary possessed no right whatever in which Croatia, from the date of her alliance with us, did not participate. But besides having shared with us every right, Croatia obtained in addition, and at our expense too, particular privileges. I find in history, that the large parts of great empires have reserved for themselves certain rights—that Ireland, for instance, possesses less than England; but that the greater part of a whole nation

should deny itself rights in favour of a small minority, is a fact which stands isolated, but not the less glorious, in the relations of Hungary with Croatia. Where is a reason to be found that, even if we take up arms to quell the disturbance, we should feel in our own hearts the conviction of having ourselves provoked the disturbance? In the past no such reason exists; nor has, perhaps, the last Parliament, which opened a new epoch in the life of the nation, caused any change whatever in the late and so particularly favourable circumstances of Croatia. I say, no! The rights we have acquired for ourselves, we have likewise acquired for Croatia; the liberty that was granted to the people, was likewise granted to the Croats; we extended the indemnity allowed by us to our nobility, at our own expense, to Croatia,—for that country is too small and powerless to raise herself the indemnity.

“With regard to nationality, Croatia entertained apprehensions—though produced by various conceptions and by erroneous ideas—for the Parliament has expressly de-

creed that in public life the Croats should have the fullest right to make use of their own language in accordance with their own statutes; and thus their nationality has been sanctioned, by this public recognition. Their municipal rights the Parliament has not only not impaired, but extended and augmented.

“Is there a greater privilege than that of regulating the election of representatives, which representatives are convoked to frame laws, to grant and to protect liberty? And the Parliament has said:—‘You, our Croatic brethren, shall decide amongst yourselves how to elect your representatives!’ By this measure, the last Parliament has consolidated the municipal independence of Croatia. If, therefore, in the past, no reason can be found to excuse this rebellion, surely the acts of the last Parliament offer none.

“Or does the fault lie with the ministers? We have taken a step, gentlemen, for which we are responsible. Had we succeeded in pacifying the excited minds, I should feel glad indeed to mention it; as it is, I must

refer to it with the confession, that the cabinet in this instance has somewhat exceeded the limits of the law;—it exceeded the limits, for it deemed it impossible to allow the natural consequences of the law to prevail. If the Parliament has recognised the right of the Croats to conduct their own affairs in their own language, the cabinet, on account of such circumstances, believed itself justified to extend this recognition of their nationality likewise to their relations with the government, and decreed to correspond with Croatia in the Hungarian language, with the addition of a Croatian translation, and in this manner to issue all decrees. The Croats attach much importance to the power of their Ban: the last Parliament has not only preserved this Ban's power inviolate, but at the same time insured his influence upon the whole government, by framing a law for the Ban to take part in the councils of the state. The cabinet, therefore, considered nothing of greater importance than immediately to invite the Ban (whom the power that has fallen under the lash of

truth and liberty, in the last moment of its existence, forced upon us like a curse, that he might essay whether the demon of diabolical reaction could not again be raised!) to take his seat in the councils of state of the Palatine Stephen, and to confer with the cabinet how tranquillity, peace, and order might best be re-established in Croatia, and to state the just demands of the Croats, to a compliance with which the cabinet expressed its ready assent, provided it should be in its power to obtain their sanction; if not, it would bring before you, the representatives of the nation, a motion, and stake its own existence on the carrying of the measure. The Ban did not appear: obstinately he refused the invitation, confiding not in the law, but in a rebellion, at the head of which he has placed himself, while he pronounced his secession from the Hungarian crown.

“I will not deny that Croatia has to complain of special grievances which, up to this day, remained without redress; but neither the cabinet nor the nation have

occasioned them—they are simply an heirloom which the old Government left behind. The nation, however, has always made these grievances its own, and left nothing untried to amend them, as it would have done if they had indeed been its own. And this was certainly one of the causes why we invited the Ban, on his nomination by His Majesty, to co-operate with the cabinet in accomplishing the speedy removal of the grievances; for we were conscious not only of our authority, but of our duty to re-establish the law where it is injured. But by his revolt the Ban has prevented the cabinet from communicating its decree to the Croats respecting their petition laid before His Majesty in the Provincial Diet in 1845. Under all these circumstances, the cabinet, nevertheless, has not omitted to do what it considered necessary to pacify Croatia and its fellow-citizens. The past Parliament conferred the franchise on the military frontier—and thus gave them a right which they never had possessed. To effect its realisation, the cabinet has not only made

such arrangements as were in its power, but has left no means whatever untried by which the population of the frontiers might be gained. It authorised and empowered the commander, Baron Hrabowsky, as Royal Commissioner, to make the land of the inhabitants of the frontiers their own property, in the same manner as the Hungarian urban subjects have received theirs, and to cause the crown-socage there to be abolished; it authorised him to confer on them the new privilege of exerting themselves in commerce, trade, and arts; it empowered him to facilitate in every possible way the free choice of domicile; it empowered him to introduce into the so-called free communities the communal system, which exists in the localities provided with a regular magistracy, on a civic basis, and with free power of the people of electing its own authorities. At the same time it decreed that the people itself should elect, according to communities and districts, men to come to this House, and impart and explain to the cabinet the wishes of the people, that we might, without

delay, grant whatever could lawfully be granted. But they—these unfortunate, deluded men—replied with sedition, with rebellion, so that no further opportunity offered itself to realise the benefits which, weeks ago, we felt inclined to bestow.

“Of their nationality I have already spoken. Concerning its official duties, the cabinet, from the very outset, selected a number of individuals from the provinces, without making any party-distinction—nay, for the Croatian affairs it has, in various branches of the administration, formed distinct sections, which are not yet filled up, because the tie between us has been forcibly torn. One of the loudest complaints was, that in the Litorate, which supplies Croatia up to the Save with sea-salt, the importation of common salt is prohibited. We have allowed the importation of common salt, and lowered the price considerably.

“In one word, we have not neglected anything whatever which within the limits of integrity, of liberty, and of the rights of the people, we could do to pacify their minds.

We, gentlemen, can therefore not admit that on the part of the cabinet the slightest cause has been given to provoke the Croatian rebellion.

“ If a people thinks the liberty it possesses too limited, and takes up arms to conquer more, it certainly plays a doubtful game—for a sword has two edges. Still I can understand it. But if a people says, Your liberty is too much for me, I will not have it if you give it me, but I will go and bow under the old yoke of Absolutism—that is a thing which I endeavour in vain to understand.

“ The case, however, stands nearly thus : In the so-called petition which was sent to His Majesty by the conventicle of Agram, they pray that they may be allowed to separate from Hungary—not to be a self-consistent, independent nation, but to submit to the Austrian ministry. This, gentlemen, is the part of the old Vendée, which no Terrorism on our side has provoked, and which under the mask of sham-loyalty spins reactionary intrigues. Or is it loyalty, I ask,

that they refuse to belong to the Hungarian crown, which, as the symbol of the people of these realms, is not only the most powerful, but also the sole reliance of His Majesty and the dynasty? Or is it a proof of fidelity, not to obey the Hungarian, but the Austrian ministry, which receives its commands from the whims of the Aula,* and which possessed not even the power to protect its lord and king, who was compelled to flee from the house of his ancestors? Or do they, perhaps, give proof of greater fidelity by expressing the will of depending of the Viennese ministry, which, if it were a ministry (for at present it is no such thing), and if it were to be asked, ‘Who is your master?—whose orders do you obey?—the Emperor’s, the Aula’s, the Diet’s at Vienna, or the Regent’s at Frankfort?’ would be unable to make a reply; a ministry which not even knows whether its prince will be subject to the Frankfort Assembly, whether Austria will be drowned in great Germany,

* Viz. The Academic Legion of Vienna.

or whether the small Vienna will swallow Germany. But they allege, that from a sentiment of loyalty they oppose King Ferdinand V.! I do not; indeed, ascribe to the sentiment of freedom so great an influence on the masses as not to be persuaded that even this sham-loyalty, in its awkward affectation, is but an empty pretext under which other purposes are concealed. On the part of the leaders it covers the reactionary tendency; but on the other hand, this idea is connected with the plan of erecting an Austro-Sclavonian Monarchy. They say: 'Let us send deputies to Vienna; let us procure the majority for the Sclavonian element, and Austria will cease to be a German empire; and what with the Bohemians, and our people down here, a new Sclavonian empire will rise.' This is a rather hazardous game, and Europe will probably soon decide on the question; for if we should not master these affairs, they will become a European question. Thus much is certain, that this combination (if of any consequence at all) will doubtless involve the ruin of the

Austrian dynasty. There can be no doubt about it.

“ His Highness the Archduke John, named Regent of Germany, took his departure for Germany the day before yesterday. In a few days he returns, and then we shall see whether there is any hope of an arrangement. That insane demand, however, of the Croats, that on the part of Hungary, if an arrangement is contemplated, all preparations for war shall cease, we have *indignato pectore* rejected; and we have considered it to be our duty to declare that the Hungarians, come what may, will arm! that the government will concentrate all its power, and has, therefore, convoked the Parliament to be enabled to make more mighty preparations. It would not be advisable, and you will not indeed demand, that I should demonstrate by figures those forces which are concentrated on the Drave by the energy of our Commissioner Czányi. But thus much I can say, that of the importance of those forces, sufficient proof is afforded by the circumstance that up to this

moment the Croats, though long since desirous of the bread and the wine of our beautiful Hungarian land, have not dared to enter our territory; they could not have attempted it without being repulsed, although they were prepared, while we had to make our preparations.

“ Another affair is the Servian rebellion in the lower countries. Words cannot trace its motives! Croatia, although a land bound to the Hungarian crown, which cannot loose the binding tie without committing high treason, is nevertheless a distinct land. But he that wishes to establish on the territory of Hungary a distinct power, is so great a traitor, so arrant a rebel, that he can only be answered with the rope of the ‘Statarium.’ But, gentlemen, the shedding of blood is, even in case of guilt, a matter of great importance. Whilst the government, therefore, took into consideration, that to force the misguided masses into the horrors of a civil war, merely on account of the faults of some ambitious criminals, would, in these excited and revolutionary times, be an

act for the omission of which we should deserve the approbation of God and man, we have, even in this respect, left nothing untried. We have, therefore, made preparations for the realisation of all those wishes which in this case could possibly present themselves. But I believe, that without an injury to the integrity of the country, no other wish could here transpire except the convocation of the congress for the benefit of the religious creed of the Hungaro-Servians, which the old government had not convoked for many years.

“This decree has been issued, but the Archbishop Rajachich has thought proper to convene at Carlowitz a meeting of the people, and to proclaim it as the Servian National Assembly; upon which the assembled multitude, amounting, with the hordes of robbers who had intruded from adjoining Servia, to several thousands, usurped a national position, declared the Banat, the Batska, Syrmia, and Baranya, their property, and elected for themselves a Patriarch and Woiwode.

“ Upon the first signs of these disturbances we despatched royal commissioners, while we endeavoured to collect our armies. But, under existing circumstances, to collect troops on which we can rely, is by no means an easy task. It is therefore, I believe, to be considered a great advantage for the country that we have obstructed this rebellious insurrection in its upward progress; that we have repulsed it from the frontier, and have thus preserved the country from an inundation up to the moment when we shall have collected a sufficient force to swoop down like eagles, and to crush the robber-hordes.

“ While we were concentrating our forces, the Royal Commissioner, P. Czernovics, deemed it prudent to try peaceful negotiations, and after having opened a correspondence with the leaders of the rebellion, concluded an armistice of ten days, in which time the leaders have to dismiss their hordes, and they are not only themselves to return to their allegiance, but they have likewise to lead back to obedience the unfortunate and

deluded people. This armistice expires on the 4th of July, and the royal commissioner has concluded it on his own responsibility, without being specially authorised thereto; but having been empowered, as royal commissioner, by all requisite means to re-establish peace, he was of opinion that this measure would have that effect; and this, then, is one of those measures the approbation or condemnation of which depends on its result. At this moment a considerable military force stands under the command of a general, as expert, and as great a tactician, as he is courageous and brave. His plan of operation has been drawn on the spot, and has been communicated to the Minister of War, who approves of it. The actions of a general on the field of battle, being purely strategic, ought, in my opinion, to be exempt from publicity,—for we will not go back to the time when the Imperial War Council in Vienna directed from its easy chair the Hungaro-Turkish field-battles, and in consequence of which, we were either defeated, or, if such was not the case, it only origin-

ated in the fact of a commander being present who pocketed the order of battle, and thus beat the Turks. (Cheers.)

“I will only allude to one topic more. Since yesterday a rumour is current that a renewed armistice had been concluded with the Servian rebels. I and the whole of the cabinet know nothing of this. Our last reports up to the 6th contain not the remotest intelligence respecting it, nor do they warrant any such conclusions; on the contrary, instead of an armistice, we look hourly forward to reports of battle and victory. I will not say how many soldiers we have in those parts, or how great our power is; but I rejoice in being able to state, that the readiness of the Hungarian nation for the defence of the country has by far exceeded my hopes and confidence. A few years ago I said despondingly, I wished God would vouchsafe to give me one point only, relying on which I could say, This nation knows to feel for liberty, and I would not despair of its future. The Almighty has granted me life to see that day, and I doubt no

longer the future of the nation! (Loud cheers.)

“The third of the circumstances, gentlemen, which exhort us to place the country in a state of defence, is the position of the countries on the Lower Danube. As I exact from every nation, with regard to Hungary, not to interfere with her internal affairs, so the Hungarian will not meddle with the internal affairs of those nations. I only mention that on the banks of the Pruth a mighty Russian army has appeared, which can turn to the right and to the left, which can act as a friend and as an enemy; but, even because either one and the other is possible, the nation must be prepared.

“The fourth circumstance is the Bosnian frontier, where, according to the latest intelligence, the Bosnian Vezier establishes a camp of from 40,000 to 50,000 men, to observe with attention the disturbances in Servia, and to be enabled to act in the interest of his government as his duty commands. It has happened that Bosnian Rajahs, in great numbers, and armed, en-

tered Croatia, and pleaded for so doing, persecution by the Turks and a desire of finding an asylum. According to Turkish custom, some oppressive acts have certainly taken place; but this much I can say, that on the part of the Sublime Porte no new hostile steps have been taken against the Christian Rajahs, who, therefore, have only arrived for the purpose of participating in the robberies and disturbances here in the country. To prevent the passing of the frontiers is the second cause of the Bosnian Vezier's armament; and at present we have no reason to doubt that the position of the Seraskier of Bosnia is friendly towards us.

“Finally, gentlemen, I must allude to our relations with Austria. I will be just, and therefore I find it but natural that the government of Vienna feels grieved at its inability further to dispose over Hungary. But, even if natural, grief is nevertheless not always just; still less does it follow, that from sympathy with grief the nation should incline to permit any of its rights to be alienated. (Cheers.)

“ Yes, gentlemen, most undoubtedly such movements take place which have for their object to restore to the Viennese government, if not all, at least the departments of War and Finance ; the rest will soon follow. If, then, they once have the power of the purse and sword, they will soon have power over the whole nation. The Croatian movement is evidently connected with this scheme, for Jelachich has declared that he cares not for liberty, and that it is all the same to him whether or not the government at Vienna again obtains possession of the departments of War and Finance. And in the last days the veil of these public secrets has been lifted without reserve. The Viennese ministers have thought proper, in the name of the Austrian emperor, to declare to the cabinet of the King of Hungary, that, unless we make peace with the Croats at any price, they will act in opposition to us. This is as much as to say, that the Austrian Emperor declares war to the King of Hungary ; or to his own self. Whatever opinion you, gentlemen, may have formed of the cabinet, I

believe you may so far rely on our patriotic feelings and on our honour, as to render it superfluous on my part to tell you that we have replied to this menace in a manner becoming the dignity of the nation. But, just when our reply was on its way, a second note arrived, which clearly stated what a horrible man the Minister of Finance must be to refuse a grant of money to the rebel Jelachich. For since Croatia has broken out in open rebellion, I have of course suspended the remittance of money to the Commander-general at Agram. I should not be worthy to breathe the free air of heaven—nay, the nation ought to spit me in the face—had I given money to our enemy. But the gentlemen of Vienna hold a different opinion: they considered my refusal as a disgusting desire to undermine the monarchy. They have put their shoulders to the wheel, and transmitted to the dear rebel 100,000, so they say, but in reality 150,000 florins in silver. This act, gentlemen, might excite the whole House to an angry spirit, to national indignation,—but be not indignant, gentlemen,

for the ministry which by adopting such a miserable policy believed for a time to prolong its precarious existence, exists no longer. The Aula has crushed it. And I hope, whoever the men may be that compose the next ministry, they will understand that, without breaking their oath of allegiance to the Austrian Emperor, who is likewise King of Hungary, and without siding with the rebels against their lord and master, they cannot in future adopt that policy without bidding also defiance to Hungary, which, in that case, would throw the broken alliance at the feet of Austria, which feeds rebellion in our own country, and that we would look for friends in other quarters !

“Gentlemen, I have no cause to complain of the Austrian nation ; I wish they had power and a leader, both of which have hitherto been wanting. What I have said refers to the Austrian ministry. I hope that my words have also been heard at Vienna, and that they will exert some influence on the policy of the new ministers.

“The Austrian relations, the affairs of

the countries on the Lower Danube, the Servian disturbances, the Croatian rebellion, Pansclavonian agitators, and the reactionary movements—all these circumstances taken together cause me to say the nation is in danger, or rather, that it will be in danger, unless our resolution be firm! And in this danger, where and with whom are we to look for protection? Are we to look to foreign alliances? I will not form too low an estimate of the importance of relations with foreign countries, and I think that the cabinet would be guilty of a dereliction of duty, if, in this respect, we were not to exert ourselves to the utmost of our power.

“In the first moments of our assuming office, we entered into correspondence with the British government, and explained that Hungary has not, as many have attempted to promulgate, extorted rights and liberties from her king, but that we stand on common ground; with our lord and king we have further entered into an explanation of the interests we have in common on the Lower Danube. On the part of the British govern-

ment we have received a reply, such as we might have expected from the liberal views and from the policy of that nation. In the meanwhile we may rest convinced that England will only assist us if, and as far as, she finds it consistent with her own interests.

“As for France, I entertain for the French, as the champions of liberty, the most lively sympathy, but I am, nevertheless, not inclined to see the life of my nation dependent upon their protection and their alliance. France has just seen a second 18th Brumaire. France stands on the threshold of a dictatorship; perhaps the world may see a second Washington: it is most likely that we shall see a second Napoleon rising out of the ashes of the past. This much is certain: France can give us a lesson that not every revolution is for the interest of liberty, and that a nation, *striving for liberty, can be placed under the yoke of tyranny most easily when that liberty exceeds proper limits.* It is indeed a most lamentable event for such a nation as the glorious French nation undoubtedly is, that in the streets of

Paris the blood of 12,000 citizens has been shed by the hand of their fellow-citizens. May God preserve us from such a fury in our own country! But whatever form the affairs of France may assume—whether that man whom Providence has placed at the head of that nation becomes a second Washington, who knows to reject the crown, or a second Napoleon, who, on the ruins of the people's liberty, erects the temple of his sanguinary glory; one thing is certain—that France is far from us. Poland relied on French sympathy; that sympathy existed, but Poland is no more!

“The third is the German empire. Gentlemen, I say it openly, I feel that Hungary is destined to live with the free German nation, and that the free German nation is destined to live with the free Hungarian nation, in sincere and friendly intercourse, and that the two must superintend the civilisation of the German East. From this point of view, then, we have thought of a German alliance, and as soon as Germany made the first step towards her unity by

convoking the Frankfort Parliament, we considered it to be one of our first duties to send two of our countrymen (one of whom has now been elected President by this House) to Frankfort, where they have been received with the respect which is due to the Hungarian nation. But just because the Frankfort Assembly was still struggling for existence, and because that body had not developed itself, which with negotiations could have been brought to a result (this can only be done with the Ministry to be constituted after the election of the Regent), there is even now one of our ambassadors in Frankfort to negotiate, as soon as official relations can with propriety be opened, respecting the league which we desire to enter into with Germany—though with the proviso that we will not abate a hair's breadth from our rights, from our consistency, from our national freedom, for the sake either of liberty or of menaces, from whomsoever they may proceed.

“The danger, therefore, is great; or rather, a danger threatening to become

great, gathers on the horizon of our country, and we ought, above all, to find in ourselves the strength for its removal. *That nation alone will live which in itself has sufficient vital power ; that which knows not to save itself by its own strength, but only by the aid of others, has no future.** I therefore demand of you, gentlemen, a great resolution : Proclaim that, in just appreciation of the extraordinary circumstances on account of which the parliament has assembled, the nation is determined to bring the greatest sacrifices for the defence of its crown, of its liberty, and of its independence, and that in this respect it will at no price enter with any one into a transaction which even in the least might injure the national independence and liberty, but that it will be always ready to grant all reasonable wishes of every one. But in order to realise this important resolution, either by mediating, if possible, an honourable peace, or by fighting a victorious battle, the government is to be authorised

* These words of 1848 are a prophecy and a condemnation of what Austria did in 1849.

by the nation to raise the effective strength of the army to 200,000 men, and for this purpose to equip immediately 40,000 men, and the rest as the protection of the country and the honour of the nation may demand. The expense of raising an army of 200,000 men, its armament, and its support for one year, will amount to forty-two millions of florins—but that of raising 40,000 men, from eight to ten millions of florins. Gentlemen, if you assent to my motion, I propose within a few days to lay before the House a detailed financial plan; but I here mention beforehand, that nothing is further from my thoughts than to ask of the nation a taxation of forty-two millions of florins: on the contrary, my plan is that every one shall contribute according to his means, and if that will not cover the expense, we shall be obliged to let our credit make up the deficiency. I rejoice at being able to declare that the plan which I mean to propose is based upon an estimate which agrees with the rates of taxation as fixed a century ago by Maria Theresa for Transylvania, and

which in reality is much more moderate. Should my plan be adopted, and should the House make an especial proviso that the readiness for the sacrifice on the part of the representatives of the nation shall not dwindle away without result, the nation will be able to bear the burden, and to save the country. In case the imposed taxation should not suffice for the establishment of a military power—such as circumstances urgently demand, I claim the power for the Executive to open a credit to any amount which the representatives may deem necessary. This credit shall supply the deficiency, either as a loan, or by the issue of paper-money, or by some other financial operation.

“These are my proposals! (Cheers.) Gentlemen, I am of opinion that the future of the nation depends on the resolution of the House on my motion; and not alone on that resolution, but in a great measure on the manner in which we form it. And this is the reason, gentlemen, why I refrained from mixing this question with the debate on the address. I believe, if a nation is

threatened on every side, and if it feel in itself the will and the power to repel the danger, that the question of the preservation of the country ought not to be tacked to any other question.

“ This day we are the ministers of the nation ; to-morrow, others may take our place : no matter ! The cabinet may change, but thou, O my country ! thou must for ever remain, and the nation, with this or any other cabinet, must save the country. But in order that this or any other set of men may be able to save it, the nation must develope its strength. To avoid all misunderstanding, I declare solemnly and expressly, that I demand of the House 200,000 soldiers, and the necessary pecuniary grants. (Cheers.)

“ Gentlemen, what I meant to say is, that this request on the part of the government ought not to be considered as a vote of confidence. No, we ask for your vote for the preservation of the country ! And I would ask you, gentlemen, if anywhere in our country a breast sighs for liberation, or a

wish waits for its fulfilment, let that breast suffer yet a while, let that wish have a little patience, until we have saved the country. (Cheers.) This is my request! You all have risen to a man, and I bow before the nation's greatness! If your energy equals your patriotism, I will make bold to say, that even the gates of hell shall not prevail against Hungary!"

We need not say what enthusiasm this speech created in doors and out of doors, and we will only remark, that the representatives of the Hungarian people were unanimous in voting the troops and the money for what they considered the salvation of the country. They never reflected that they were hurrying Hungary into danger, that the speech was a case of high treason against Austria, and that their country was unable successfully to wage war, not only against the Servians and Croatians, but also against Austria herself. It is true the condition of Austria was very precarious, her fortunes in Italy had not yet been retrieved by the

battles of Volta and Custoza, Germany was eager for the spirit of her German provinces, the minds of the Poles were unsettled, and the Austrian Diet itself was a dangerous element of disturbance. Circumstances were thus favourable to Kossuth, and the time of his revenge seemed to be at hand.

CHAPTER XIII.

DEBATES.

THE number of revolutionists and enemies of Austria was great ; and great, too, was the number of those who loudly expressed their wish that “the sword of Italy,” to wit, the faithless Charles Albert, might obtain a decisive victory over the Austrian army, hunt the hero Radetsky over the Alps, and restore the liberty and independence of the Italian peninsula. Kossuth made no secret of his feelings. In one of his parliamentary speeches, he said : “I will not deny it ; my sympathies are such, that I have often been very happy on hearing of the victories of the Italians, and I have even managed to forget that their successes were bought by our own Hungarian blood.”

There were 12,000 Hungarian troops under Radetsky's command fighting against the King of Sardinia, and Kossuth's joy may be easily conceived if we consider that, after losing Italy, Austria could not maintain herself in Hungary, and that the dissolution of the empire must follow.

The dissolution of Austria, which was considered as certain, would have been hastened by the recall of the Hungarian troops, and by their being employed against their legitimate king. But still it ought to be considered that there were 30,000 Croats fighting the battles of Austria and Italy, who, on their return, would have made head against the faithless and hated Magyars.

This state of things caused an animated discussion in the Diet at Pesth. Some members, especially Moritz Perczel, were most energetic in their demands for the recall of the Hungarian soldiers from Italy. Others protested that the Pragmatic Sanction authorised the House of Habsburg to employ the Hungarian forces against Charles Albert. Kossuth voted against the recall,

for he knew that Illyrian forces would likewise return, and increase the power of the Ban and the dangers of Hungary. His views were adopted by many members and by the president of the cabinet, but they created an opposition which divided the cabinet according to principles and personal interests. For not only was the ministerial party divided into two factions, that it is to say into Batthyany's, consisting of Eötvös, Deak, Klausal, Szechényi, and Messaros, and into Kossuth's, which was supported by Szemere; but the former party was upheld by the magnates and Imperialists, who preferred the conciliating policy of Batthyany to the revolutionary intrigues of Kossuth.

The clubs of Pesth, which at that time had a powerful influence on the nation, succeeded in opposing the names of Batthyany and Kossuth to each other. Kossuth, the man of the people, seemingly kept back by Batthyany, the representative of the nobility and the clergy, caused much anxiety to the latter. But it was not the question

of the people of Hungary—of liberty and independence—which divided the policy of these two men: on that question they were agreed.

Count Batthyany was the leader, and Kossuth was the speaker of the opposition, before the events of March. The former was the hand, and the latter the sword of that party which rose to power.

Kossuth had no objection to engage in, or even to provoke, the last struggle for the liberty and independence, as well as for the separation of Hungary.

Batthyany, on the contrary, sought to avoid and to put off this desperate (let us say, this faithless and treasonable) struggle. He was prepared to sacrifice some advantages to the safety of possession. It was afterwards ascertained that he was not inclined to join the traitors to their country and to liberty, but that he wanted the energy, perseverance, and resolution to carry him through this last struggle for the liberty and independence of Hungary.

Kossuth's policy provoked, Batthyany's conciliated.

In the Italian question Batthyany advocated the interests and rights of the monarchy.

We know Kossuth's declaration, and we know that it was forced from him.

Batthyany had some sympathies for the German Parliament at Frankfort, but he upheld the union with the monarchy, for he was of opinion that the power of Germany belonged to the future rather than to the present.

Kossuth advocated the cause of Frankfort, and he was pleased to find his sympathies mentioned in that Parliament, and coupled with threats against Austria.

Batthyany attempted to impress every movement of the times with the stamp of legality. He resisted the revolution to the last.

Kossuth was by no means so scrupulous. He wanted means for an end, and when he found them, he cared little for their name

or form ; for, according to his sophistical doctrine, the means were sanctified by the end.

The two men were aiming at the same purpose, but each in a different direction. The invasion of the Ban of Croatia was a support of Kossuth's policy ; his party increased with the danger of Hungary. But illegality and perjury have within themselves the seeds of schism and dissension. The Hungarian government, oppressed by a sense of its wrong, remained at odds with itself ; and thus it was like a criminal who, by new crimes, wishes to cancel the consequences of his old ones,—who rushes into untruth and treason for the purpose of gaining strength, and of proving that might prevails against right.

His Majesty King Ferdinand, who had appointed the Archduke Stephen to be Palatine of Hungary, was invited to leave Innsbruck, and to take his residence at Buda. But, presuming that his Majesty's health prevented his removal, the Hungarians asked for his Imperial Highness the Archduke Joseph.

Kossuth fancied that no man in Austria was cunning enough to discover the wolf in sheep's clothing, or the viper among the roses. But he soon learned better; for it was but too evident that the Hungarians thought of perpetrating a bold state stroke: that they intended to entice the King, or the heir-presumptive to the throne, into their power, for the purpose of keeping him in security, and of obtaining by cunning what they despaired of gaining by force of arms.

The Hungarian debates were at this time transplanted to Vienna, without, however, coming to a close at Pesth. The Emperor Ferdinand returned on the 12th of August to the castle of his fathers, where he was received with signal enthusiasm. Victory after victory was reported from Italy. Still the revolutionary intrigues and national dissensions continued in the capital and in the Diet, where a variety of questions and amendments prevented the debates on the charter of a constitution, while the press went to the utmost limits of licentiousness, and

while recruitings were going on for Hungary, and Austrian subjects were induced to join a hostile army. Nor did the Diet interfere with the vagaries of a republican convention, and with the impertinent behaviour of certain journalists and stump orators like Dr. Becher, Tausenau, Chaisés, Eckardt, Frank, Jelinek, Buchheim, and Falke. The Hungarian agents, too, like Varga, Tölteny, and Pulszky, took such a tone that it was clear that they were in the service of Kossuth, who evidently strained every nerve to destroy the empire by his treasonable and insane policy.

On the 6th of September an Hungarian deputation of more than a hundred members arrived at Vienna, and demanded the recall of the Hungarian regiments ; the employment of the Imperial troops in Hungary against all those who resisted the commands of the Magyar leaders ; the liberation of the Croats from the power of the Ban ; the punishment of the reactionary party, and the journey of the King to Buda, for the purpose of sanctioning the resolutions of the Hungarian Diet.

To such demands the only answer was a refusal, and this was given in the mildest form. The deputies left Vienna in great disgust, with threats and with manifestations of republicanism. Many of them put purple feathers in their hats, while they gave vent to curses and imprecations. Upon this, the paid agents and intriguers became bolder and bolder; they eulogised Kossuth and the Hungarian government, and they made use of the vilest speeches towards what they called the reactionary party, the court party, and especially the Ban of Croatia.

The embarrassments of the Hungarian government continued meanwhile, and increased every day when the preparations of the Ban Jelachich became known. Kossuth, who had brought the vessel midway between Scylla and Charybdis, despatched on the 18th of September another deputation to Vienna. In this instance the Magyars violated the law, for Kossuth's messengers appealed not to the king and the cabinet, but to the Austrian people; that is to say, to the Diet, the Radical and republican opposition

which had long been in secret connexion with Kossuth. This party strove hard to have the deputation admitted. But the representatives of the people, and especially the predominant Slavonian party, knew their duty and their position. They refused to admit the Hungarian deputies, and gave an evasive and unsatisfactory answer to their written demands. But the Association of male and female Democrats, the Students' Committee, and all the demigods of the capital, whose name was Legion, complimented them on the evening of the 19th with a torchlight serenade, splendid processions, and high-flown speeches, in which Kossuth's name was mentioned with the honours due to a god. This course of proceeding scandalised all honest and upright Austrians. The bust of Kossuth was placed in a window niche of an hôtel, covered with flowers and laurel leaves, and cheered as though he were the saviour of liberty and the preserver of humanity. Everybody hastened to greet Kossuth's apostles, and to eulogise the Hungarian cause in pompous speeches.

This deputation was in itself an attack upon the rights and the majesty of the crown; it was a fruitful subject of agitation, and might contribute to the downfall of the monarchy. Among the speakers the most conspicuous was Dr. Tausenau, that Jewish grand demagogue and ape of Master Kossuth. He was impertinent enough to assure the Hungarians of the sympathy of all Austrians, who, he said, were prepared either to conquer or to die with them. He insolently said that the Pragmatic Sanction was annihilated, and that the nations of Hungary and Austria had become sovereign and independent.

It is extraordinary that Wesselenyi—old, blind, and respectable, as he was,—should have stooped to be an actor in the disgusting farce of this treasonable mission, and that he should have associated with adventurers like Tausenau, Eckardt, Chaisés, Buchheim, and other scape-graces.

The Hungarian deputation left the capital disappointed, and with purple cockades; thereby giving evidence, not only of their sincere disgust, but also of the fact that

Hungary was at war with Austria. There was in the faces of many such a diabolical sneer that it seemed as though they quitted Vienna with a satanic delight—like the miscreant who leaves his outwitted enemy, whose broth he has poisoned, and whose house he has undermined and furnished with a train of powder, which wants but a single spark to hurl it upwards in fearful ruin.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE EVENTS OF SEPTEMBER AT BUDA-PESTH.

IN the latter days of the month of August, the Hungarian army (consisting of 24,000 foot, 3000 horse, and 48 pieces of artillery), had been repeatedly defeated in the combats with the Servians. They were beaten at Weiskirchen, Versetz, and on the Roman entrenchments of St. Tamas. The cry of treason was raised at Pesth, and Kossuth insisted on having the traitors identified and handed over to the law. He considered these reverses — as indeed he did everything which crossed his plans — as produced by the action of the court party; he vilified the Ban of Croatia and the Secretary of War, Latour, as the venal servants of that court party; and it is said that he secretly wished

for their ruin, and consulted with his friends as to the best means of getting rid of these dangerous enemies. Letters which were at that time intercepted between the Ban and the Secretary-at-war, and which treat of large remittances of money from Vienna to Croatia, exasperated all the Hungarians and their friends, led to violent debates in the Vienna Diet, and furnished the Radical press and the members of the university with new subjects for incendiary speeches, and for the most impertinent intrigues, which were principally conducted by bold Jews and foreign adventurers.

When the Austrian government found it necessary to prohibit the exportation of silver and the circulation of the Hungarian bank-notes, Kossuth published two decrees prohibiting, in his turn, the exportation of silver into Austria and the circulation of the Austrian notes, for the purpose of increasing the differences between the two countries. The atmosphere was sultry everywhere, and everybody felt oppressed. Riots were frequent at Vienna, but the worst was still to come.

It was on the 9th of September that the Ban of Croatia, at the head of a large army, crossed the Drave, and advanced towards the Platen. He intended to march upon the Hungarian capital; but before he executed his purpose an insurrection broke out at Frankfort-on-the-Maine, where it was intended to disperse the German Parliament and to establish republicanism throughout Germany. These riots were suppressed by Prussian and Austrian troops; but two members of the parliament, the Prince Lichnowsky and the General Von Auerswald, were most disgracefully assassinated. The opposition of the Frankfort Parliament, who were acting in concert with Kossuth, secretly applauded this accursed deed; and they sent Robert Blum and Julius Fröbel to Vienna, to conspire with the Austrian and Hungarian democrats, or rather Republicans and Communists, against the throne of Habsburg.

We ought also to add that a certain Polish officer, commonly called the General Bem, had been sent for from Galicia to

Vienna, whither also repaired at the same time Baron Pulszky, Kossuth's friend, and Under-secretary of State. He was attended by other revolutionists, most of whom were in Kossuth's pay.

When the Ban of Croatia met the Hungarian army in the vicinity of Stuhlweissenburg, the Austrian cabinet felt it its duty to prevent the miseries of a war, and they entreated the Emperor Ferdinand to send General Lamberg as Royal Commissioner to the camp, with powers and instructions for the suspension of hostilities. His majesty was graciously pleased to consent to the proposal. A manifesto was published, and a message to the Hungarian Diet, proroguing the Assembly to the 1st of December.

Kossuth was not at that time in Pesth. He was engaged in seducing the ultra-Magyars from Szolnok to the north-east towards Groszwardein and Debreczin, and to compel them to rise in masses, since the country was in danger.

The activity of Kossuth's friends is shown

by the circumstance that the Emperor's manifesto reached Pesth much earlier than Count Lamberg. Count Louis Batthyany, the President of the Cabinet, assembled the most influential members of the Diet, and agreed with them that the said manifesto which subjected the Ban of Croatia to the orders of Count Lamberg was the only way to save Hungary in this crisis. It was consequently resolved, that Count Batthyany should proceed to the Hungarian camp, for the purpose of ascertaining the sentiments of the army, and that up to his return the Diet would not take any decisive resolutions.

But Kossuth's agitators and instruments were more powerful than Batthyany ever thought, and his orders passed unnoticed. He had scarcely left for the army when Kossuth was sent for by his friends. He returned by night and assembled the deputies for a midnight sitting, in which he declared that the royal manifesto, which was not countersigned by any minister, was illegal; that the Count Lamberg and all those

who obeyed his orders were traitors to the country; and several deputies were at once sent to Count Batthyany to inform him of the last resolutions of the Diet. The President of the Cabinet replied that he could not consent to this illegal resolution. He submitted the question to a council of officers, who unanimously accepted the royal manifesto and insisted on the Diet cancelling their resolution. But the officers declared at the same time, that if the Ban of Croatia should decline obeying his majesty's manifesto, they would lead the Hungarian troops against the Servians and expel the Ban from Hungary. This resolution was the more favourable, since the Count Lamberg had protested at Pressburg that if the Ban proved refractory he would himself lead the Hungarian troops in their attack upon him.

While these negotiations were proceeding, and at the hour of noon on the 28th of September, Count Lamberg, conscious of his good and just cause, arrived at Buda, attended only by one servant; and he pro-

ceeded to Pesth to present the royal manifesto to the President of the Cabinet for his counter-signature, so as to insure its legality. Kossuth was just addressing the House when he was informed of Count Lamberg's arrival. He communicated the news to the House, adding that now was the time to take effective measures.

His friends among the deputies knew what he expected them to do. The rest were paralysed with fear, and none dared to oppose the agitator and to prevent the perpetration of the deed which was present to their forebodings. J. Balogh, the member for Bacs, left the house, accompanied by several persons from the gallery. Zsembesy, the member for the county of Hont, and a rabid demagogue, cried for weapons; and when he was told that there were scythes on board a vessel in the Danube, he armed a large crowd of people, and hastened with them across the bridge to Buda, for the purpose of executing the motion which Balogh had proposed in the House,—to arrest Count Lamberg, and to conduct him to the bar of the

House; or rather, to subject him to the decision of the bloody tribunal of the Convention.

The royal commissioner was not in uniform. He was alone in a hackney-coach, for he had, most unfortunately, intended to proceed to the Commander of Buda before appearing in the Diet, and was on his way when he was identified by some of the messengers. One of them hastened to the bridge and announced that Count Lamberg was in a hackney-coach, of which he proclaimed the number. A malicious rumour was spread throughout Pesth that the Commander of Buda had given orders to close the gates of the fortress, and that he was preparing to bombard the city of Pesth. This false news produced a great sensation. The shops were closed, the *générale* was beaten in the streets, and the tocsin sounded from the churches. The national guards assembled, and the people armed themselves with everything that came in their way.

When Count Lamberg reached the bridge, the people stopped him and asked

for his name, which when told exposed him to the attack of a fanatic, who wounded him with a dreadful curse.* The party of National Guards interfered and escorted the Count to the middle of the bridge, in the vicinity of St. John's Chapel. But the rush of the people was enormous, for the boldest among the inhabitants of Pesth hastened to cross the bridge to storm the fortress which, as they were falsely informed, was closed. The escort were pushed back, the Count was torn from his carriage, and killed with many wounds. The people took him by the feet and dragged him through several streets, until the National Guards interfered and protected the mangled body from further indignity. Meanwhile, and just when a member of the Diet was moving that the murderers should be arrested and punished, a young man rushed into the house and exhibited in triumph his sword dripping with the blood of the royal commissioner. He was loudly cheered by the galleries, although even

* His name is Kolossy; he was arrested in November 1849.

hyenas might have blushed at the perpetration of such a deed.

And the Diet, or rather the Convention, or the revolutionary tribunal, what did they say or do? That house, which forced the Archduke Palatine Stephen to resign his post by placing him at the head of their forces; the very house which protested against the legal appointment of the Ban of Croatia to the lord-lieutenancy of all Hungarian counties; the very house which at that time compelled six Saxon members from Transylvania to vacate their seats and to fly to their homes, and which did not even think it illegal to renounce the throne and to accept a provisional government or dictatorship—that very house, we say, considered the accursed assassination of the representative of royalty to be neither more nor less than faulty in form!

But let us turn away from this bloody convention, which, two days afterwards, on Görgey's authority, signed the death-warrant of the generous Count Eugene Zichy. This martyr was asserted to be a traitor to

the country, because it was said that he forwarded the correspondence between the Austrian Secretary-at-war and the Ban of Croatia. He fell a victim to Lynch law, for he was hanged in the most disgraceful manner on the island of Czepeľ.

We leave our readers to judge how far these bloody deeds, which made a cry of horror run throughout Europe, may be imputed to the hero of our story. To the best of our opinion it is impossible to absolve a man from guilt whose spirit and tendencies have led to the perpetration of a crime, although he may not himself have ordered it or lent his hand to its execution. From this point of view Kossuth is as guilty of these two murders as of the later bloody deeds in the Austrian capital.

These deeds of violence, which have unmasked the revolutionary party, and which have shown the features of Kossuth, Mazzini, Manin, Hecker, Struve, Blum, and Ledru Rollin in all their native ugliness, induced the Ban of Croatia to change his plan of operations and to march upon the

Austrian capital, which he considered as the real focus of revolutions. It is true that, according to the Hungarian bulletins, his army was routed near Velenceze in the vicinity of Buda; but the fact is, that the left wing of his army was slightly pushed back towards Stuhlweissenburg, while all his other forces had a decided advantage. Indeed, he was justified in expecting that within a few days he would enter the Hungarian capital as a conqueror; but higher considerations induced him to resign the laurels of victory, and he hastened straightway to Vienna, where everything appeared daily more threatening and fraught with danger.

Kossuth, who anticipated the crisis, especially as he was himself its promoter, redoubled his activity, despatched his agents, and made the most fiery speeches in the House. Nor ought it to be forgotten that, as Minister of Finance, he was sitting by a fountain at which human weaknesses and passions are most eager to slake their thirst, and whose intoxicating draught is fatal to the virtue of the sons of this earth.

CHAPTER XV.

THE VIENNA EVENTS OF OCTOBER AND THE BATTLE OF
SCHWECHAT.

THE melancholy and memorable Vienna revolution of October has sufficiently employed the writer's pen and the painter's brush. We need not add to the number of its chronicles, although we were eye-witnesses from the first to the last. We mention these events only in so far as they are connected with Magyar movements and Magyar treasons, and we have no trouble to trace their source to Hungary.

We have already remarked that Kosuth's hatred was most intense against the Ban Jelachich and Count Latour, the Austrian Secretary-at-war; that his most poisonous aims were directed against these devoted men; and that nothing could save

them but being girt with mail of proof. For while the generous Ban was moving towards the capital, Kossuth was heard to protest he would give a million for some good riots in Vienna. The bearing of words goes further than their sound. Kossuth cared little for a few riots unless they removed his stumbling-block and paved the way of his treason. In harmony with these sentiments, it was at that time said by a correspondent of a Pesth Gazette,—“The Magyar cause relies, as a last hope, on the Viennese; give us, for God’s sake, a nice revolution, and Hungary is saved.”

The Secretary-at-war had long been at daggers drawn with the opposition in the Diet, and a letter which he wrote to his son shows that he was aware of the danger which encompassed him. Nor did the clubs, the university, and the Radical editors conceal that the life of the Secretary-at-war was hanging on a very slender thread indeed, and that very little was wanting to overthrow him. It was not difficult to supply the little which was wanted for that

purpose, especially for a man who had pecuniary means at his disposal.

We beg our readers will observe, that one of the most important agents of the Hungarian Minister of Finance, to wit, Baron Pulszky, his Under-secretary of State, was then present at Vienna, and that 50,000 florins in silver, which at that time we understand he distributed in Vienna, cannot, in the common course of things, be without some effect, especially if other levies besides money are brought to bear upon the question. We would also have considered what was afterwards authenticated by the examination and by the confessions of the Hungarian President, Louis Batthyany, as published by the Vienna Gazette after his execution; it is there set forth that, to justify the verdict of the court-martial held on the Count Louis Batthyany, it needs but the adducement of some facts from a series of crimes, to wit, the treasonable issue of Hungarian bank-notes; the recruiting of the 26th September, which added 200,000 men to the Hungarian

forces; the arbitrary appointment of ambassadors to France and Germany, for the purpose of assisting the Hungarian revolution and fomenting a war between France and Austria; the bringing about of a war between Hungary and the Croats, by intentional inactivity and disobedience to the Emperor's orders; the support which he gave to most of the measures which tended to the separation of Hungary; his established support of the Vienna events of the 6th of October, 1848, by means of bribery and other contrivances, it having been proved that Batthyany having left Vienna for Oedenburg in the night, between the 5th and 6th October, said at the latter place, "that it had given him a deal of trouble to get the Viennese well peppered;" and that on the 7th of October he said to a friend at the same place, "Are you aware that the rascal Count Latour has been hanged? Things are looking up in Hungary!" Moreover, his voluntary enlistment as a private soldier in the ranks of the insurgents, and in the corps of a certain Vidos,

by which he materially assisted the cause of the revolution; the publication of a proclamation to the country, summoning every man to assist in rebellion against his monarch; his entry as deputy for the borough of Savar in December 1848, when the Hungarian Diet had been legally dissolved, and when it was branded with the stamp of treason; and lastly, his perjury as President of the Cabinet.

Count Batthyany owed his position in the cabinet to Kossuth; his gratitude caused him to yield to the will of his benefactor: but, still more than by gratitude, he was swayed by the softness and weakness of his character, and although he often made a feint of wishing to bridle the impetuosity of the agitator, his position was borne down, and he himself compelled to follow in the opposite track.

Considering the assassination of the Austrian Secretary-at-war from this point of view, we find that Count Batthyany and others were mere tools in Kossuth's hands; in those able and cursed hands which distri-

buted money, which exchanged a friendly pressure with the Radical party in the Diet, and which took the life of the old and venerable Count Latour for his stanch adherence to truth and justice, to the law and the dynasty.

It was but natural that this deed of horror should be followed by gigantic consequences. The riotous battalion of grenadiers, which had orders to march to Hungary, joined the revolutionary party, shed the blood of their brethren, were rewarded with wine and money, and, intoxicated with drink and frenzy, joined the mob in their disgusting dance round the lamp-post which served as a gallows to the mutilated corpse of the murdered man. They fraternised with the Magyars, Poles, and foreigners, and assisted in the assault upon the Arsenal, which they carried in the course of the next morning.

The sacking of the Arsenal had a twofold advantage for the cause of Hungary. Kosuth's partisans, the mob of Vienna, took some of the arms, and many other weapons were brought to Hungary, where they were

wanted, and where their arrival, and the news of Latour's assassination, caused transports of joy. The revolutionary party had thus carried the day. The friends of the Hungarians had a majority in the Diet, and on the evening of the 6th of October they passed the following resolutions, — 1st, The formation of a popular cabinet; 2dly, An amnesty for the events of the day; and 3dly, the deposition of the Ban Jelachich.

His Majesty the Emperor and his court quitted Schönbrunn on the following day, and fled to Olmütz. The honest members of the Diet left the Assembly, and many noble and wealthy persons hastened away, for they foresaw that the criminal capital would soon be punished after the manner of Sodom and Gomorrah.

There could be no doubt as to the fate of the capital, when two days afterwards General Auersperg concentrated the garrison of Vienna in the palace and belvedere of Prince Schwarzenberg, where he took a threatening position; thus separating the military from the civil power. The Ban

Jelachich, with 30,000 Croats, had, meanwhile, arrived from Hungary, and effected a junction with the troops under General Auersperg (about 12,000 men). Poor Vienna was then in the condition of a man on his deathbed, to whom nothing but powerful antidotes, amputations,—in short, some dreadful and painful operation,—can do good.

In the course of the night of the 10th of October, rockets were thrown up from the tower of St. Stephen to summon the population of the country, and to attract the Hungarians, who were thought to be close at hand. The Academical Legion had arrested several persons, and among them General Réczey, who was considered to be a most dangerous servant of the reactionary party and of the dynasty, but who, nevertheless, met with great kindness and politeness.

The democratic, or rather the republican, club, sent a deputation headed by Häfner, Tausenau, and Frank, to the common council, proposing that the Viennese should attack the Imperial army, in con-

junction with the Hungarian troops, who, with Kossuth, were on the banks of the Leitha, and waited but for a signal, and then they should destroy the Ban of Croatia, or at least put him to flight. The common council sent the deputation to the Diet, and that assembly, in spite of its sympathies for the Magyars, pronounced an equivocal oracle, by which the assistance of the Hungarians was neither asked nor declined.

We cannot but insert the farewell manifesto of his Majesty the Emperor Ferdinand, not only because it is the most important document of those days, but also because it is a balm to the heart of every honest and loyal Austrian :—

“ I have sought to fulfil all the wishes of my people. Whatever kindness and confidence a monarch can show his people I have shown, and by granting a Constitution I have endeavoured to foster the independence, the strength, and the prosperity of the country. Though once forcibly expelled from the palace of my ancestors, I have never tired in giving and granting. A Diet has been

summoned, on the broadest basis of universal suffrage; it was the duty of that Diet to agree with me on the charter of a Constitution. I returned to my capital without any other guarantee than the sentiments of justice and gratitude of my people. But a small number of misled and seduced men threatened to annihilate the hopes of all patriots. Anarchy has run the full length of its tether. Vienna is filled with murder and arson. My Secretary-at-war, whom his age ought to have protected, has suffered death from the hands of a mob of assassins. I rely on God and on my right, and I have left the capital to find means to assist the oppressed people. Whoever loves Austria, whoever loves freedom, let him rally round his Emperor."

The Diet, however, would not admit that Vienna was in a state of anarchy and rebellion. It is true that its late Speaker had taken flight, thereby proving that the capital had left the path of legality, order, and loyalty, by rushing, like a venal courtesan, to Kossuth's arms. Still they

elected M. Smolka to be Speaker of the Diet; and in the next sitting M. Borrosch, who, it is said, might have prevented the assassination of Latour, proposed to present an address to the Emperor, entreating him to convoke a Congress of the nations of the Hungarian tribes for the solution of the difficult question of the future of Hungary.

This motion fell to the ground, like all the motions, discussions, and resolutions of the equivocal minority which had been left in the Diet. Nor would the Hungarians have accepted any advice or order from Austria, which they fancied was annihilated, and whose overthrow they celebrated with loud cheers. In their selfish joy they quite forgot their Vienna friends, who looked for them with longing eyes. The Viennese were indeed assisted by certain democrats from Brünn, Linz, Salzburg, and Gratz; but at length they accused the Hungarians, for whom they had bled and sinned, of the most flagrant ingratitude, and held them responsible for the ills which Vienna was to suffer for her Magyar sympathies. Signs of dis-

tress were day and night displayed from the tower of St. Stephen, and messenger was sent after messenger, at least as long as it was possible to elude the vigilance of the military cordon which surrounded the capital.

We insert one of the pompous proclamations of M. Messénhauser, the commander-in-chief of the Vienna National Guards, because it refers to the Hungarian auxiliaries. It is dated the 16th of October:—

“ The Hungarian army, under the Generals Csanyi and Moga, has crossed the frontier this day. Colonel Ivanka, and Perczel the Bold, commanders of the wings. The battle between the two armies will take place under the walls of Vienna. I am instructed by the Diet immediately to make a camp in the belvedere. All our movable corps were sent there yesterday. This camp will be of imposing strength and worthy of a great capital. Lieutenant-General Bem will command it. His head-quarters are preparing. The troops will be victualled in the camp; they will each have a pint of wine and a reasonable quantity of

tobacco. The various branches of a large corps are organizing ; to wit, the Paymaster's Office, the Intendant's Office, the Hospitals, &c."

It was on that very day that his Majesty the Emperor promoted Prince Windischgrätz to the rank of Field Marshal, and instructed him to reduce the Viennese, and to punish the Hungarians for their treason.

An Imperial manifesto of the 22d of October dissolved the Diet at Vienna, and appointed its meeting at Kremsier towards the end of November.

We presume our readers are acquainted with the proclamations which Prince Windischgrätz addressed to the common council of Vienna, and with the history of the siege of that city. We will, therefore, return to the Hungarians, and to the leading traitors among them.

Before the inner city surrendered to Prince Windischgrätz, although they had promised to do so, the inhabitants were, for a time, misled by a hope of support from Hungary, which only served to increase their disgrace

and wretchedness. The Hungarians, mustering about 20,000 men, crossed their frontiers and advanced to Fischamend. They were lead by Moga, and attended by Kossuth. They were permitted to advance to the ground between Schwechat, Schwadorf, and the Neugebäude; they were received by a pretended attack of cavalry, and it was intended to break their flanks, and to drive them into the Danube. The Ban of Croatia, who conducted this operation, was prevented from executing this plan; but in less than two hours he defeated the enemy, whom he routed, and drove across the Leitha.

Messenhauser, the commander-in-chief of Vienna, and many other persons, watched the fight from the tower of St. Stephen, and since the roar of artillery seemed to approach, it was erroneously believed that the Hungarians had obtained a decisive victory. The commander-in-chief, instigated by Bem and Fenneberg, published a proclamation, announcing the arrival of the Magyars, and of Kossuth their Messiah. Fresh hopes and enthusiasm prevailed throughout the town,

and the weapons which had been laid down were again taken up. Those who refused to arm were forced to do so.

Prince Windischgrätz, too, published a proclamation announcing his victory and the flight of the Hungarians, and accusing the Viennese of their treason and its consequences. But nobody would believe him. The Imperial troops were compared to the Turkish hordes which in 1683 infested Vienna, and it was hoped that Kossuth would be like John Sobieski, who saved the capital.

But the reducers and the reduced were grievously disappointed, when, in the course of the following day, the University was taken by storm. Many of them atoned for their guilt by losing their lives or their liberty. We are painfully affected in stating that many escaped the strong hand of justice, such as Pulszky, Bem, Tausenau, Fenneberg, Schütte, Frank, Buchheim, Falke, Maler, Chaisés, and sundry others.

We ought to add that Kossuth attended the battle of Schwechat in his carriage, and

that on his flight he was in danger of being captured. It was afterwards ascertained that one of the wheels of his carriage broke, but he found means to continue his flight. How much misery might have been prevented if the pursuing warriors had succeeded in capturing the arch-enemy of Austria!

CHAPTER XVI.

THE OPERATIONS AGAINST HUNGARY.

WE commence our history of the operations against Hungary with the following manifesto, which his Majesty addressed on the 7th November, 1848, to the subjects of his Hungarian crown. It is to the following purpose:—

“The impertinent intrigues of Louis Kossuth and of his fellows, who have usurped power in your wretched country, who despise the commands of your King, and who would devote your country to unheard-of miseries, compel me to an armed intervention.

“But first I must address you, whom everybody seeks to mislead and deceive. They tell you my troops are coming to con-

quer your country, to ravish your liberties, and to suppress the Hungarian nationality.

“ Threats are employed to goad you on to resistance, and my name even is abused for that purpose. Those who do so, deceive you—you are even now deceived. Oh, do not listen to the voice of the seducer.

“ The liberation of the robot and of tithes, which, against a moderate indemnification of your late feudal lords, has been granted you by the State, will remain untouched. Your guarantee for this is the law and my royal word. But I will restore tranquillity, for, without it, you cannot enjoy the fruits of my concessions, because an immoderate service in the National Guards and in the Landsturm monopolises your forces and energies.

“ The inhabitants of your country who belong to other nationalities have likewise wished for an extension of their rights. A civil war was impending. Your King did all in his power to avert the danger, but the traitors who wished to seduce you have foiled my endeavours. They have even assassinated

the general whom I sent to save you from the horrors of a civil war.

“Rely on your King, who ever loved and honoured the Hungarian nationality, without detriment to other nations. Join my troops, and support them in the restoration of order. In all other respects remain quiet. Respect the rights and the property of everybody, and give a constant obedience to the legal authorities, and to the commands which I publish for the welfare of your country.

“Those who obey will fulfil their duties to the king and to the country; but those who resist are traitors, and will be treated as such.”

On the ground of this manifesto Prince Windischgrätz published a proclamation to the inhabitants of Hungary and Transylvania, in which he summoned them to break the despotism of treacherous rebels, and to return to the duty and loyalty which they owed to their legitimate king and lord. But neither this nor any of the later proclamations were allowed to enter the revolutionary country, for Kossuth knew how to lock it up, as

well as he knew how to fanaticise and terrorise it.

After the disgraceful defeat at Schwechat Kossuth hastened to Pressburg, where he most cunningly pretended that his failure was owing solely to the cowardice of the Viennese ; for that the Imperial troops would certainly have been beaten if, according to agreement and to signals, the Viennese had ventured to make a bold sortie. He added that the conquered city was now groaning under the iron rule of despotism ; that hundreds were being executed ; thousands imprisoned and exiled : but that the cowards deserved their fate, since they did not dare to fight for a better.

Thus did the overbearing and ungrateful man sneer at his wretched friends, while he was the promoter of all the mischief which had brought so much disgrace and misery down upon Vienna.

On this occasion he fortified Pressburg in the same manner as, in 1809, it had been fortified against the armies of the French ; and when he quitted the city for the fortress of

Komorn he addressed the inhabitants, entreating them to hold out to the last, and to prove themselves worthy of the confidence and respect of the kingdom. He left Csanyi in command of the place.

After the conquest of Vienna it was generally supposed that Prince Windischgrätz would immediately lead his army of 100,000 men into Hungary, in order to prevent the insurgents from concentrating their forces. This was not the case. The opening of this campaign was preceded by some very important events, to wit, by a change in the cabinet on the 22d of November, by the opening of the Diet at Kremsier, and by the advent of Francis Joseph to the throne of Austria.

This latter circumstance supplied Kossuth and the enemies of the dynasty with an opportunity to pour the phial of their malice on the weak heads of a credulous multitude. The resignation of his Majesty Ferdinand in favour of his nephew was represented as a trick of the court party; and the diabolical lie was inculcated that the kind-

hearted Ferdinand had been forcibly compelled to abdicate, and that the crown had been placed on the head of a child for the purpose of having an arbitrary, absolute, and despotic government, of revoking all concessions, and of punishing, conquering, and tyrannizing Hungary. It was said that Ferdinand was a prisoner at Olmütz; and that he would perish like a criminal in gaol, unless the Hungarians liberated him, and restored him to the throne. It was also said that neither obedience nor loyalty were due to the young Emperor, since the Hungarian constitution did not acknowledge him as King of Hungary; and that to conquer the Austrian troops was to defend justice and order—that it was a glorious and sacred duty to humanity.

These and similar phrases and expressions, which decency and patriotism forbid us to record, were spread by Kossuth and his party, who thus confused the minds of the people, and caused a pestilence which spread over the whole country. The six weeks of delay which occurred between the

subjection of the capital to the first attack upon Hungary strengthened the ardour of rebellion, and prepared a gigantic contest, which alone availed to eradicate the upas tree by the roots.

On the 18th of December, Pressburg was taken without resistance. The insurgents retreated with great haste and cowardice, but they burned the bridge of boats and sundry pontoons.

General Simunich meanwhile carried on his operations on the bank of the Waag. He defeated the superior forces of the enemy at Tyrnau, while General Schlick proceeded to the north of the Carpathians, by way of Dukla and Barthfeld, towards Eperies and Kaschau, where he was opposed by 30,000 men under Meszaros, who could not, however, prevent him from occupying the capital of Upper Hungary.

On the 22d of December the head-quarters of Prince Windischgrätz were at Karlsburg, and on the following day the Ban of Croatia entered St. Miklos, Görgey not being able to offer any successful opposition

to his doing so. Raab was strongly fortified, and a decisive battle was expected to take place in front of that city; but Görgey retreated to Buda, and the Ban of Croatia occupied Raab on the 27th of December.

On the following day General Ottinger met and defeated the insurgents at Babolna. A still more bloody combat was fought by the Ban at Moor, on the 30th of December. He defeated 12,000 rebels under Perczel. The field of battle was covered with the dead, the wounded, and the dying. The remainder of the rebel corps retreated to Stuhlweiszenburgh, and endeavoured to effect a junction with Görgey's troops.

On the same day the second corps, after some battles in the Island of Schütt, advanced in order of battle against Komorn, and summoned the commander to an unconditional surrender. This man, Maithenyi, replied that he and his garrison stood upon their right; that Ferdinand the Fifth alone was their king; and that they would defend the fortress in his name. The brigade of General Lederer was consequently left to

blockade this maiden fortress, whose construction for many years cost about ten millions of florins. The commander of the blockading force was General Ramberg; while the brigades of Colloredo, Jablonsky, and Wysz, advanced against Buda; and while General Simunich besieged the little fortress of Leopoldstadt.

Field-marshal Lieutenant the Count Schlick had meanwhile advanced as far as Miskolz. On the 24th of January, 1849, the three Imperialist corps took a position in front of Buda. The first corps was at Tetenyi and Promontor, the second at Buda-Oers, and the third in Bia and the surrounding country. The field-marshal's headquarters were at Bia, fifteen miles distant from Buda.

On the previous day, when the headquarters were at Bicze, a deputation arrived from Buda. The field-marshal would not listen to them; he insisted on unconditional surrender. On the 4th another deputation came to Bia, consisting of Louis Batthyany, Bishop Lonovits, the Count Mailath, and

M. Deak, but since they proposed conditions respecting the surrender of the city their proposals were at once declined.

The Imperial troops under Col. Mayerhofer had meanwhile obtained a brilliant victory over the insurgents at Pancsowa. General Kisz, the insurgent leader, escaped with six horsemen only. General Götze, after taking Sillein, in the valley of Waag, continued his march against the cities of Kremnitz and Schemnitz, driving the enemy in wild flight before him. Some rebels wished to surprise Eperies, but Major Kiesewetter pursued them to Kapoczan.

It was thought that a murderous battle would be fought in the vicinity of Buda, and the news from that city was received with the greatest interest. But it appears that Görgey, aware that the Hungarian capital, with the mountains near it, could not be held against an army which was provided with a large quantity of battering guns, avoided staking the fortunes of the war on a single cast, especially since discouragement

ment prevailed, both among his troops and the inhabitants of Buda-Pesth.

It was afterwards ascertained that his reluctance to fight brought him in violent opposition to Kossuth, who insisted on defeating the Austrian army, and on keeping up his dictatorship at Pesth. The passionate agitator strained every nerve to force his general to battle, and Görgey's obstinate refusal induced him at last to offer to take the command of the army himself, in order to drive the Croatian "robber chief" (for it was thus he called the Ban of Croatia) from the soil of Hungary. After long and violent debates, and oppressed by his own incapability, he yielded at length to necessity. But before leaving Buda-Pesth, on the night of the 4th of January, he acted himself the part of a robber chief on a large scale. He carried away all movables and valuables, nor did his hand shrink from holy things. He took the insignia of the empire and of St. Stephen, the crown and the sceptre, and the sword, and other things;

he took his bank-note press and a large sum from the exchequer, church property, and even collections of coins which he had forced from the owners, and sent them to Debreczin; thus substituting in an unparalleled manner the despotism of selfishness for the name of liberty, which he delighted in quoting.

We ought also to allude to another impertinence, which he committed previous to his departure. He sent bulletins and letters in all directions, describing the victories and advantages which the Magyars had obtained in various places. He declared that his departure from Pesth was a stratagetic necessity, which would lead to fresh and decisive victories; he adverted to the sympathies of England, Germany, France, and Turkey, who would assist him in crushing Austria; boasted of his diplomatic relations with Charles Albert of Sardinia, with Manin in Venice, and with Mazzini in Rome; and entreated all the inhabitants of Hungary to assist him in advancing the glorious day of liberty and independence,

and either to rally round his standard, or to offer their properties on the sacred altar of their country. He promised also that he would soon return to Pesth, and make the Hungarian nation the most glorious, because victorious; and the most blessed, because free and independent.

It is quite incomprehensible how people could put any faith in such promises, and how they could trust a man who seemed to be the harbinger of ruin to their country.

But we must return to our report of the events of the war.

Prince Windischgrätz, after occupying Buda-Pesth on the 5th of January, made all necessary preparations for his further operations, and intended to occupy Waizen and Szolnok.

On the 4th of January General Schlick gained an important victory over Meszaros at Barcza, to the south of Kaschau. The so-called Polish legion made a desperate resistance, but was at length driven back by the Parma grenadiers.

In the south of Hungary, especially in

the Banat, the insurgents concentrated their most considerable force of 40,000 men, who were successively commanded by Casimir Batthyany, Vetter, and Mariassy. The fortresses of Peterwardein and Essegg had fallen a prey to the activity of Kossuth's agents and to the treason of their commanders, and the rebels sought to conquer likewise the fortresses of Arad and Temesvar; but they were foiled by the firmness of the gallant generals, Rukavina and Perger.

Affairs in Transylvania were in a much more melancholy state, for the Polish general, Bem, whose acquaintance we made in Vienna, excited and terrorised that country in such a manner that General Puchner, with his small force of 10,000 men, could not oppose any effectual resistance to him. The following report is given by a writer whose statements may be relied on:—"The rebel chief Bem, the well-known champion of revolutions, who certainly possesses knowledge of tactics, talents of organisation, and great energy, but who has no character whatever, has quickly collected an army of

from 30,000 to 40,000 men (and among them the furious Vienna Legion), whom he plentifully supplied with artillery and martial stores ; so that the commanding general was driven into the south, while the unwearied attempts of brave Colonel Urban in the north of Transylvania succeeded in dividing and weakening the power of the enemy. No pen can express the sufferings of the poor Saxons, who were left at the mercy of the furious settlers and Hungarians.”

The greatest grievance of the Imperialist generals was the circumstance that, even for large sums of money, they could not, on any account, obtain trusty spies ; that they were surrounded by deceit, ambush, and treason ; while, by day and by night, the insurgents received information with incredible rapidity and certainty, from the most distant points. Women, children, and old men, served them in the cities and in the villages, and revived the revolution when it was on the point of being crushed. It ought also to be added that the Jews, whose leanings

towards a republican government are notorious, gave them material assistance.

These circumstances explain how it happened that the armies of the rebels seemed to grow up, like mushrooms, in the course of a single night ; and how, when half defeated, they soon afterwards took the field with superior numbers, and appeared in the direction where they were least expected. Thus, for instance, Görgey, after the battle of Schemnitz (21st January), appeared in the county of Gömör as if he had ridden on the wings of lightning. He knew all the movements of General Schlick at Tokaj, and took his measures accordingly, for joining Dembinsky and retaking Eperies and Kaschau ; in which he succeeded, thereby bringing General Schlick into a most dangerous position at Keresztur, and compelling him to resign his conquests, and to retreat towards the main branch of the army.

A bloody battle was fought on the 26th of February at Kapolna, where Görgey and Dembinsky, with 60,000 men and 150 guns, were defeated on all points, and, in spite of

their superior forces, compelled to make a retreat. On the following day the field-marshal advanced with the whole length of his line, and on the 28th he took up his headquarters at Maklar, while the armies of the enemy fell back upon the Theisz, which formed a most important point in their plan of operations.

The following is from a military pen:—
“The battle of Kapolna, however murderous and decisive, gained us no lasting advantages. The field-marshal, who returned to Buda, became convinced that the enemy was much stronger than he expected to find them, and that the great extension and division of our lines, according to his plan of operations, compelled us to desist from offensive warfare, unless we were considerably reinforced from Austria.”

We understand that the Imperial War Office resolved, at the very beginning of the Hungarian campaign, to concentrate a reserve corps of from 30,000 to 40,000 men at Vienna. That resolution would have been most serviceable if it had been exe-

cuted; but since this was not done even in the month of May, the consequences of this delay were found to be lamentable and grievous.

We have no reason to conceal the fact that, in February and in March, the fortune of war was against the Imperial troops; for although they succeeded, now and then, in defeating the enemy—in occupying the small fortress of Leopoldstadt (on the 3rd of February)—in blockading and molesting Komorn and Peterwardein—and, on the 13th of February, in conquering the important fortress of Essegg,—still, on the whole, the turn of affairs in Hungary and Transylvania was unfavourable, and suggestive of the most serious anxieties. General Puchner, the commander in Hermannstadt, when hard pressed on all sides, obtained the aid of 10,000 Russian auxiliaries; but even with them he could not, for any length of time, resist the forces of Bem. He was compelled to retreat into Wallachia.

“The source of the evil,” (we quote from the same military pen,) “was behind the

Theisz. It was there that large stores were collected, that the pressed recruits and insane mobs were drilled and prepared for the field; it was there that spies were brought up to their calling; that was the meeting-place of all the friends of anarchy and revolution in Europe; and it was behind the Theisz that the most powerful and mighty means of war were created. Money was made to any extent, and this money was greedily accepted on the other banks of the Theisz and on the Danube."

Goethe says truly, that a man cannot do much in this world unless he has a bit of the devil in him. Now what an enormously large piece of the devil there must be in Kossuth! It has indeed been proved that his Christian name, L V D O V I C V S, contains the well-known apocalyptic figure 666, which the Bible points out as the number of the prince of all evil—that is to say, of Antichrist.

CHAPTER XVII.

KOSSUTH IN DEBRECZIN.

WE are not exactly informed how many of his friends followed the fugitive agitator from Pesth to Debreczin, and constituted his Rump Parliament. He went by steam to Szolnok, and with a barbarous lust of destruction and malice, he broke up the railroad in such a manner that it took a long time to repair it.

On arriving in the root-and-branch Magyar city of Debreczin, which is also called the Queen of the Heath, he published the following proclamation, of which we give a faithful copy :—

*“ In the name of the sovereign people,
to the inhabitants of Debreczin !*

“ According to a resolution of the Diet, the legislature and the government of the

country has been removed to Debreczin. It is from hence that Hungary will be saved, and our national liberties secured. Our pledge for this is the eternal justice of the living God, who can never allow that deceit, crime, and breach of faith, unequalled in history, should overcome the just cause of Hungary. Our pledges for this are our gallant troops, who are by no means blind instruments of arbitrary power, but firm pillars of liberty—our troops, which hurl the lightning of patriotism against the venal hirelings of tyranny. Our pledge, too, is the great Magyar nation, which by thousands and thousands stand up in the flanks and rear of the enemy to prevent that enemy from taking another inch of the soil on which he stands at this moment. But our especial pledge is the pure-hearted and natural people on the Theisz—a people on whose undaunted and mighty heart the arrows of tyranny have always been broken like straws—a people, I say, whose heroism has been signal in all dangers to liberty,

who have been foremost in the ranks in all sacred combats for liberty, and who have never sheathed their swords until the country was safe.

“ With these eyes of mine I saw thee, on my journey to Debreczin—thee, my manly people on the blessed plains of Kumania, who have never suffered the chain of the slave. In your eyes I saw the scorching lightnings of just indignation; from the mouth of thousands I heard the thunders of that threat, boding death and destruction to the enemy of the country. I heard your sacred word, that you would never suffer the yoke of the foreigner to press down the free soil of Kumania. I saw you, heroic Haiduks, your breasts filled with glorious reminiscences. I say you, whose fathers held the standard of Bocskay—you who have bought liberty with your blood—you who may boast that the blood you shed has been fruitful, that it has given the blessings of religion and political liberty to the whole of the country. Again you are called upon to defend that liberty for which your fathers fought; again you are called upon

to contend with the victims of slavery, and as long as one of you lives never to suffer the country of Hungary to fall a prey to the foreigner and the tyrant. Our victory is assured by the blameless ancient Magyar nature of these lower countries, by your Magyar capital, the glorious Debreczin, which God has chosen wherein to build a temple for the freedom of the Magyar nation.

“Debreczin! thou art that rock on which God will build the temple of Magyar liberty, against which the powers of hell shall vainly spend their fury.

“Inhabitants of Debreczin! fellow-citizens! The parliament and the government of the country come trustingly to your hospitable Magyar hearth. They come to you with firm conviction that among you they will breathe the air of patriotism and enthusiasm; that in you they will find a truly Magyar character, which knows neither treason, nor craven fear, nor riots and anarchy. They come to you with that sacred confidence that, if need be, the volun-

teers of Debreczin will raise the banner, whose fluttering will assemble the people of the Theisz by thousands and thousands ; that, like a ravine thundering down from the mountain, you will fall and crush the enemy, so as not to leave one single man to go and tell the head of the traitors in what place the Magyar people of the Theisz have buried the armies of hirelings who dared to hope to enslave our beloved country.

“ People of Debreczin ! In the name of the nation I proclaim your city as the ark of Magyar liberty, and I place the parliament and the government on the unshaken rock of your loyalty.

“ LOUIS KOSSUTH.

“ *Debreczin, the 6th of January, 1849.*”

It requires a most uneducated people to enable a man thus boldly to play off the juggler and comedian. Some there were, indeed, who saw through the fraudulent and dangerous game, but very few were courageous enough to stand by their cause

and to be ill-treated and murdered in return. All the well-meaning among the population took to flight or to dissembling.

The rump which had followed Kossuth, and which sat in the Protestant Church at Debreczin, desecrated God's house by its criminal resolutions and aspersions against the dynasty; but there was little spontaneous power in them, because in all important debates Kossuth carried his own selfish will by sophisms, intrigues, lies, bribery, and intimidation. Madarasz only, and Görgey, the favourite of the army, ventured at times to oppose his extravagant measures and universal intrigues; but there was in those days no party strong enough to form a persevering opposition and to curb Kossuth's gigantic powers.

He was never at a loss in the choice of his means, so that they served his purpose; and this reckless indifference increased with his conviction that in his position he must do without a conscience, and that his motto ought to be that of Ovid,—

“Flectere si nequeo Superos, Acheronta movebo.”

The man who stole the insignia of the emperor,—who took the property of the state,—who plundered the property of the church and of private persons,—who confiscated the properties of persons executed,—who exiled or incarcerated the friends of the dynasty for the purpose of taking their fortunes,—who knew how to make his advantage out of everything,—such a man was not likely to stop in his career when his power was equal to his wicked inclinations.

Not only was he the protector of all vagrants and adventurers, but he liberated the inmates of prisons and houses of correction. He placed the famous robber chief, Rosza Sandor, with his band of miscreants, under his standard; he made the most of the sympathies which his agents excited in foreign parts, and he had the pleasure to see that the dregs of the German, French, Italian, and Polish population hastened to join his forces. He imposed contributions, by which thousands of families were beggared; he suffered the most cruel executions to take place, and the poor or refractory, especially in the

German and Sclavonian districts, were pressed to their last penny. He robbed the churches of their bells and converted them into guns. He received weapons, ammunition, uniforms, and colonial produce from Germany and Belgium, but principally from England, because those island shopkeepers made the most of the continental insurrections; and in the case of the Hungarians, they gave them the most canting support, so long as it seemed that they would obtain the victory.

The millions of money which Kossuth thus cast in the greedy maw of foreign countries, and the millions which he egotistically deposited in the Bank of England for his own use, are beyond all human computation. That unconscientious man never considered that every florin he obtained was taken from the country which he pretended to make happy, and which his agency had caused to bleed from a million of wounds, each of which, if God had given it a tongue, would have covered him with curses and imprecations.

But oh! confusion of intellect! Oh! fatal delusion! Oh! incalculable folly! At

the very time that he was guilty of the worst crimes, when his treason and his wickedness were most flagrant, he was enthusiastically cheered, and his ambition, his appetite for glory and command, were increased at an astonishing ratio. He was an usurper; he was an impatient, and consequently an unsuccessful, imitator of Washington, whose giant bulk made Kossuth's talents and character appear of dwarfish dimensions. He followed in the footsteps of Oliver Cromwell, or even of Napoleon; he wished to raise his family to the Hungarian throne, and the Hungarian republic was to him but the means to an end.

His haughty wife urged him on in his wild career, while she assisted him with all her powers and all her passions. As in Pesth so in Debreczin, she lived in a splendid and princely style as far as her means would allow, and she had some very indiscreet dreams concerning the crown which was to cover her head at the side of King Louis I. We happened to talk to a respectable lady who frequently, though invo-

luntarily, attended the splendid conversazioni of the fair Kossuth, and the details she gave us confirm every one of the above statements.

For the purpose of making this court in a corner appear less desolate and solitary, and of deceiving the credulous Magyars, he hired several foreigners, teachers of languages, whom he provided with the necessary funds, and who made their appearance as envoys and consuls of foreign powers. They pretended they came from London, Paris, Frankfort, Turin, and Constantinople, and they were supposed to have presented their credentials and to represent and protect the rights and the honour of their various nations.

Besides the bank-note press, his favourite instrument, Kossuth had a state printing-press, which printed the parliamentary debates, resolutions, and decrees, and an official newspaper, of which he was the chief editor. Those who know his boastfulness can understand how strongly he was eulogised by these means, especially since the liberator

watched the productions of his press with a more jealous care than the severest "*censur*" under Sedlnitzky's despotism.

Even superstition was made subservient to his use by his paid flatterers, and it was said that Holy Mary, the patroness of the kingdom, had appeared to a poor peasant woman, by coming forth from the hollow trunk of a tree, and that she had said the people of the village and all the Hungarians ought to place unlimited confidence in Louis Kossuth, for that the Lord had sent him as an apostle of liberty and happiness, and that the Lord was delighted with him.

This anecdote was generally told and believed, and a bad poet wrote a disgusting poem, in which Kossuth was deified, and in which his mother was greeted as a second Mary who had borne the new Saviour of mankind.

There is no end of the nonsensical anecdotes which were invented in praise of the man, who was neither more nor less than a deceitful will-o'-the-wisp which leads its followers into the sloughs and bogs of despond.

His liberty was anarchy, and what he called happiness in this political and moral anarchy was the rude sensuality of a cynic and a sybarite. Of course, the number of his pupils was legion, for the bait of such a doctrine was too seductive for human weaknesses and necessities. Many Imperial soldiers, who for a long time languished in captivity at Debreczin, have been heard unanimously to declare that it required loyalty and strength of character in the highest degree to escape from this giddy whirlpool of seduction. It is well known that even foreigners in Hungary could not resist the dazzling prospect which was held out to them. It was by far too agreeable and pleasant, so to say, by steam to travel up the ladder, and to be made a captain, a major, or even a general, and to live in ease and splendour from day to day. Those who obstinately resisted were not only sneered at and abused with the words "Cursed Austrian slave!" but they were even martyred through all the degrees of torture, and often exposed to the cruelty of the rudest herdsmen.

We have it in our power to give the most disgusting examples of such treatment, which remind one of the scenes of horror in the religious wars, where indeed people were fanaticised and so much like men delirious and insane, that they were scarcely aware of what they did.

It is said, that when Kossuth was informed that a Hue and Cry had been issued after him and his friends, his colour changed alternately from the paleness of death to red. and that he said, "I know it. My friends have written from Vienna. It is a mere speculation of the bankers, and my name is made use of for the purpose of gain ; for since there is no government at Vienna, and the losses of the so-called Imperial army have brought the national bank to bankruptcy, people are inventing the most cunning and ridiculous tricks to cheat one another." On this occasion he showed letters and documents, which he pretended to have received from various parts of the world, and from which it appeared that France was preparing to make war against Austria — that England declined to

consent to the succession of Francis Joseph—that Turkey had offered auxiliaries to Hungary—that another insurrection had broken out at Milan—that Radetzky, the assassin of liberty, had fallen in battle—that an insurrection had broken out in Galicia—and that Windischgrätz was compelled to reinforce General Hammerstein in that province with 20,000 men, for the purpose of retaining, wherever possible, a portion of the kingdom, since Hungary was lost to the Austrians, and was destined to be the grave of the whole of the Imperial rebel army. The above statements show the diabolical cunning with which the grand agitator wove the net of deceit and seduction, as a snare to the unwary and a decoy to selfish adventurers; and we consider it but natural that with such means he managed to organise a truly imposing power. He would be worthy of admiration were it not that he is criminal and contemptible in a high degree, for the mischief which he wrought and the disgraceful means which he employed will not suffer future poets to select him as a hero, as the mover of im-

portant events, the honourable champion of a just cause, and the victim of a grand idea. Poesy disowns him and history condemns him.

But if we are to believe some of the Pesth papers, it appears that Kossuth at times met with determined opposition, and that three parties were then forming in the revolutionary parliament at Debreczin. The first of these parties, says one of the said papers, is the large Kossuth party; but with all their ability they cannot conceal that they are confused with inward fear and despair, for they know of no means of salvation, not even in the extremes of treason and crime. They would make people believe that they are fighting for Ferdinand V. and they pretend to hasten to Prague to liberate the captive Emperor, and to take him to Buda to his faithful Magyars.

Nyary's party fancy that they stand on legal ground. They recognise Francis Joseph as their legitimate king, and are ready to do him homage, but still they delay it for fear of quarrelling with the other party, on whom they depend.

The party of Madarasz is most disgusting. Woe to the man who falls into the hands of these miscreants and executioners! They would be nothing else but Robespierres and Dantons. They doat on a republic and on the guillotine, without considering that they themselves would be the first victims of the guillotine. It appears from the Hue and Cry that the appearance of Madarasz bears a striking similarity to that of a king of the gipsies. He is small and thin. His face is thin, brown, and bearded. His eyes are black and piercing, and his hair black and frowsy. In fact, he is the ugly ideal of a demagogue.

After all, the man who looks at these so-called Magyar heroes by daylight is likely to be as much disappointed as the novice who leaves his seat in the boxes for the space behind the *coulisses*, and feels disgusted with the actresses whom he admired at a distance.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE HUNGARIAN REPUBLIC.

WHEN the perfidious King of Sardinia denounced the armistice on the 12th of March, and when, eight days afterwards, he had to meet the heroic marshal on the Ticino, he evidently relied on the promise of Venice and of the Lombard cities, that they would rise in the rear of Radetzky. He had also cause to flatter himself that friend Kossuth, whose star was then at its brightest, would lead his armies not only against Pesth, but that he would drive the Austrian army from his country and join Charles Albert in dictating the conditions of peace at Vienna.

The unequalled campaign, the war of ninety-six hours, with the battles of Mortara and Novara, gave a different turn to things

from what Charles Albert expected and Kossuth hoped. The loyalty and bravery of her sons avenged the cause of Austria and Italy, and Charles Albert was struck down with one blow. We need scarcely say that the greatest anxiety was caused in Debreczin by the defeat of the Italian allies. Almost simultaneously news was received that his Majesty the Emperor Francis Joseph had granted a Constitution to all his countries, and that in that Constitution Hungary was spoken of and treated as a crownland, — as a mere province and integral part of Austria, such as Bohemia, Galicia, or Tyrol. This was too much for the sons of Arpad; they felt degraded, disgraced, and enslaved. It is true they themselves had broken the Pragmatic Sanction, and crushed all historical right; but this was not considered. They were far from entertaining a humble sentiment of their guilt, and their pride and rage considered nothing but the means to widen the gulf between Hungary and Austria, and to remove even the possibility of a reconciliation. So does a

gambler stake his fortune and the existence of his family on one single desperate cast.

There were other reasons for this most criminal of all resolutions and measures. The Frankfort Parliament offered the hereditary imperial crown of Germany to Prussia, and thus aimed a blow at Austria, which was meant to shake and even to ruin our country.

But Prince Schwarzenberg and his friends found means to avert this lightning from the throne of Habsburg—thanks to their diplomatic relations with Bavaria, Würtemberg, and Hanover; and thanks, too, to our splendid victories in Italy, which filled the world with astonishment and the enemies of Austria with fear. These victories enabled the Austrian cabinet to transfer part of their forces from Italy to the Lower Danube, but before the conclusion of the peace with Sardinia it was impossible to send so many troops as the bad state of affairs in Hungary required. Nor did the revolutionary temper of the times and the sympathies for Hungary, which were owing to Kossuth's agents, admit

of our lessening the garrisons of the other crownlands, especially since Austria had to guard against the intrigues of the smaller German states.

A great deal was, indeed, gained by a change in the command of the Hungarian army, which Baron Welden took in the place of Prince Windischgrätz; but this measure did not serve to recruit our weakened forces, who were everywhere opposed by superior powers and by the most disgraceful treason, which, serpent-like, penetrated to the very head-quarters of the Field-marshal in Buda.

By this state of affairs, Austria was placed under the disagreeable necessity of appealing to the assistance of her friend, neighbour, and ally, Russia; and the generous Czar promised his help the more readily, since the suppression of a revolution, which in part was but a repetition of the Polish rebellion, coincided with his own political interests.

The negotiations between the cabinets of Vienna and St. Petersburg took place at the end of March and the commencement of

April, and as Kossuth had his spies and informers everywhere, he was soon acquainted with the measures which were taken against Hungary. We will, therefore, not advert to the confused events on the scene of war; but, as a reply and a countermine to the negotiations of the said two great powers, we mention the important result of the sitting of the Hungarian Parliament at Debreczin, on the 14th of April, 1849, which the *Pesth Gazette*, of the 27th of April, published in the following terms:—

“ The 14th of April, of the year 1849, will be ever memorable in the annals of Hungary. The representatives of the people assembled to debate on a most important question, and to sit in judgment on the fate of Hungary and of the House of Habsburg-Lorraine. And since it was desirable that the resolutions about to be taken should be taken with the greatest possible amount of publicity and solemnity, the sitting was held in the great Reformed Church, in the presence of many thousands.

“The President of the Committee of Defence having read his report of the late battles, and of the victorious advance of our gallant army, said the time had come for Hungary, shaking off the fetters she had borne these 300 years, to take her proper place among the European states, and to clear her accounts with the family which most frivolously, though for all times to come, had forfeited the love and the fidelity of this true and loyal nation by their frequent perjuries and groundless treason. This resolution of the Parliament is required by the people, which readily, faithfully, and patriotically bears the burthen of our war of liberation ; it is required by our gallant warriors, who sacrifice their lives to the salvation of our country ; it is required by the circumstances of the time, for the next European Congress ought not without our advice to decide on our fate : in one word, this resolution is required by the country, by the world, and by God. After this preamble, the Speaker of the House moved the following resolutions :—

“ ‘ 1st. Hungary, with Transylvania, as legally united with it and its dependencies, are by and in virtue of these presents declared to constitute a free, independent, sovereign state: the territorial unity of this state is declared to be inviolable, and its territory to be indivisible.

“ ‘ 2d. The house of Habsburg-Lorraine having, by its treachery, perjury, and levying of war against the Hungarian nation, as well as by its violation of all compacts, in attacking the integral territory of the kingdom, in the separation of Transylvania, Croatia, Slavonia, Fiume, and sundry other districts, from Hungary; further, by compassing the destruction of the independence of the country by arms, and by calling in the army of a foreign power for the purpose of annihilating its nationality: thereby violating both the Pragmatic Sanction and certain other treaties concluded between Austria and Hungary, on which the alliance between the two countries depended—is, as treacherous and perjured, for ever excluded from the throne of the united states of Hun-

gary and Transylvania, and all their possessions and dependencies, and is hereby deprived of the style and title, as well as of the armorial bearings, belonging to the crown of Hungary, and declared to be banished for ever from the united countries and their dependencies and possessions. The said house of Habsburg-Lorraine is, therefore, declared to be deposed, degraded, and banished for ever from the Hungarian territory.

“ ‘3d. Whereas the Hungarian nation, in the exercise of its rights and sovereign will, is determined to take the position of a free and independent state amongst the nations of Europe, the said nation intends to establish and maintain friendly and neighbourly relations with those states with which it was formerly united under the same sovereign, as well as to contract alliances with other nations.

“ ‘4th. The form of government to be adopted for the future will be determined by the Parliament of the nation.’

“ The representatives of the people

unanimously adopted the motion of Louis Kossuth, the President of the Government, and the resolutions were received with boundless enthusiasm by the thousands of the people present, who wept with joy; and there can be no doubt but that Europe and the world will be glad to learn that the memorable resolutions of this day are a revelation of the will of that God whose wisdom guides the destinies of men and of nations. This thundering acclamation of millions is the first cry of our national insurrection; it is the dirge of the banished and perjured reigning family.

“Respecting the fourth clause of the motion of Louis Kossuth, the House declared that they relied on the patriotism of the President of the Government, Louis Kossuth; that they appointed him to be reigning President, and that they instructed him to form a responsible cabinet. The proclamation of the principles contained in the above resolutions was confided to Louis Kossuth, Emerenz Szacs vay, and Stephen Gorove.

*Preliminary Report on the sitting of the
Upper House on the 14th of April.*

“Baron Sigmund Pérényi, the Speaker of the Upper House, thought it his duty to bring the resolutions of the Lower House to the knowledge of the magnates, and for this purpose he deposited copies of the motions and resolutions on the table of the House. The magnates, following the example of the representatives of the people, accepted those resolutions unanimously and without a debate, and promised to assist him in founding the independence of Hungary, and banishing a perjured dynasty. The Upper House resolved, further, that the committee who are instructed with the publication of the manifesto of independence are to be assisted by two of their members, namely, by Michael Horváth, bishop of Csanad, and Anthony Hunkár, the lord-lieutenant of Vesprim. The appointment of Louis Kossuth to the post of Governor and President was received with general satisfaction.”

This is the report in the *Pesth Gazette*, which contained news equally interesting and surprising. Thus the republic, as a crippled Minerva in a most fashionable dress, jumped forth from the giddy head of our Jupiter Kossuth. This reminds us of an anecdote which Kossuth told one of his friends, as an example of the many errors into which he was led by his want of knowledge, and by his exuberant fancy.

“While I used the waters at Parad,” he said, “I took a walk with a friend up a valley until we came to some glass-works, where we stopped for some time and talked with the manager. He told us that he was compelled to fetch his pebbles from a distance, because he had used all those which were in the vicinity, and that he wished somebody would invent portable glass-works, which a man might transport after the stones. When we left him we continued our walk up the valley to a spot where we found a large quantity of stones. ‘Pebbles, by Jove!’ said I, for I was happy to find what an evil demon seemed to have concealed from the

manufacturer. 'Let us fill our pocket-handkerchiefs with them,' said I to my friend, who knew as little of mineralogy as I did. We took a good load and carried it to the glass-works, to make an agreeable surprise to our industrious friend. But when he saw the stones we had, he turned up his nose and said, 'Nonsense, gentlemen! you laugh at me. I can't do anything with these stones, for they are not pebbles.'

"I and my friend were very much abashed; and I am sorry to say we lost our tempers, and so went home."

Sandstones and limestones will not do for glass-works, and the republican constitution which Kossuth's superficial knowledge of the world and of the life of nations would have forced upon his country, was equally unfitting for the purpose of the Hungarians. It has been justly and well said, that the Hungarian Parliament aimed a death-blow at their own cause. The resolution of the 14th of April was more advantageous for Austria than a series of victories. It paved the way for future vic-

tories, while it weakened, divided, and undermined the cause of the Magyars. After this deed of violence it was clear that the Hungarian revolution must be at war with all the lands connected with the Hungarian crown, and especially with Transylvania, Croatia, and Slavonia, and that Magyarism was now proceeding to conquer, to subject, and to enslave these neighbouring countries. This turn of the question was likely to awaken the apprehensions even of the most furious root-and-branch Magyars.

Kossuth is a man of extravagancies and hyperboles; his fancy outran his discretion, and his passion forced him from one extreme to another. His was an unbounded vindictiveness, and he fancied he could increase the distance between Austria and Hungary by proclaiming that the latter country was a free and independent state. In the meantime his personal interests and the ambition of his wife were satisfied, at least for the moment. He was governor and president of a large and wealthy country; he was the leader of a numerous and mighty people,

and a man who rises so high has his own fate in his hands, if fortune favour him and his enemies stand aloof.

We select one example from many to show how hasty was his judgment, and how unjust his hatred towards Austria. Many years ago he proved, either superficially or deceitfully and maliciously, and he made people believe, that the gold and silver mines of Hungary and Transylvania yielded annually about seven hundred millions of florins more than were stated in the statistical accounts ; but when he came to be Minister of Finance he was compelled to declare that, after looking into and examining the accounts, he must revoke his former accusations, and say that the income was not higher than the quotations in the Austrian budgets.

In conclusion we would draw the attention of our readers to the time at which the Hungarian Republic was proclaimed, and to the circumstance that the mania of free states was then spreading over the Continent ; to the connexion between the democratic

conspirators, who relied on support from one another, and to the activity and cunning with which they rallied their forces either to attack and overthrow the thrones of Europe, or to undermine them and prepare their downfall. Rome, Tuscany, and Venice, were still republics, and Sardinia was fraught with democratic elements. It was the time of the insurrections in Baden and the Palatinate; Frederick Hecker was recalled from America to assist Struve and his friends in creating a German Republic. One half of Poland poured into Hungary to increase Kossuth's forces, in such a manner that the remains of the Austrian army were no longer able to make head against numbers which five times exceeded their own.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE RUSSIAN INTERVENTION.

THE *Vienna Gazette* published on the 1st of May the following Imperial manifesto :—

“ The insurrection in Hungary has within the last months grown to such an extent, and its present aspect exhibits so unmistakeably the character of a union of all the forces of the revolutionary party in Europe, that all states are equally interested in assisting the Imperial (*i. e.* Austrian) Government in its contest against the spreading dissolution of all social order. Acting on these important reasons, his Majesty the Emperor’s Government has been induced to appeal to the assistance of his Majesty the Czar of all the Russias, who generously and readily granted it to a most

satisfactory extent. The measures which have been agreed on by the two sovereigns are now in course of execution.”

It would not, perhaps, be wrong to call the late movements a general transmigration of souls, in contradistinction to the old migration of nations ; and this term reveals the contrast of body and soul, of rude strength and mental cultivation, as well as illustrates the inverse proportion of their directions. In the fifth century the movement commenced on the banks of the Theisz, and terminated at Rome. In modern times it commenced at Rome and terminated on the Theisz. Attila and his Huns went westwards to Gallia, and southwards over the Alps, and his savage force was broken against the walls of the Holy City by the perseverance of Pope Leo III. The present movement took almost the same way back ; it commenced with Pius IX., it proceeded to Sardinia and Tuscany, it overthrew the French throne, it infected Germany and Upper Italy, and was at length lost in the very sand in which the bones of Attila

rest—in the marsh-lands of the Theisz—among Kossuth's hordes, who were composed of the sweepings of all Europe. It seems there are phenomena in the life of the world of nature, which, like the streams of the ocean, and like many comets, are turned after hundreds or thousands of years. But whenever Providence admits great evils, God sends the means for the cure. In the present instance, the sound and vigorous East was to be the physician of the diseased West. Russia offered her strong hand to her distressed neighbour, and Austria managed to cure Italy, and as far as possible to arrange the affairs of Germany.

The Russian troops made their appearance in the commencement of May. Prince Paskiewics took the command of the chief army, which marched over the Carpathians by way of Galicia, while General Rüdiger entered by Cracow, and the other columns marched into the Bukowina and into Transylvania. The allied Austrian and Russian armies mustered above 300,000 men.

Kossuth was well aware of the gigantic

nature of the combat which was preparing for him, and his talent for agitation was displayed to such an extent that it makes one give credit to the common superstition which designated him as the Incarnate Antichrist. Lest his friends and soldiers should be daunted by the numbers of their adversaries, he published a list of the Hungarian army. In this production he boasted, as usual, that it was very easy to raise the army of the republic to the respectable figure of one million, and he protested that the Magyar forces amounted to no less than 400,000 men, in thirteen corps, under 160 generals and 270 colonels, and that this force was divided into 67 infantry regiments of the line, 21 regiments of Honvéds, 6 battalions of the foreign legion, 11 regiments of artillery, 1600 carbineers, 6 regiments of rifles, 28 regiments of hussars, 14 regiments of mounted Honvéds, and 2 regiments of mounted rifles.

Other accounts, which, though not in numbers, are perhaps more to be relied on, divide the army of the insurgents, in the

flower of their strength, in the following manner : — Two-fourths were Poles, one-fourth Italians, French, and Germans, and the last fourth consisted of real Magyars. This explains how it happened that the Polish interest became gradually predominant, especially since Kossuth bestowed his confidence and favour much more freely on the revolutionary Poles than on his own countrymen, and as he treated Bem and Dembinsky with more attention than Görgey, Klapka, or Perczel. He had, of course, the trouble of contending with many jealousies and differences, with persecutions and calumnies, and with intrigues and treason.

It appears from the evidence of eye-witnesses that Kossuth, in this time of apparent prosperity, was neither well nor happy. He looked pale, feverish, and suffering, and at times only, when the consciousness of his power and greatness was recalled to his anxious and repenting mind, a smile of conceit was observed to curl his lips. He ate little and slept less ; he complained of head-

ache, heart-ache, and was afraid of a dangerous cough as a natural consequence of his over-exertion. But his complaints were not quite free from a certain acted coquetry and selfishness, because he would have it believed that he sacrificed body and soul to the country. In his struggles for popularity he stooped down to the lowest, and was vulgar with the vulgar; while persons in high places were treated coldly and even rudely, and while he attacked the aristocracy with hostile and even contemptuous words whenever it suited his temper as democrat and republican. He was madly fond of adoration, flattery, and ovations, and this is proved, since in some cases it is not difficult to guess that these originated from himself or his proud and ambitious wife, and as he gloated over them afterwards, by publishing them in his paid journals. His was the inside of a volcano, where the lava boiled and bubbled, and threatened to blow up the rocks, unless it found a vent in the crater of his mouth.

Nor would it be wrong to compare him to a meteor which burns in a foggy and im-

pure atmosphere ; this atmosphere was the confusion of intellect and the sensual intoxication of his deluded and selfish friends. We have repeatedly said that he never cared what the means were, so they but effected his purpose. His principles were adopted by his champions. Bem in Transylvania behaved on one occasion in the most perfidious manner. A strong division of Austrian troops had been drawn up near Deva, when an infantry regiment, under the orders of Bem, advanced, making signals of unconditional surrender, and offering their standard as a pledge. The standard is to every honest soldier the symbol of honour and faith. On approaching, however, the Imperial troops, this regiment at once fell back right and left, and a battery of artillery, which had been concealed behind the said infantry, opened at the same time a most murderous fire, which destroyed nearly 400 men in the Imperial regiment Bianchi alone.

This stratagem, so disgraceful to the victors, was at Debreczin proclaimed by a

pompous bulletin, and held up as unequalled in splendour and glory.

Such tricks, of which we might quote batches, were properly rewarded. We may mention as a rumour, though it looks like Kossuth's ways, that his sacrilegious hand took the precious stones from the crown of St. Stephen, and that he presented them to the leaders of his troops. The empty places, we understand, were filled up with gold plates, on which the names of the persons so honoured were engraved. This is the most disgraceful desecration of the insignia of royalty.

About the end of May, Michael Horváth, minister of public worship, published, by order of Kossuth, a proclamation to the clergy of Hungary. This proclamation is divided into the following eight paragraphs:—

“ 1. On and after the 27th of May, Divine service is to be held on every Sunday and Thursday for the term of three weeks; and sermons are to be addressed to the people, exhorting them to make a determined resistance for the purpose of saving the country.

“ 2. Afterwards a public procession is to be held.

“ 3. All the bells are to be rung.

“ 4. A prayer is to be read, which was written by the Bishop Horváth. This prayer pretends to inform the Almighty that the Russians had come to crush all liberty, independence, and religion, to enslave the people, to desecrate churches and altars, to defile matrons and virgins.

“ 5. The 6th of June to be a general day of fasting and repentance.

“ 6. The clergy are to preach that the war has ceased to be a political war, and the heretical barbarians have made it a religious war.

“ 7. As the enemy advances, the people are to remove their cattle and other property into the interior of the country.

“ 8. When the Landsturm is proclaimed the bishops and clergymen shall precede it in pontifical robes, and with the cross, for it is a crusade of the country; and everybody, young and old, man and woman, shall take arms against the Russians.”

Many clergymen had scruples of conscience, and remained faithful to the cause of Austria. They refused obedience to the decree; but they were exiled, ill-treated, and some of them most barbarously murdered: in short, the leaders of the rebels and their hirelings went the whole length of tyranny, terrorism, and barbarism to assemble forces for resistance. The following letter gives us an insight into another of Kossuth's creatures, to wit, Moritz Perczel. This letter is written by an Austrian, Colonel Puffer, and bears the date of the 7th of June, 1849:—

“It is incredible, although but too true, that the Huns of the nineteenth century, especially the hordes of Perczel, are far superior to the followers of Attila in brutality, destruction, and cruelty. As an example, look at the Servian convent of Kovily, which a few days ago suffered from the acts of these miscreants, and which, with the village, has been turned into a horrible desert. Fire and sword have done their work on the holy house; even the graves have been opened, the corpses have

been taken out, the pictures torn and covered with filth. The wells have been filled with human bodies, whose hands are stretched out of the water as if appealing to heaven, and the hoary oaks have intentionally been burnt down. The double row of houses which used to stand at the right hand of the convent are now but ruins and ashes; there is no roof, no hedge, no table, no window, nor is there a single living being left."

The brave Servian nation, and the Saxons in Transylvania, were generally the object of Hungarian revenge, barbarism, and cruelty. Their very children were killed in the cradle or on their way from school. The Servian women and maidens, pinioned and barefoot, were taken to Peterwardein and Debreczin; there abused, starved, and some killed: many of them were compelled to dress as Honvéds, and to form the first rank in the battles against their husbands, fathers, and brothers. These revolting inhumanities were principally practised in the Czaikist country by the notorious General Rott, who in the preceding

autumn betrayed the Imperial troops into the hands of the insurgents.

Among the most rabid revolutionists, and indeed Kossuth's right hand, was Czanyi, who seemed to be an incorporation of a dozen terrorists from the French reign of terror. It was he and Pérényi who were accused of the barbarous treatment which the Imperial prisoners of war, and indeed all well-disposed families, had to suffer at Debreczin.

Our space prevents us from quoting the names of other cruelties of the grand agitator. We resume the thread of our narrative of the events of the war, which at this time (*i. e.* in May) had taken a most unfavourable turn.

Baron Welden, the new Austrian commander-in-chief, found it necessary, before the Russian troops entered Hungary, to make a general retreat, to concentrate his forces round Pressburg, and to allow the Ban of Croatia to conduct his operations in the south. His own plan was to act on the defensive, until, reinforced by fresh troops

and by the Russians, he was able again to act on the offensive, and to advance towards the centre of the kingdom; while Prince Paskiewics marched to the same goal from the north. The Imperial troops were at that time in possession of only Buda, Temesvar, Essegg, Arad, Carlstadt, and Deva; the rest of the country was a prey to the revolution, which found its principal support in Peterwardein and Komorn.

When the Imperial army retreated, Buda was garrisoned by 3000 men under the brave General Hentzi; but shortly afterwards 30,000 men of the insurgent army surrounded the fortress, and a capitulation having been declined, they prepared to take it by storm. The siege began on the 4th of May, and continued up to the 21st, when the fortress was carried by assault, or as some people say, by treason. Hentzi and many of his gallant soldiers fell fighting, while the bold Col. Alnoch, who would have exploded the suspension-bridge, perished in the attempt.

The fall of Buda, and the heroic death

of Hentzi, saddened the hearts of all patriots. The enemy paid no particular attention to this fortress of the second or third rank ; they destroyed the works, and proceeded to the Waag, where they prepared to enter Austria and advance to Vienna.

At that moment, when the minds of people were unsettled with anxiety, the Russian division of Paniutine made its appearance and opposed the progress of the insurgents. While confidence was quickly returning we were afflicted by the melancholy news of General Welden having fallen ill in consequence of over-exertion. It was found that he was incapable of retaining the chief command. He repaired to Gratz, to restore his shattered health ; and General Haynau, whose name was favourably known from the Italian campaign, succeeded to his command.

When Kossuth saw that the appearance of the Russian auxiliaries awed and terrified his people, he spread a rumour that the Russian intervention was a mere trick of Austria ; that the Austrians had only dressed

some of their regiments in Russian uniforms ; for although, he said, the Czar might possibly wish to help his neighbour, the allies of Hungary, and especially England, could not and would not consent to such a violation of the law of nations. In consequence of these rumours the Russian intervention was doubted by many, even when the Russians were in the heart of the country.

At the same time Kossuth issued secret orders to his generals to put their men into Austrian uniforms, and by these means to impose on their adversaries ; a stale trick, which can deceive no officer who knows anything of war.

His differences with Görgey were by no means over after the conquest of Buda, although he yielded to the popular voice, and appointed Görgey to take the head of the War Office.

Kossuth was not perhaps wrong when he said that Görgey had lost time in besieging Buda, and that he was strong enough to hunt down the retreating Austrians, to effect a junction with Dembinsky and Aulich, to

invade Austria before the arrival of the Russians, to occupy Vienna, and to dictate conditions of peace. In this calculation he relied on the sympathies of the Viennese and on their assistance. He fancied that the inhabitants of the capital, although disappointed and deceived by himself, were to be judged according to the standard of the feeble inhabitants of Pesth, who after the conquest of Buda wished for his return, and received him with enthusiasm.

CHAPTER XX.

KOSSUTH'S LAST VISIT TO PESTH.

WHEN the Prince of Windischgrätz occupied Buda-Pesth on the 5th of January, the magistrates of the two cities presented to him the following official declaration of subjection:—“We, the undersigned, the magistrates of the royal free city of Pesth, declare by these presents that we recognise his Imperial and Royal Apostolical Majesty, Francis Joseph the First, as legal King of Hungary, and that we unconditionally submit to his commands.”

If we compare this document with the reception which the inhabitants of Pesth gave to the Governor and President of the Hungarian republic on the 4th of June, we

cannot help exclaiming, O mankind! you are weak, wayward, and hypocritical; and, without heeding the danger of a serious accident, you blindly rush from one extreme to another! Indeed we feel disgusted when we think of the senseless cheers and solemnities which greeted and received the very men who led Hungary on the path of crime to ruin. It is disgusting to think of the flowers and wreaths which covered the houses, and were strewn on the path of the triumphing hero; of the windows which were hung with carpets and covered with flattering emblems, and at night were splendidly illuminated; of the eulogies and hymns of victory, blessings, and promises of fidelity; of the cynical drunkenness and beastly indulgence and immorality.

But woe to the prisoners! woe to those who were known to be friends to the Emperor! Some were executed as traitors, and their properties confiscated; others were thrown into prison, or compelled to work in the entrenchments, or to assist in demolishing the fortifications of Buda.

Since the Hungarian bank-notes rose in the market, and there was plenty of money at hand, trade became suddenly very brisk, especially as Kossuth was very liberal with his notes, which he distributed among the people, because he wished to increase his popularity. He did his best to create public amusements; he promised the inhabitants of Pesth he would raise their city to the level of London. He ordered the construction of splendid docks, and made arrangements to turn St. Margaret's Island into a park for the inhabitants of Buda and Pesth.

His views respecting the equalisation of the nationalities had undergone a great change, for he declared he knew no difference between Magyars, Sclavonians, Germans, Rumani, Italians, Jews, and Gipsies, provided they were stanch republicans and zealous in the defence of the country.

The impertinence with which his bulletins perverted the truth and imposed upon the credulous mass of the people is shown by the following Report, which might serve

as a pattern for a fantastic hyperbole, and which, but for the seriousness of the matter, might justify people in laughing at it. The bulletin is to the following purpose:—

“ On the 12th of June, our troops compelled 17,000 Austrians and Russians in the plain of Oedenburg to surrender as prisoners of war. In consequence of this glorious victory, the invading Russians, who eight days ago entered Pressburg, have left that city in great haste, with all the merchants, taking away all objects of any value. At an earlier period of the day the Austrian marshal attacked our army, which Görgey concentrated at Raab; but he met with such a reception that he was compelled to fly for protection to the ruins of the other army at Pressburg and Tyrnau, for the attack and three skirmishes cut up the greatest part of his forces. In the last six weeks our outposts have stood no fewer than forty attacks; miracles of gallantry have been achieved by the Magyar troops; victory follows our standard; and the enemy has not been able to gain one inch of ground. The English have made

common cause with us; they show us the warmest sympathies; they assist us in every way; and our country, freed from the yoke of the foreigner, will soon be a brilliant star in the heavens of Europe."

Truly, no lies were ever more disgraceful or more impertinent! Every word of this document is an untruth, except, perhaps, as regards the assistance of the English, which, however, was not granted openly by the government, but was supposed to have been carried on by means of Turks and Jews.

At this time, that is, in the middle of June, the cause of Hungary stood by no means firmly on its legs. Let us cast a look at the positions of their troops. On the Waag and on the Danube was Görgey, with 40,000 men; 20,000 men commanded by Klapka were at Raab; Perczel and Guyon had 35,000 men at Szegedin and Therestopel; Aulich commanded 15,000 men on the Platten Lake and at Földvar; at Temesvar and Arad were 20,000 men, under Vetter, Gaal, and Veczey. There were, moreover, 20,000 men under Dembinsky,

between Szolnok, Alberti, and Pesth; while General Bem commanded 50,000 men in Transylvania, which he occupied.

We are no judges, but we understand on good authority that the plans of the insurgents were most faulty; besides, Kossuth, who preferred the Polish generals, was at odds with the army under Görgey, which clung to its leader; and the quarrel between these two men was most fatal to the unfledged republic.

It was on the 7th of June that the Ban of Croatia, with the body of the southern army, marched upon Neusatz, and compelled that fortified town to surrender. The city was, however, destroyed, by being bombarded by the Hungarians in Peterwardein. Bold Knicanin did wonders of bravery on the Lower Danube, while Rukawina gained immortal laurels by defending Tenesvar against Perczel, Bem, and Guyon.

An extensive and violent contest took place in the middle of June, in the valley of the Waar. General Wohlgemuth gained

great distinction by opposing his forces to the superior numbers of the enemy, whom he drove back to the walls of Komorn. He then occupied the greater part of the Schütt Island.

On the right bank of the Danube, meanwhile, the corps of Schlick advanced against Raab, where the insurgents had thrown up entrenchments and a murderous battle was expected to take place. Kossuth himself repaired again to this city, which was his wife's birthplace. It has since been understood that he did not find there the sympathies he expected, and many of those who cheered him were evidently paid for doing so. He seemed depressed, and in want of that courage and confidence with which he endeavoured to inspire others. His face was clouded; his eyes wandering and cast down; and his language was neither so free and energetic, nor so impressive and convincing, as in former times. In short, he was rather repulsive than attractive. We understand, when he left Raab, that a large

box of money was secretly cut from his carriage and stolen.

The temper of the Hungarian capital, too, underwent considerable changes. Enthusiasm was on the decline, for Kossuth, however able, could not prevent letters and newspapers from being smuggled into the city; and thus news was received of the successes of the allied armies, and of other circumstances which were unfavourable to Hungary. People whispered their news and their anxieties; they shook their heads at the lies and delusions which Kossuth sent abroad, and they became, at length, convinced that reason and a sober way of thinking is better than intoxication and the delirium of the senses.

Early on the 19th of June, the inhabitants of Buda and Pesth were startled by a placard, which seemed to defy Kossuth's measures of terror against the political press. This placard was stuck up in a hundred places, and it was printed in the German, Hungarian, and Slavonian languages. It was headed,—

*“An open Letter to Louis Kossuth and
his Accomplices.*

“The veil which covered your perjury is torn asunder. The secret of your hypocrisy is patent. Daylight shines upon your intriguing ambition, which defies all limitations and all laws. That ambition is the propelling power of your engines; it prompts you with sounding and cunning words. You deceive, because you wish to mislead; you mislead, because you wish to make war; you make war, because you wish to rob; you rob, because you wish to command; and you command, only to destroy. Speak out and tell us, What is Hungary to come to when you have robbed her and enslaved her? What is she come to under Kossuth or one of his accomplices? What is to be the end of all this, when you take the workman's hand from the workshop and the plough, when you drive her warriors to the shambles where they rot without burial? Do you think our hands and our arms will help you in crushing the respectable house of Aus-

tria? Look around, for it is still time; listen to the voice of admonition before it is drowned by the thunders of artillery; consider what your madness has brought us to. Hungary has no hopes of you, for there is nothing you can offer her; but Hungary hopes to wrestle with you, and to break your snares. Hungary hopes to find her sons prepared to fight against perjury and treason, for her king, for her laws, for her rights. Such is our hope; what is yours? Can you expect to conquer Hungary with a strong hand? Are we to consider you our liberator? Tremble, because your horrible doom is approaching! We know you; your intrigues cannot deceive us, for you are like unto the black princes of shadows who work mischief and ruin in this world and the next. Recollect what were your promises, and see what are your deeds. The fields of Hungary were blooming once, now they are deserts; her cities flourished, now they are devastated. But is our salvation in Kossuth?—in him whom hell has sent for our destruction—in him whose words are dis-

sembling, whose treaties are deceit—in him who thirsts for blood, who is set forth in the Revelation by the name of Apollyon, a dweller in the abyss of hell, who has come forth to turn our country into a desert, to destroy trade, art, and agriculture, whom religion abhors, who sows seeds of discord, and who, while Hungary lies in agony, offers her that cup of bitterness which no one dares to commend but yourself? This is the time to break the chains which these miscreants have slung round a free people. Hungarians, fear not the frowns of the rebel, anticipate the deceitful reward which awaits you! Consider the grief of your king! Awake to duty! Take your arms; expel the foreign hirelings of these disgraceful tyrants! Open your treasures, feed the poor, that their hands may grasp the sword of revenge; crowd together as brethren, and march to the triumph of the country! Hungarians, you want courage—courage against the bloodthirsty tyrants! Priests, raise the shout of revenge—revenge against the desecrators of altars! Artisans, make

weapons and dig into the earth for iron! Mothers, do not for awhile give your breasts to your babes; let them feel how unhappy they will be as men, if the tyrants are allowed to raise their heads! Children, fill the air with your wailings, and thus swell the sounds of the song of battle! Up, up to arms! let the war-whoop sound in other tones from east to west, from south to north! Pull, citizens, pull the ropes of the bells, that they may send forth a howling sound! Raise in your blameless hearts that old heroic spirit which made your name a terror to the oppressors, and they will soon be annihilated, those haughty legions of foreign bloodhounds; the earth of your fatherland will soon be freed from these imps of hell; you will have conquered peace, and avenged your king, your religion, and your country.

“THE ASSOCIATION OF THE HUNGARIAN
VEHME FOR SEVERAL HUNDRED
THOUSAND MEMBERS.”

These were evident signs of a counter-revolution, and the enemies certainly were

at hand ; but they were neither so numerous nor so bold as this proclamation seems to imply, for Kossuth was nowhere exposed to an attack, although scarcely any soldiers were left in the two cities. We ought, indeed, to add that the Governor and President was aware of the dangers of his position, and that he grudged no amount of money, if he could but gain the traces of his enemy and extinguish every spark of disaffection before it burned up into a conflagration or caused an explosion.

On the other hand, he made equally convulsive efforts for the execution of his diabolical task, and he had a number of letters printed, which were addressed to the serjeants of the Austrian army, whom he exhorted to perjury and desertion, by abusing the Austrian government and the Emperor, the discipline, the smallness of the pay, and the favouritism, and in pointing out the financial condition of Austria, while he painted the life in the Magyar army in the most glowing colours, and promised to increase their pay three times, and even six

times, in comparison with what they received in the Austrian army.

Another proclamation convoked the representatives of the people to the opening of the Hungarian Parliament on the 14th of July. In this proclamation Kossuth had the impertinence to state that the splendid victories of the Hungarian army justified him in saying, that in a very short time no barbarian and enemy would defile the sacred soil of his country.

Besides the crowd of flatterers, eulogists, and venal poets, who sang his praise in bombastic trash, and who daily invented new victories; his pay, or fanatic smoke, like that which intoxicated Pythia on her tripod, produced sybils and prophets, who, from chronicles and ancient legends, pretended to depict the future in colours of such surpassing beauty, that the golden age, as described by Ovid, seemed to open in the clouds. But as the Austrian and Russian West army occupied the valley of the Waar; as, on the island of Schütt and on the left bank of the Danube, they had proceeded

to the vicinity of Komorn, while on the right bank of the Danube they had advanced to Raab, and their strength and position left no doubt that victory after victory must follow their attack; since Prince Paskiewicz advanced from the north with forces which the Hungarians could not oppose, and the Ban had gained considerable advantage in the south, while even Bem failed in conquering Temesvar and in preventing the Russians from entering into Transylvania; in short, as bad news was received from every quarter, people began at length to be alive to the horrors and dangers of their situation, and to forget the empty bubbles of their brains.

Kossuth did not go abroad; the anxious and suspicious, who asked at his palace-gate whether he was still in town and what he was doing, were told that he was very busy working the salvation of the country—that he was an Archimedes, and was meditating on some effectual means of destroying the enemy at one blow. It was, however, but natural that, in this stormy and anxious time, he

should be visible only to his most confidential friends and conspirators, and that he should use the privilege of every despot and tyrant, by having all the doors of his house provided with sentinels. We have been assured that it was not he who either wished or asked for those guards, but that they were furnished by the inhabitants of Pesth, who, under pretence of protecting his life, sought to prevent his escape, lest he should fly and leave his wretched and ruined country unpunished and unavenged. From certain inquiries which we have made, we have learned that in those days large crowds were continually watching the street in which he lived; and this reminds us of Count Széchenyi, who, when Kossuth offered to resign his post as Minister of Finance, said, "No, you shall stay; you shall eat the broth of your own making."

Kossuth was in those days literally on the rack. We have been informed that the news of the occupation of Cronstadt and Bistritz by the Russians affected him so much that he all but fainted. His was the

condition of Wallenstein, and well might he say—"Can I stamp soldiers from this sullen earth? or does a corn-field grow within my hand?"—and shudder to think that the fate of Wallenstein the traitor might be his any day.

The *Pesth Gazette*, of the 27th of June, published a proclamation of the revolutionary government, which we are induced to compare to a crater vomiting fire and flames. Several Vienna newspapers have thought proper to publish this document, and we therefore see no reason why we should not do the same. It stands as follows:—

“The country is in danger.

“Sons of the country, to arms! to arms!”

“If ordinary means could save the country we would not proclaim its danger.

“If we had the lead of a craven and childish nation, of a nation which prefers ruin to defence, we would not sound the tocsin from every steeple.

“But we know that you are a manly nation, and knew your mind when you resolved to defend yourself against wicked op-

pression. We will not, therefore, represent things as they are not, and candidly and freely we tell you the country is in danger.

“It is because we are positive that the nation is capable of defending itself and the country, that we proclaim the danger and its extent, and that in God’s name we ask you rise and to arm.

“We will not condescend to flatter and to comfort. We say that, unless the nation rise as one man to hold out to the last, the blood which has been shed has been shed in vain, all our struggles have been in vain, our country and our nation are lost, and the soil which covers the ashes of our fathers, which Heaven destined to be a freehold for their sons—that soil will be inhabited by the miserable remains of an enslaved people.

“Again, we say it openly, that unless you rise like one man you will be starved with hunger. Those that escape the enemy will be the victims of hunger; for the savage Russians do not only mow down the fruits of your labour, the corn-fields that are ripe for the harvest, but we tell you, with a bleeding

heart, that the savage Russians, who with great force have invaded our country, cut and trample down the green fields, and that they make their beds in the young corn. They advance with murder and destruction, and murder, flames, famine, and death remain behind them.

“Wherever they come you have vainly broken the ground, vainly sown your seed; foreign robbers feed on the fruits of your labour.

“But because we trust and place our confidence in the God of justice, we tell you the danger can be fatal to our country only if you are faithless to yourselves: but if you rise to defend your country, your hearth, your families, your harvests, and your own life; if you take a scythe, a pickaxe, a cudgel, or only a stone, you will exult in your strength, and the avenging arm of the free Hungarian people will kill the very last man of the Russian hordes which the Austrian Emperor has brought to our beautiful country.

“We might conceive the danger, but by so doing we could not lessen it.

“ But since we tell you candidly of things as they are, we give your own fate into your hands.

“ If there is any energy within you, you will save yourselves and you will save the country.

“ But if craven fear possesses you and binds your hands, you are lost.

“ Unless you help yourselves, God will never help you.

“ By these presents, therefore, we inform all inhabitants of Hungary that the Austrian Emperor has indeed invited the Russian barbarians to invade the country.

“ We inform them that a Russian army of 46,000 men has entered Hungary, by way of Galicia, and that they are advancing, fighting battles as they proceed.

“ We inform them that in Transylvania the Wallachian rebellion, relying on Russian help, has again broken out, and that the Austrian Emperor has collected his last forces to exterminate the Hungarian nation.

“ We further inform our fellow-citizens that, although it is quite as certain as that

there is a God above us, if ever the Russians should succeed in conquering our country, the result would be that all nations of Europe would fall a prey to slavery; but still we cannot expect any help from foreign parts, for the sovereigns suppress the sympathies of their peoples, and make them inactive lookers-on, while we are fighting our combat of justice.

“There is nobody to whom we ought to look but the God of justice and our own strength, and if we do not use our own strength, God will certainly abandon us.

“Days of sorrow are approaching, but if we meet them boldly, they will turn into liberty, happiness, prosperity, and glory. The ways of Providence are shrouded in darkness. God lead us on to happiness in the paths of trials and suffering!

“The cause of Hungary is not our cause alone. It is the cause of liberty against tyranny.

“Our victory is the victory of liberty; our downfall is liberty's dirge.

“We are God's chosen people, for by our

victory we save the nations from the slavery of the body; like unto Christ, who worked the salvation of the spirit.

“If we conquer, the bondsmen of the tyrant, the Italians, Germans, Bohemians, Poles, Wallachians, Slavonians, Servians, and Croatians, will share our freedom. If conquered, the star of liberty sets for all nations.

“Let us, therefore, feel that we are the sacred champions of general liberty. May this feeling steel our will and strengthen our arms; may this strength preserve to our children their country, and to the nations their liberty: for if our cowardice leave freedom unprotected, it will never again take root and flourish.

“Hungarians! are you prepared to fall under the sword of the savage Russians? Unless you are, defend yourselves. Are you prepared to see the Cossacks of the north trampling upon the desecrated corpses of your fathers, of your wives, of your children? Unless you are, defend yourselves.”

“ Are you prepared to see your fellow-citizens dragged into Siberia, or butchered in the foreign wars of the tyrant, while others wear away the wretched remainder of their lives under the scourge of the Russian? Unless you are, defend yourselves.

“ Are you prepared to see your villages burnt down and your harbours trampled into the dust? Are you prepared to starve on the very soil which you cultivated in the sweat of your brows? Unless you are, defend yourselves.

“ We, the government of Hungary, elected by the free will of the nation, adjure you in the name of the eternal God that you rise to defend the country of your fathers; and in obedience to our duty, and in virtue of our power, we decree and command that:—

“ 1stly. A general crusade shall commence against the Russian invaders, and against the Austrian Emperor.

“ 2dly. The crusade to be proclaimed on Tuesday and Wednesday next, in all churches

and meeting-houses, and that the bells be rung throughout the country.

“3dly. After this proclamation, it is the duty of every able-bodied man, within forty-eight hours, to provide some sort of weapon. He who has no musket or sword, let him take a scythe or pickaxe. The scythe is a dangerous weapon in assault, and the pickaxe can be made to do good service in a bold hand. He who makes a choice of weapons, instead of taking the first thing he lays his hand on, is not an Hungarian—he is nothing but a wretched Czudar.

“4thly. Wherever the Russians advance watchmen shall be placed on the steeples, and tops of the mountains, by day and by night, to announce the approach of the enemy, when the tocsin is to be sounded from all the churches of the county. Upon this the people are to assemble in their parishes, and proceed to the appointed places, which are to be pointed out by the functionaries in the various counties. But when the wild hordes have passed onwards, there shall be a general rising in the rear to exterminate the Cos-

sacks and other irregular troops. Everybody ought to think it his duty to give the enemy no rest, either by day or by night; to surprise them suddenly; to retreat, and to attack again; to disturb them by ringing of bells, so as to give them not a moment's rest on the soil which they have wickedly invaded.

“5thly. As the enemy advance, all cattle and provisions ought to be hid in caverns, or behind swamps, that our foes may perish with hunger.

“6thly. Before the enemy march into a village all living beings shall leave the place, and after they have entered it, bold men will be found to fire the roofs above their heads, so as either to burn the enemy, or at least to prevent them taking rest.

“In the commencement of the present century, when Napoleon invaded the Russian empire, the Russians saved their country in this manner. For, after all, we see that the enemy burn and devastate everything; cities and villages are consumed by the flames as they pass. Even now, the Austrian soldiers, when they attacked the defenceless inhabit-

ants of Bösárkány, in the county of Oedenburger, burnt down all the houses, from the first to the last. If your homes must burn, you may as well let them burn while the enemy are in them. If we conquer we shall have a country, and our villages will again rise from the ground; but if we are conquered, no house nor hut will be left in the country, for it is a war of extermination which they wage against us.

“7thly. Cities and villages, whose position allows of their being barricaded, are at once to be placed in an efficient state of defence, to prevent the Cossacks from passing through them.

“8thly. The priests ought to take the cross, and lead the people in defence of their religion and their liberty.

“9thly. Meetings shall take place throughout the country, to consult about the ways and modes of defence.

“10thly. The counties of Borsod, Gömör, Abauj, Zemplén, Heves (on this side of the Theisz), Neograd, and the counties of Fülek and of Jazyg, shall at once organize the

crusade, under the superintendence of the commanders of our gallant army at Miskolcz. Szabolcs, the district of the Hajduk, Great Kumania, Heves (on the other bank of the Theisz), and the lower parts of Bihar and Debreczin, shall especially watch and protect the line of the Theisz, and endeavour to prevent the enemy from crossing. And the counties of Pesth, Csongrad, Lesser Kumania, Weiszenburg, Tolna, Gran, and the lower part of Neograd, are to organize the troops of the crusade, and on the first summons they are to assemble on the plain of Rakos.

“11thly. The execution of this decree is herewith entrusted to the magistrates and functionaries in the various counties, who are to send reports of their proceedings to the Home Office.

“Whoever attacks our country with force and arms, is an enemy. Whoever neglects his duty in its defence, is a traitor, and as such will be treated by the government and by the country.

“One struggle more and the country is

saved for all time to come ; but it is lost if the people neglect their duty.

“ The country is in danger.

“ We have a gallant and devoted army of almost 200,000 men ; they are heroes enamoured of liberty, and removed from all comparison with the hirelings of slavery, for God's face radiates down upon them, while the bondsmen are but the guardians of darkness : but this contest is not a contest of two hostile camps, it is a war which tyranny wages against liberty, barbarism against civilization.

“ The very people, therefore, must rise with the army ; and when these millions support our army, we shall have gained a victory, not for ourselves, but for Europe also. The country is in danger.

“ Mighty and giant people, rise and arm !

“ Citizens of the country ! rise, rise !— arm, arm ! Thus we shall have victory, but thus only.

“ And for these reasons we decree and

command a general crusade for liberty, in God's name and the country's.

“LOUIS KOSSUTH, Governor.
 BARTHOLOMEW SZEMERE.
 LADISLAUS CZÁNYI.
 ARTHUR GÖRGEY.
 SOLOMON VUKOVICH.
 CASIMIR BATHYANY.
 MICHAEL HORVATH.
 FRANCIS DUSCHEK.

“*Buda-Pesth, 27th June, 1849.*”

Whoever has entered into the spirit of Kossuth's style must see that this proclamation issued from his pen. It is clear, even to a common understanding, and yet it is written in a high tone, which tells upon the masses; but it has all the faults of style which we find in Kossuth's other works, for he is a very clever speaker, and but a middling author.

The effect of this proclamation was not so great as Kossuth had expected, for despair

was visible in every line; and when a man from that height complains to the people, and confesses that many things have been concealed and misrepresented, they are apt to become suspicious, especially when there are voices among them who advise them to avoid all useless and criminal resistance. Very few showed themselves prepared for the combat, but the majority were discouraged, confused, and inclined to curse the author of all this mischief.

When on the second day it became known that Raab had been occupied by the Imperial troops, and that Görgey had been thrown back on Komorn, the greatest anxiety and distress prevailed in the Hungarian capital; and although Kossuth endeavoured to mask the defeat with the news of fictitious victories at Sered and on the Lower Danube, nobody would believe him or give credit to his representations.

A decree was issued, threatening the severest punishment to those who mentioned the victories and advantages that were gained by the enemy. This republican ter-

rorism produced the deepest silence, and people resigned themselves to the fate which they could not avoid.

On the 29th of June Kossuth published another call to arms, summoning all able-bodied men between the ages of fifteen and sixty to rally round the blood-red banner of the Revolution. He added, that every man should have a right to kill his neighbour if he refused to join the crusade. In another proclamation he said,—“Hungary is not yet lost; inhabitants of Pesth, banish your cares. It is now the Hungarian people who will show what they can do. Two millions of Magyars rise like a single man; the country will be one large camp; every house will be a fortress, and every cottage a battery.”

The organs and hirelings of the government worked hard to persuade the inhabitants of Northern Hungary that the whole of the south had risen against the enemies of the country, while in the south they made the same statement concerning the north. They added that large masses of Russian

troops were deserting to the Magyars, that 8000 captive Austrians were at Komorn, that Vienna was in a rebellion and the Emperor was put to flight, and that the Vienna cabinet had made the most advantageous offers of peace: but still the Hungarians became gradually aware of the real state of things; they mistrusted Kossuth and his words.

About the end of June, when the fear of the Russians had become an epidemic at Buda-Pesth, and when the general ferment threatened to break out in a counter-revolution, it was pretended that England and France had at length resolved to interfere in favour of Hungary, and that they had offered Russia the alternative of either withdrawing her troops from Hungary or being at war with the European powers.

Truly the Hungarian nation was dealt with in the most insolent and criminal manner. Kossuth treated them like imbecile children, and by his leading-strings he led them wherever he liked.

CHAPTER XXI.

KOSSUTH A FUGITIVE

THAT even the Magyars on the Theisz had no intention whatever of joining Kossuth's crusade, is most clearly proved by the inhabitants of Debreczin, on whom Kossuth probably relied with the greatest confidence.

When the Prince of Warsaw in his victorious progress despatched his left wing, under General Czeodajeff, by way of Tokaj to Debreczin, the citizens of that town went eighteen miles to meet the advancing Russians, and humbly presented them with the keys of their town as a token of submission and sincere repentance.

At the same time, that is, on the 2d and 3d of July, the allied Austrian and Russian troops under Haynau, Wohlge-

muth, Schlick, Benedek, and Paniutine, fought some splendid battles at Acz, and under the walls of Komorn, by which they embarrassed and discouraged Görgey's troops; while in the north the Prince Paskiewicz defeated the rebels under General Dembinsky, and drove them back upon Pesth.

The panic which these bad news created at Pesth, and the state of mind of the great agitator, defies description; but nothing served to discourage the population so much as the following proclamations:—

I.

“According to a resolution of the Imperial Minister of Finance, the notes on the income of the kingdom of Hungary shall be circulated in categories of one and two florins. According to the proclamation of the 10th of April, all the public offices in Hungary are bound to receive these notes at their full value, instead of gold and silver, and private individuals are bound to accept them on the same conditions.

According to the proclamation of 2d of May, they shall likewise be received in the public offices of the neighbouring crown-lands.

“ HAYNAU.

“ *Head-quarters at Raab, 1st of July, 1849.*”

II.

“ The Hungarian notes, which are usually called Kossuth’s notes, no matter of what kind, are declared to be illegal, and of no value. Whoever possesses them, whether as public or private property, shall give them up to the nearest military commander. Such notes as are not given up within forty-eight hours after the publication of this decree shall be confiscated if found ; and the possessor of them is liable to be tried by court-martial.

“ HAYNAU.

“ *Head-quarters at Babolna, 2d of July, 1849.*”

These were thunderbolts, against which Kossuth knew of no conductor. The great

marvel is that Pesth, which, on the 5th and 6th July, showed all the symptoms of anarchy, did not witness a fearful explosion of the hostile feelings which its inhabitants entertained against the authors of their miseries. Rage and despair were scarcely bridled ; imprecations followed the name of Kossuth, and his paper money was offered at 60 and 70 per cent without finding any purchasers.

Nevertheless, this coiner of bad money continued to work his bank-note presses for the peasantry and the army, to enforce contributions, and to rob the churches, under the pretence that the gold and silver vessels from the churches should be coined into money.

So he took from Kaschau a silver ewer of above 300 lbs. weight ; a porphyry column, with a golden lamp, of 20 lbs. weight ; a silver statue of the Virgin, of 140 lbs. weight, was taken from Groszwardein ; in Waizen he took four silver angels, of 150 lbs. each ; a golden lamp, a golden box with thirty-two jewels ; four golden crowns, of 20 lbs. each ;

a silver chain of 40 lbs., and four silver altar ornaments, were taken from Buda and Pesth ; he took 500 lbs. of silver from Szathmar, and the same quantity from Vesprim and Stuhlweizenburg. In this manner it is easy to be believed that he collected a considerable sum of money.

He saw at length that he could not remain in Pesth. The ground was shaking under his feet ; the air around him trembled with imprecations, and with the thunder of the enemy's artillery ; his friends deserted him, and he, accompanied by a numerous body-guard, left Pesth on Sunday the 8th of July, and proceeded to Debreczin.

Three days after his departure, Major Wussin, of Ramberg's division, entered Buda without meeting with any resistance ; and immediately afterwards the Russians occupied Pesth, but they found not the slightest sign of a crusade.

Kossuth was deeply moved and painfully affected when he left the capital of Hungary, and he expressed a hope that he would return in two months, for by that

time Hungary would be freed from the Cossacks and from all other enemies to her liberty. - In the present instance the people of Pesth were not inclined to think him a prophet. A rumour, for which, however, we will not vouch, states that an infernal machine was placed for him on the road to Ullö, which exploded when he had passed the spot, so that the explosion wounded only some people who were following in the rear.

In the bloody fight on the 1st of July, between the Russian troops and the insurgents under Bem, and in which the former had the advantage, the victors took possession of Bem's travelling carriage, with a variety of important papers. From these we take some letters which Kossuth addressed to Bem, for we think it but fair to let him speak for himself. The four first letters were written in the course of the last days of his residence in Pesth.

I.

“ The Governor of the Country to Field-marshal Lieutenant Bem.

“ SIR,—Görgey’s corps being oppressed by superior numbers, retreated without combat to Miskolcz.

“ The leaders, fearing lest the enemy’s cavalry of 18,000 men should worry and rout them, will not engage in a battle ; they have a fixed idea of effecting a junction with the bulk of the army, and they do not consider that by so doing they draw the Russians down upon us ; that we shall have no time to strike a blow against the Austrians ; and that they bring us between two fires. I inform you of this, because I am firmly convinced that nothing but a speedy concentration of all our forces under your command can now avail us.

“ For, after all, the Russian army will be in Pesth within a week’s time ; and, what is worse, it is in the rear of our chief army.

“I will do my best, but I am anxiously looking for news from you.

(Signed)

“KOSSUTH.

“*Pesth, the 28th of June, 1849.*”

II.

“*Pesth, 28th of June, 1849.*

At night.

“SIR,—I have just received your letter from Klausenburg, of the 23d June. The news which it contains of the Russian invasion in Transylvania had already reached me from another quarter. The death of Colonel Kisz, in Cronstadt, is a source of great grief to me.

“I am sorry to say I can now understand that you cannot get out of Transylvania into the Banat.

“There, too, the danger is very great; as, indeed, it is everywhere. Our darker stars are drawing near. May God bless our struggles; truly, we are in want of his blessing.

“ The commanders in the Banat are continually quarrelling. There ought to be order, co-operation, and unity; if not, we are lost.

“ We have taken the following measures for the counties of Bacz and Banat, since you cannot go there yourself.

“ There are three corps in those parts.

“ First, Vecsey's corps; present commander, Guyon.

“ Secondly, Perczel's corps; present commander, Töth.

“ Thirdly, Those troops which you yourself will bring out in exchange for the auxiliaries which I sent you to Deva; commander, Banffy.

“ The commander-in-chief of all the corps and divisions in the Bacs and Banat is Lieut.-general Vetter.

“ I have already got over some differences, but Colonel Banffy protests he has your order to obey no one except yourself and General Perczel. I have given him his instructions, but I must ask you, as far as lies in you, to inform the commanders of

detached corps in the Banat, that during the period of their detached operations they have to receive their orders from the men whom the government appoint for that purpose ; and that man is Lieut.-general Vetter, since you yourself are prevented from proceeding to those parts.

“ But I must candidly and openly tell you, that if we can concentrate our forces quickly, and very quickly indeed, the country is saved ; if we cannot, it is lost.

“ With a bleeding heart, though with a firm conviction, I tell you I am prepared to give up entire provinces, and, indeed, four-fifths of the whole country, to expedite the concentration of our forces. For thus we defeat the enemy, and the enemy once defeated, the provinces we have lost can be easily regained ; but if the bulk of our power be crushed, if the nation be politically annihilated, those provinces are of no use whatever. Therefore I wish that you should come forward with your whole strength, that you should join the other corps and take the chief

command; thus we shall defeat our enemies and conquer the liberty of the world.

“But if this cannot be done, I fear the crisis will come on in fourteen days. I am resolved to defend the country to the last. I have summoned the people of Hungary to arms.

“I have forwarded instructions to Groszwardein immediately to send you the two batteries, which are being mounted and manned, this week and the next. I do not know whether they will be horse or foot-batteries; but it is better to have a foot-battery to-day than to have a horse-battery in a fortnight's time. God only knows how long we shall be in possession of Groszwardein.

“Again, I entreat you to send your instructions respecting Vetter's command to the troops in the Banat. This matter is very pressing, in order to prevent confusion in that province.

“LOUIS KOSSUTH, Governor.”

III.

“I hasten to inform you that a battle was yesterday fought at Raab. Our troops were compelled to evacuate that city; this makes it the more necessary that you should join us with your gallant troops. The country is saved if that junction can be effected in time.

“KOSSUTH.

“*Buda-Pesth, 29th June, 1849.*”

IV.

“*Pesth, 29th June, 1849.*”

“SIR,—General Görgey was attacked and defeated at Raab by 50,000 Austrians, with an enormous artillery force. In consequence of this battle it has become impossible to execute our plan of advancing against Austria, and concentrating the lower armies on the Upper Danube.

“We have now resolved to leave a strong garrison at Komorn, and to concentrate the rest of the army in the lower countries, so as to draw the armies of Tran-

sylvania and of the German Banat, with the upper army and Visoczky's corps, to Szegedin, for the purpose of effecting a junction with the army of the Bacs and Banat.

“ I inform you of this, adding that the Russian army has advanced a strong division of 8000, or, as others say, of 20,000 men. They have crossed the Theisz, and this day they are at Nyiregyháza. It appears from this movement that the enemy will take your rear, and cut you off below Debreczin and Groszwardein. It is our object to prevent this, and for this purpose the troops will be concentrated as stated above.

“ It is midnight, and M. Csaki and the Generals Kisz and Aulich are just leaving for head-quarters, in order to compel Görgey to concentrate his troops towards Szegedin. I tell you, confidentially, that the seat of government is being removed to that place.

“ Persevere, and hope for the victory of our just cause.

(Signed)

“ LOUIS KOSSUTH, Governor.”

V.

“ Pesth, 4th July, 1849.

“ Gőrgy’s conduct within the last days proves that he intended to make independent operations, and to emancipate his army from the orders of the government. After the battle of Raab, he expressed his opinion that the government ought at once to remove to the countries across the Theisz, for he would not guarantee the safety of Pesth for a term of twenty-four hours. Under these circumstances I thought it my duty to provide for the safety of all moveable public property, especially of the bank ammunition, and of the factories of uniforms and muskets. As for the government, it will remain at Pesth as long as it possibly can.

“ There must be some error about the reports of the enemy’s march upon Groszwardein. Nevertheless, Vysocki has been instructed to cross the Theisz on the 7th; and as for Perczel, he will cross to-morrow with 10,000 men.

“ On the 2d a bloody battle was fought at Komorn. It lasted from nine A.M. till late at night. The enemy was defeated and pursued by our troops.*

“ The government then is still at Pesth, where we hope to remain. As for me, I shall pass part of the time at Szegled. Komorn will have a garrison of 20,000 men, who will occupy the enemy while the rest of the army marches down upon the Russians. After joining the army of the Bacs-Banat, they will occupy the line of the Maros and Theisz.

“ General Kmety advances from Stuhlweissenburg to Pacs, where he crosses the Danube upon a pontoon bridge, and joins the army of the Bacs-Banat, for the purpose of attacking Jelachich and relieving Peterwardein.

“ Arad is in our hands, and we must provide for hastening the fall of Temesvar.

* We mention this battle ; it ended in the defeat and flight of the insurgents, who sought protection under the batteries of Komorn. Kossuth deceives his most intimate friend.

Vysocki and Desewffy have bad scouts. They never know where the enemy is. The last news is that they have crossed the Theisz at Polgár. If this news be confirmed, we will take their flank with 180,000. This is a short sketch of our operations. Have the goodness to inform me of what is going on in Transylvania, and to send me daily reports, however short, by way of Deva, Ványa, Mesö-Tur, Szolnok, and Szegled.

(Signed)

“KOSSUTH.”

VI.

“Szegled, 9th July, 1849.”

“I hasten to inform you of the state of affairs in this part of the country.

“Komorn has a garrison of from 18 to 20,000 men to detain the Austrian army.

“20,000 to 24,000 men are marching from Waitzen to Hatvan.

“General Perczel has the command of two corps on the Theisz; the first is to-day

at Abony, the second at Törtel. They will either cross the Theisz, or they will move up the river as the army advances from Hatvan.

“15,000 Russians had crossed the Theisz and advanced to Debreczin, but they have fallen back upon Miskolcz, where the bulk of the army is quartered. The Austrians advance on the right bank of the Danube upon Buda. Their outposts were yesterday at Vörösvar. The bridge between Buda and Pesth has been broken up. The government is leaving for Szegled.

“General Vetter, and under him Guyon, command the troops in the Bacs-Banat.

“That is the state of affairs. I am confident of the future if we have but an efficient and energetic general to take the command. For this reason, sir, I offer you the command in chief of all the Hungarian armies, and I entreat you to inform me at your earliest convenience whether you will take that command, and under what conditions, and whether you think Transylvania will be safe without your presence.

“ Please to send me your answer to Szegedin.

“ LOUIS KOSSUTH, Governor.”

VII.

“ *Szegedin, 16th July, 1849.*

“ I have received your despatches of the 8th and 9th of July, and I hasten to inform you in reply that there is no danger of a Russian attack upon Transylvania from Debreczin and Groszwardein.

“ The army of Upper Hungary has been placed under the command of General Perczel, who has besides 12,000 fresh troops. He has advanced 24,000 men from Szegled to Szolnok; and he is prepared either to cross the Theisz or to attack the Russians on the right bank of that river.

“ Colonel Korponay has, moreover, raised large levies near St. Agata; and for the protection of Groszwardein we have despatched two battalions of foot, two divisions of hussars, and eight guns, with some levies from the country, making a total of 9600

men, who are encamped at Püspöki. In consequence of these movements the Russians have made a hasty retreat from Debreczin, and evacuated the line of the Theisz, so that we are in possession of the countries on the other banks of the Theisz. General Perczel is in the camps at Szolnok and Abony, with instructions to protect the right bank of the Theisz and the country between the Danube and the Theisz, together with Szegedin, the present seat of the government, and to operate in the flanks and the rear of the Russians, whose main force advances upon Hatvan, Pesth, and Waitzen.

“The Austrian General Ramberg occupied Buda on the 11th with 6000 men, but we understand he has since left that place; and after we have demolished the walls of Buda, neither Buda nor Pesth can be considered as being of any military importance. We might have remained in Pesth, but in that case I ought to have sent for the army of the Theisz or that of Bacs; and in so doing we should have evacuated countries from the soil of which armies rise spontaneously after

every battle which we lose, while Pesth has no resources whatever. It is my principle not to adapt the operations of the war to the safety of the seat of government, but *vice versa*; and this I know is a good principle. To-day we are at Szegedin; next week we shall perhaps be at Arad, or at Groszwardein. The latter place I should like best. As for me, I am preparing to proceed from village to village in search of volunteers. I am going to organise a new reserve force of 30,000 men, and to take the command of that force. I think I shall have the 30,000 men within a month.

“General Vetter has commenced his operations against Jellachich. Brave Guyon has defeated Jellachich, who fled to Tittel. Guyon is gone in pursuit, while General Kmetti is relieving Peterwardein. Colonel Banffy is attacking the columns in Ecska-Lukacsfalva; and Aradócz, on his forced march, is hastening to Perlas for the purpose of taking Tittel before Jellachich can reach it. I do not think he will succeed, and Tittel will be a sore point to us.

Vederemo, the troops are brave, and so are the generals.

“The upper army (alas, I have a great deal to say about it!) is still at Komorn. On the 12th they had a great battle, without any result; they kept their position in the entrenched camp: the loss was enormous on either side, but the enemy’s was the greater; their horse suffered severely.

“One circumstance is very disagreeable to me, to you, and indeed to the country. On the 28th of June, General Görgey wrote me a letter from Komorn, saying that the battle of Raab was lost, that the enemy was taking our flanks at Bicske, and likely to be in Buda within forty-eight hours; and that the government ought to remove the stores, bank, &c.

“I had no garrison at Pesth, and I could not expose the bank-note presses to be taken by the enemy. I was compelled to take them to pieces (there is about 6000 cwt., presses and forms), and to transport them to Szegedin at the very time when the approach of the Russians forced me to remove

the presses of Debreczin. We wanted at least a fortnight to put them up, and within that fortnight not one florin was issued. That is the reason why I send you no money, except the 125,000 which I sent to Szolnok on the 9th.

“I do what man can do; but I am no God; I cannot create.

“For the last year I have had no money coming in; I found the treasury empty; and there was war from the first to the last. At this very moment I have the following troops on my hands:—

Transylvania	40,000	men.
Upper army and Komorn	45,000	„
Southern army	36,000	„
Army on the Theisz	26,000	„
Peterwardein	8,000	„
Groszwardein, Arad, Szegedin, &c. &c. ...	10,000	„
Total	165,000	men.

“Besides, there is the reserve squadron of eighteen regiments of hussars, and seven battalions now forming. We have also to maintain 20,000 men in the hospitals, with 60,000

men, train-bands, besides powder-mills, cannon foundry, manufactories for muskets, swords, and bayonets; 24,000 prisoners of war, and over and above all this, the civil branch of the administration. These are no trifles, General, and the presses have not worked for the last fortnight. I crave your patience. I am no God. I can die for my country, but even for my country I cannot create. The presses will be at work in three days, and I shall be enabled to send your treasurer 200,000 florins a-week. You ask me for 800,000 florins in thirty and fifty kreuzer pieces. Please to consider that this takes 9,400,000 impressions, which can only be done by hand; and take it that twenty presses are at work, that each press makes 470,000 impressions, and each minute ten impressions, and that they work day and night, still we want thirty-three days to produce that sum; and this sum is one-tenth of our monthly expense. This will explain our difficulties. I will do what man can do, but I can do no more.

“I am now going to talk of important

matters. Messrs. Boleres and Bolliak, emigrants from Wallachia, have offered to organise a Wallachian legion. I approved of the principle, and for the details, I have sent them to you; I recommend them. The case is of great importance. If you were to enter Wallachia, which I should like you to do, this battalion might form your forlorn hope. The consequences would be incalculable.

“If you think of marching into Wallachia, I wish you would take these gentlemen into your council, that they may prepare your way, for it is desirable that the inhabitants of that province should consider us as friends. In the proclamations it ought to be set forth that we come as friends to the Turks and to the Wallachians, to liberate them from the yoke of the Russians.

“The Turks have an equivocal policy, they ought to be compromised. The newspapers publish your proclamation suspending all civil jurisdiction. The consequences of this step may be very different from those you look for, and it ought not to be taken

without my sanction as governor. One-half of the country is in flames at the mere idea. Why do you place me in a false position, my dear general? Believe me I have plenty of cares, and my friends ought not to add to them. Your measures suspend the constitution; and even the cabinet, if it were to take such a step, must ask the sanction of the Diet, or run the chances of an impeachment. This may turn out an awkward crisis. Assist me in preventing the dangers of this confusion. I entreat you, assist me; and I remind you of our conversation at Groszwardein. I have hopes that we shall conquer if we are of one mind. My health is very bad.

“LOUIS KOSSUTH, Governor.”

In explanation of these statements we ought to add, that on the 11th of July, the day on which the Imperial troops entered Buda, which they never afterwards evacuated, a desperate sally was made from the fortress of Komorn. The insurgents were repulsed; but in the course of the night Görgey and his corps escaped on the road to Waitzen,

where he hoped to effect a junction with Perczel, who endeavoured to advance from Szolnok to Jasz-Berenyi and Alberti. General Klapka was left in command of the fortress of Komorn.

Görgey and the Russians fought a battle at Waitzen, in which the latter were at first defeated; but, being reinforced by fresh arrivals, they in their turn attacked and defeated the insurgents on the 16th of July. On the following day General Rudiger pursued Görgey to Vadkert, capturing several thousand prisoners and some guns on the road.

Prince Paskiewicz meanwhile commanded the Theisz, and the roads to Debreczin and Groszwardein. Görgey however found means to cross the Theisz with 40,000 men, and he did this with so much expedition that the Russians could not come up with him. He reached Losoncz, where General Grabbe vainly endeavoured to cut him off; and he soon attained the left bank of the Theisz. On the 22d of July he arrived at Miskolcz, but being defeated in a battle at Debreczin

he directed his forces upon Arad, for the purpose of joining the insurgent forces in the south, against whom Baron Haynau was marching from Pesth with the bulk of the Austrian army. The rebel hordes were on the 1st of August totally routed by Prince Paskiewicz at Debreczin; and this splendid victory was celebrated by Divine service in the very church in which Kossuth and his parliament on the 14th of April, 1849, had decreed the expulsion of the family of Habsburg-Lorraine. On the 8th of August, General Rudiger occupied Groszwardein, where he captured large stores of arms, ammunition, and provisions.

As for Transylvania, in that province, too, the sword of justice gained one victory after another. A junction was formed between the Imperial troops on the Theisz and the Maros and the Russian corps in Transylvania. General Lüders occupied Herrmannstadt on the 21st July, after defeating and routing the insurgents under Bem. The Russian General Grotenhjelm obtained

similar advantages in the north. He drove the rebels back upon Maros-Vasarhely, the principal city of the Szeklers, whose disgraceful perjury, savage temper, and cruelty brought so much misery into their country, and wrought so much grief to the poor and loyal Saxons.

It is stated in the above letters, and it is quite true, that 6000 insurgents invaded Moldavia on the 23d of July, but not meeting with the sympathy they expected, they were compelled to make good their retreat.

On the 31st of July the insurgents suffered another defeat at Schäsburg, where General Lüders obtained possession of the letters which we quoted above. The Hungarians had 1000 men killed, and lost 500 prisoners and several guns. The Russians complained of the loss of the gallant General Skariatin, the chief of the staff.

About this time the chivalrous Ban Jel-lachich left Ruma, and proceeded to the north to join the Imperial troops, which advancing, approached the south for the

purpose of taking Szegedin and relieving Temesvar.

A writer of great authority says,—“The march of the allied armies from Pesth to Szegedin and to the south of the Theisz, through endless plains and deserts of sand in a scorching heat, and in a remarkably short time, stands prominently forward among the greatest achievements of our army, while it proves the efficiency and the excellent temper of our troops. The want of water (for the retreating insurgents had filled up the wells,) was but one of the privations which the Imperial army suffered.”

Amidst the press of matter, by which we are all but crushed, we cannot enter into details; we cannot expatiate on the circumspection and restless activity which the Ban displayed in the organisation and command of the southern army; we cannot eulogise the gallantry of Knicanin or Mamula on the Theisz, or of Rukavina in the defence of Temesvar; we cannot paint the admirable rapidity of the progress and the manœuvres of Schlick, and the heroism of Benedek. All

we can do is to give a general account of the heroic deeds which were enacted within those few weeks.

On the 29th of July, Baron Haynau's head-quarters were at Felegyhaza, while the third corps at Melikut, and the first at Szegled, kept up uninterrupted communications with the Russian auxiliaries; and the armies of the insurgents, especially Dembinsky's corps of 40,000 men were so closely watched that they could neither unite nor obtain a footing for decisive battle. They waited for the arrival of Görgey, who meanwhile was held in check by the Russians.

About the end of July, Kossuth, although protected by a large army, felt so confined and threatened that he sent his presses and bank-note paper to Arad and Szegedin for the purpose of again seeking his safety in flight.

On the 2d of August, Baron Haynau sent Simbschen's brigade to reconnoitre the entrenchments of Szegedin. It was generally expected that this fortified city would hold out to the last, but it was occupied without

any resistance, and large stores of gunpowder, ammunition, and corn fell into the hands of the victors.

On the following day the combat commenced at old Szegedin, and the Imperial troops, under the careful guidance of the General Prince Francis Liechtenstein, displayed unequalled bravery in crossing the river and storming the enemy's batteries.

On the 4th of August, the combat was renewed at the *tête du pont*, until the enemy was thrown back and driven upon Szöreg and St. Iwan, where the insurgents effected a junction under the command of Dembinsky, Meszaros, Desewffy, and Guyon. They mustered 35,000 men, with from fifty to sixty pieces of artillery, and made frantic endeavours to arrest the progress of the allied armies. On the following day the rebels were defeated on all points; they were compelled to quit Szöreg and to beat a general retreat. On the 4th of August our first corps was at Makó, while the third forced the crossings of the Theisz at Kanisa.

We now publish the eventful bulletin

which Baron Haynau wrote in his headquarters at Temesvar, on the 10th day of August.

“ After the victorious battle at Szöreg we pursued the enemy unremittingly. In spite of the great fatigue which the army had suffered in the forced march from Nagy-Igmand to Szegedin, our troops entered on the 7th of August the line of St. Miklos, Albrechtsflur, O-Besenyö, and Mokrin ; and on the 8th they occupied Sajteny, on the right bank of the Maros, Racz, St. Peter, Peszak, Lovrin and Csataad to Hatzfeld. In the course of this pursuit the enemy attempted to resist on some points, but were quickly driven on by the 3d corps and a division of Wallmoden cuirassiers. We took many prisoners, one standard, and one piece of artillery. The train-bands were in complete dissolution, and of the regulars we had many deserters, most of whom had formerly served in the Austrian army, and who, as prisoners, had been compelled to fight against us. The deserters and prisoners mustered about 3000 men. From Makó I sent General

Schlick to Mezöhegyes, where he secured the government offices and 3000 horses.

“ I have been informed that the whole of the enemy’s forces have gone from Szegedin to Temesvar, where they joined Vetter’s corps from the Lower Theisz. The insurgents seemed resolved to fight a pitched battle near Temesvar, and they were justified in so doing ; for they had large masses of troops, with more than 100 pieces of artillery.

“ On the 9th of August I advanced with the third corps and with the Wallmoden cuirassiers from Csatad to Kis-Becskekerek ; and the Russian division under Paniutine, with the artillery reserve, marching from Lovrin by way of Sillet, made likewise an advance upon the same place ; while our reserves were sent from Pezsak, by way of Knez to Hodony and Karany, in order to turn the enemy’s right flank. I had sent the first corps, with some side-flanks on either side the Maros, to Pecska and Föulak, and to Racs, Monostor, and Vinga, to cut off the enemy’s communications between Temesvar

and Arad, and to take their artillery, for I knew that they had raised the siege of Arad.

“ At Kis-Becskerek the enemy had taken a rear-guard position, but the third corps dislodged them very quickly. When I proceeded from Becskerek with the third corps and the cavalry, for the purpose of seeking an advantageous and encamped position, the enemy (who were retreating) developed enormous strength of artillery and cavalry. I sent my troops against them, and had them driven across the cutting which is formed in the road by the ravages of a mountain stream. On the other bank of that stream they came to a stand, and, covered by thick forests, endeavoured on either side to turn our flanks; and for a time they succeeded in preventing our advance.

“ Meanwhile I brought the Russian division and batteries, and the artillery reserve, to bear upon the enemy, and when their artillery was partly silenced I effected a general advance of my forces.

“ The cavalry brigade of Lederer covered

my right flank, which the enemy threatened to turn; while Simbschen's light horse did good service on the left wing. About this time, at four o'clock P.M., the reserve corps arrived in front of Hodony, and General Prince Francis Liechtenstein advanced immediately upon the enemy's right flank near St. Andras.

“The enemy made a general retreat and were pursued by our troops. Behind the Beregszo stream they held out in the forest until nightfall. I could not pursue them with my horse, for the rivulets and swamps impeded the movements of the cavalry; besides, the horses were knocked up with forced marches and perpetual skirmishing.

“As the evening approached my scouts informed me that the enemy had quitted the forest, and that they were in full retreat. Upon this I resolved to reach the gates of Temesvar that very night, and taking two divisions of cavalry, and some battalions, I started off for that place. The enemy endeavoured, indeed, to prevent my advance, but half a battery which I sent against them

drove them back, and the relief of Temesvar was executed in an incredibly expeditious manner. I was received with shouts of transport. In the course of this battle, which I call the battle of Temesvar, the garrison of the fortress made a sally, and did much execution upon the enemy.

“I owe this signal success to the great devotion of my troops, who advanced from the Danube to this place with unequalled rapidity, and who after a march of three German miles on the 9th of August, when they had had no dinner, fought with courage and perseverance until nightfall. The cavalry did wonders, and I ought also to return my thanks to the artillery of my army. The foot were not properly engaged, for the battle was nothing but a violent cannonade of six or seven hours, diversified by a few successful cavalry attacks. The coming up of the reserve decided the battle. The advanced guard of this corps took four 24-pounders, several ammunition carts, and large quantities of baggage, and their appearance pro-

duced the greatest confusion among the enemy.

“General Count Schlick, with his corps, advanced to Monostor, and pushed his advanced guard forward to Vinga, where he took 300 prisoners and a magazine of uniforms. With the exception of the first corps, which is going to blockade Arad, I have concentrated the army near Temesvar, and advanced some troops to Remete and to the river Temes. The enemy have fled to Lugos, with baggage, guns, and ammunition carts, in the wildest confusion. Their foot were altogether disorganised, and if darkness had not set in, and if I had had the least idea of this great confusion, I would have sent the cavalry after them, though fatigued. In the neighbouring forest, and in the musket factory which the insurgents destroyed, there were, at nine o'clock that very night, Dembinsky, Guyon, Kmety, Vecsey, and Bem; the latter arrived at noon on the 9th instant, with some forces from Transylvania, and took the chief command of the rebel army.

“ On the battle-field we found large masses of weapons ; deserters and prisoners were brought in in crowds. Of prisoners we have 6000. The enemy’s bombardment has almost wholly destroyed the fortress of Temesvar — the city is a mass of ruins ; and I cannot sufficiently praise the constancy and perseverance of the commander, Baron Rukavina.

“ In the course of the siege 2400 of the garrison died of typhus and cholera ; 300 men were killed by the enemy’s projectiles ; 1400 men are in the hospitals ; and 600 invalids are with their companies, since there was no room in the hospitals. The works have not suffered much, but three detached forts have been considerably damaged.

“ In spite of the violent cannonade on the 9th, our loss is very small. To the best of my knowledge the Austrian army had fifteen men killed and thirty-six wounded. Major Baron Broetta, of the Ferdinand cuirassiers, was killed ; and Captain Prince Taxis, Count Palffy, and Baron Simbschen of the lancers ; and Lieutenant Caravaggio,

of Liechtenstein's light-horse, have been wounded. The Russian division had eight men killed and eight men wounded.

“The garrison of Temesvar were so hard up for meat that they have eaten horse flesh for the last eighteen days.

“Field-marshal Lieutenant Gläser has been killed by a fall in the course of the siege.”

CHAPTER XXII.

KOSSUTH AND GÖRGEY—THE CRISIS OF THE WAR.

WE have already alluded to the differences which had sprung up between the men of the people and the men of the army, and had become all but irreconcilable. Kossuth's letters to Bem show too that he was not satisfied with Görgey's manœuvres, and that he would have liked to appoint the Polish general to the chief command of the army. Kossuth, in fact, favoured the Polish revolutionists at the cost of the native Hungarians; he gave them larger pay, and sometimes even in gold and silver, while the Hungarians received bank-notes and promises.

He fancied the foreigners were the better soldiers, and more adapted to his peculiar purposes; he considered Görgey as his most dangerous rival, whom he would have

ruined, had not necessity compelled him to recognise the merits of the victor in many battles and the favourite of the Magyar troops.

The reason why Görgey opposed him may be found less in his jealousy of Bem than in the circumstance that Kossuth's insane policy was tottering on the brink of an abyss, into which he was likely to drag the country, unless it were possible to find an expedient for the purpose of saving the better part of the population from certain destruction. It is now sufficiently proved that Görgey was a stranger to Kossuth's diabolical sentiments, and that his heart was never against Austria ; on the contrary, that he had long looked for an opportunity to come to an understanding. He would have succeeded but for Kossuth's madness.

The battle of Temesvar served not only to break up the physical power of the revolution, but it also crushed its moral power. It caused the insurgents to lose their confidence, and thus led to a crisis. For two days after the battle (on the 11th of August) the insurgent chiefs assembled at old Arad,

and held a council of war, of which it is stated that it was like unto a furious tornado. We cannot enter into a detail of its debates, but we publish two documents which were its results.

I.

“Kossuth to the Nation.”

“After the unfortunate battles where-with God, in these latter days, has visited our people, we have no hope of our successful continuance of the defence against the allied forces of Russia and Austria. Under such circumstances, the salvation of the national existence, and the protection of its fortune, lies in the hands of the leaders of the army. It is my firm conviction, that the continuance of the present government would not only prove useless but also injurious to the nation. Acting upon this conviction, I proclaim that,—moved by those patriotic feelings which, throughout the course of my life, have impelled me to devote all my thoughts to the country,—I, and with me the whole of the cabinet, resign the guidance of the public affairs, and that the

supreme civil and military power is herewith conferred on the General Arthur Görgey, until the nation, making use of its rights, shall have disposed that power according to its will. I expect of the said General Görgey—and I make him responsible to God, the nation, and to history—that, according to the best of his ability, he will use this supreme power for the salvation of the national and political independence of our poor country and of its future. May he love his country with that disinterested love which I bear it! May his endeavours to reconquer the independence and happiness of the nation be crowned with greater success than mine were!

“I have it no longer in my power to assist the country by actions. If my death can benefit it, I will gladly sacrifice my life. May the God of justice and of mercy watch over my poor people!

“LOUIS KOSSUTH, Governor,
BARTHOLOMEW SZEMERE,
S. VUCKOVICH,
L. CSANYI,
M. HORVATH.”

II.

“ Gorgey to the Nation.

“ Citizens!—The Provisional Government exists no longer. The governor and the ministers have voluntarily resigned their offices. Under these circumstances a military dictatorship is necessary, and it is I who take it, together with the civil power of the state.

“ Citizens! whatever in our precarious position can be done for the country, I intend to do, be it by means of arms or by negotiations. I intend to do all in my power to lessen the painful sacrifice of life and treasure, and to put a stop to persecution, cruelty, and murder.

“ Citizens! the events of our time are astounding, and the blows of fate overwhelming! Such a state of things defies all calculation. My only advice and desire is, that you should quietly return to your homes, and that you eschew assisting in the resistance and the combats, even in case your towns are occupied by the enemy. The

safety of your persons and properties you can obtain only by quietly staying at the domestic hearth, and by peacefully following the course of your useful occupations.

“Citizens! it is ours to bear whatever it may please God in His inscrutable wisdom to send us. Let our strength be the strength of men, and let us find comfort in the conviction that Right and Justice *must* weather the storms of all times.

“Citizens! may God be with us!

“ARTHUR GÖRGEY.

“*Arad, 11th August, 1849.*”

We ought to consider that the defeats of the Hungarians in their own country were accompanied almost simultaneously by equal defeats of their allies. The Grand Duchy of Baden was reconquered by the Prussian army; Radetzky forced perfidious Sardinia to accept his conditions of a peace; and even republican France took the field against the republic and anarchy of Rome; while the Austrian troops did the service of scavengers to the other cities in Tuscany,

and in the Papal states. The Hungarian republic was thus left isolated and thrown back upon the last step of despair,—viz., the dictatorship. Hungary took that step, though without hope and without success.

How much must Kossuth have suffered when he was compelled to resign his power into the hands of his hated rival! and what must his rage have been when he found that Görgey's measures were opposed to his own, and that he recommended peaceful sentiments!

Two days after the council of war at Arad the new dictator entered upon the only path of safety for himself and his countrymen. We publish Baron Haynau's bulletin of the 18th of August, in so far as it relates to this transaction:—

“Görgey and his corps, whose rapid movements caused them to escape from the Russian army on the Upper Theisz, marched to Debreczin, where his rear-guard was routed by the Russians, and from thence to Groszwardein and Arad to join the southern

army of the Magyars. He was on the point of effecting his purpose, when the Austrian army of the Danube relieved Temesvar and threatened Arad on the left of the Maros. Görgey arrived too late, for early on the 10th of August Count Schlick, with part of his corps, attacked Görgey's advanced guard of from eight to ten thousand men near Arad, in which city they were driven back with great loss.

“Upon this Görgey endeavoured to reach and cross the Maros, and he threw a bridge over that river in order to escape to Lippa and Lugos. I had, however, sent a column to Lippa, which drove the enemy's advanced guard back across the river. Upon this the enemy burned their bridge. These last manœuvres were decisive, for nothing now was left to Görgey except either to face the Russian corps which followed him from Groszwardein, or the advanced guard of the allied army at Deva, or, on the left bank of the Maros, the Austrian army of the Danube. Thus surrounded on all sides, Görgey, with his corps of 25,000 men, with 144 pieces

of artillery, surrendered on the 13th of August at Világos; and the fortress of Arad, too, made an unconditional surrender on the 17th of August.

“The Austrian army prides itself on having annihilated the enemy in six battles, and on having compelled Görgey and Arad to surrender. An intercepted letter from Kossuth shows that he despaired of the Hungarian cause even before he knew anything of Görgey’s surrender. Large masses of military stores, provisions, ammunition, and weapons, to the amount of many millions, have fallen into our hands. M. Duschek, the Minister of Finance of the Provisional Government, surrendered in person, and brought us a large treasure of gold and silver in bars.

“On the 16th of August, a junction was effected between the troops of Baron Jellachich and the army of the Danube. The bloody drama is ended, and we accept it as a happy omen that we can proclaim this fact on this day, the birthday of our most gracious monarch.”

Kossuth's letter, which is mentioned in the above bulletin, is addressed to the rebel chief Bem. It is written in the French language, but with many faults of orthography and grammar. The postscript is in German :—

Kossuth to General Bem.

“Teregova, 14th August, 1849.

“I do not care for my own safety. I am tired of life, for I see the fair fabric of my country, and with it the sanctuary of European liberty, thrown down; not by our enemies, but by the hands of our brethren. It is not a cowardly yearning for life which induces me to hasten away. I go, because I am convinced that my presence has become obnoxious to the country.

General Guyon writes to say that the army at Temesvar is in a state of complete dissolution; as for you, General, you too are disabled. Görgey, at the head of the only army which remains, protests that, instead of obeying, he means to command. I have adjured him to be a patriot and to remain

faithful to his country, and I have made way for him. At present I am a citizen, neither more nor less. I went to inspect the state of affairs and the forces at Lugos. I found General Vecsey's corps in good order, and well disposed; all the other corps were disbanding. Desewffy and Kmety protested that, instead of fighting, this army was likely to take flight at the first gun-shot. I found them altogether without provisions, and forced to make requisitions,—a wretched expedient, which serves only to exasperate the country people. The bank has been brought to Arad; it is in Görgey's hands. What I saw convinced me, that if he surrenders, the army at Lugos cannot hold out for twenty-four hours, especially since they want the means of subsistence. In the enemy's country an army may possibly exist on forced requisitions and contributions; but by no means can it exist in this way in its own country. I for one will never lend my hand to forcible measures against my own people. I would give my life to save, but I will never oppress, the nation. You see,

General, it is a case of conscience. I cannot resign on one day and claim the power of government on the other. If the nation and the army were to will it otherwise, things would, of course, take another turn ; but then Görgey's army, the bravest of all our corps, ought to assent. Unless this be done, I am simply a citizen ; and I will never consent to give the assistance even of my presence to measures of terrorism, to destruction, and robbery, to requisitions and oppressions. If Görgey's army, too, were to call me back to the government—if you were to succeed in some operations tending to ensure the provisioning of your troops without violent measures against the people—if the bank could be brought to work, and if it stood at my disposal ; then, indeed, you would find me willing, on the nation's demand, to resume the duties of office. But unless those things are done, there is no office for me. With me, war is not the end ; it is a means to save the country. If I see no probability of accomplishing the end, I will not lend my hand to make war for its own sake.

“ As a citizen and an honest man, I advise you to call a committee of the representatives of the people, for it is their supreme power alone which can lawfully dispose of the government. Send couriers to Komorn and Peterwardein. Tell them to hold out. Endeavour to obtain certain information about the co-operation of the commander of Arad. These are matters of the first importance, but my presence is not ; for since you are forced to adopt violent measures to provide for your army, I cannot lend the assistance of my presence to anything of that kind.

“ I remain, with great respect,

“ KOSSUTH.”

“ P. S.—Messieurs Zamoiski and Biszoranowski tell me it is a duty of the Hungarians so to direct the manœuvres of the Polish and Italian legion that they may do service to the country, but that in the worst case they may avoid being transported to Siberia. I am sensible of this duty, and have instructed General Guyon to employ these

legions in keeping up the communications with Turkey by way of Orsova. Now, I understand that you have sent the garrison of Orsova to Transylvania; there are but two companies, which cannot even for three days make head against the Servians. They are this day at Kornya; they have marched about six German miles, and they got nothing to eat. They, too, will be routed, and Orsova is likely to fall into the enemy's hands."

The following is a translation of Baron Haynau's bulletin of the 19th of August:—

"The pursuit has been carried on by a third corps, by the reserves, and by the Wallmoden cuirassiers; it was so successful that Transylvania and the Banat are no longer infested by the insurgents. A few thousand men of the Polish legion are between Mehadia and Orsova, but we are going to rout them. On the 19th our troops overtook seventy-two field-pieces of Vecsey's corps, which the insurgents had left behind. They also took 100 baggage-waggons. This

corps being in a state of dissolution, and Vecsey himself having taken flight, the remainder of from 7000 to 8000 men, 1000 horses, and 4000 muskets, with two field-pieces, surrendered to the Russian army at Boros-Jevö.

“ The insurgents under Bem and Guyon are still being pursued, and the third corps entered Deva on the 18th and 19th. This place had already been occupied on the 15th by an advanced guard from General Lüder's corps; but in the course of the night of the 17th Bem and Guyon arrived with their forces, and the Russian outposts fell back upon the main body of their corps. The rebels asked General Lüders for an armistice of twenty-four hours. This was granted to them, with a summons to make an unconditional surrender afterwards. They held a council of war, and many officers insisted on continuing the combat, but the troops refused to obey their orders. Bem and Guyon took advantage of the armistice, and fled in the direction of Ruszberg. They were almost captured. After their departure a vio-

lent quarrel took place in the camp, for the officers could not agree about the surrender. The consequence was, that on the 18th inst. the better half of the corps (about 8000 men) surrendered to the Russians, who took the prisoners, weapons, and heavy artillery (about fifty pieces) to Hermannstadt; twenty-four pieces of artillery were left at Deva, under the protection of one battalion of Russians, but they were afterwards given up to our third corps.

“Above 1000 insurgents have fled into the mountains on either side of the Maros, and the remainder of from 4000 to 5000 men were taken in charge by our third corps. Within the last few days at Facset, Deva, Dobra, and Karansebes, we have taken 25,000 men and 176 pieces of artillery, without counting, however, the corps of Görgey.”

CHAPTER XXIII.

KOSSUTH IN TURKEY.

A PHILOSOPHER who can appreciate the gulf which lies between the enjoyment of ambition and the bitterness of an inglorious downfall, will likewise be able to fathom the thoughts of the man whom treason and revenge had made a governor and dictator, who had ruined his infatuated country, and who fled to the frontier over heaps of corpses and ruins. Kossuth expresses these sentiments in his farewell to Hungary, but he does so in a very selfish and poetical way. This batch of sentimental phrases, and this string of accusations against Görgey, which bears the stamp of a broken heart, was published in several foreign papers, so that there is some reason to believe that Kossuth himself

caused it to be translated. The document has, however, a certain historical value. It is dated from Orsova, the 15th of August, 1849, and runs to the following purpose:—

“Farewell, my country! Farewell, country of the Magyars! Farewell, country of torments! No longer shall I see thy mountains, no longer shall I make my home on the soil where in my first days I drank the milk of justice and of liberty. Canst thou pardon me, O my country? Canst thou pardon the man who is now doomed to be a vagrant far from thy sacred soil, because he fought for thy happiness? Canst thou pardon me, that on thy plains there is no spot that is free but that on which I kneel, with some faithful sons of great, of conquered Hungary?

“I look upon thee, O my poor country! I see thee bent with suffering. I look to the future, but the future is shrouded in darkness. Thy plains are red with blood; corruption will blacken it, as a sign of mourning over the countless victories which thy sons obtained against the enemies of thy sacred soil!

How many pitiful prayers have struck the ear of the Almighty! how many hot tears have fallen down upon thee—tears which might even have moved charity in the depth of hell—and these streams of blood, which proved that the Hungarian loves his country, and that he knows how to die for it!

“And still, O my country, thou art enslaved. From thy very bowels they will dig out the iron to subjugate thee, to strike down thy holy things, and to foster all things accursed.

“O God, if Thou love us, Thy people—if Thou lovest us, the people of Arpad the hero,—listen to my prayers, and save this country from humiliation.

“This I say in my despair, standing on the last spot of thy soil. Pardon me, O my country, since I was the cause that thy sons have bled for thee; for I was thy advocate when they would have doomed thee lost. I have spoken for thee when they said, ‘Be a slave!’ And I have girded my loins with a sword when they dared to say, ‘Thou art no longer a nation on the soil of the Magyars!’

“ Time has passed with rapid steps ; fate has signed thy death-warrant on the pages of thy history. The Colossus of the North has printed his seal thereon ; but this seal will melt at the approach of the red-hot iron of the East.

“ My country, thou hast shed streams of noble blood, but there is no pity for thee. Tyranny and despotism feast on the hills formed by the corpses of thy fallen sons. And the ungrateful one, whom thou hast nourished with the fatness of thy wealth, he has turned against thee. He, the traitor of his own country, raised his hand and struck his own mother.

“ But thou, O generous nation, thou hast borne all this, and more ; nor hast thou cursed thy fate, for within thee hope triumphs over the sufferings of the present time.

“ Hungarians ! do not avert your eyes from me, for at this very moment my tears are flowing for you, and this spot of ground which bears my trembling feet is still blessed by the name of Hungary. Thou hast fallen,

my country, because thou hast wrought thy own undoing.

“It was not the sword of the foreigner which prepared thy fall,—not the guns of fourteen nations which were leagued against thee could prevail against thy patriotism ; it was not the fifteenth nation from beyond the Karpathians which compelled thee to surrender. No, my country, thou hast been betrayed and sold. Thy doom was signed by the very men whose patriotism I thought unimpeachable. The highest flight of my boldest thoughts might, perhaps, have led me to doubt the existence of God ; but I never could have believed that *he* would be a traitor to his country. Thou hast been betrayed by the man into whose hands I gave the government of our great country, which he swore to defend to the last. But vile metal had more value in his eyes than his country and his God, who abandoned him, even as he renounced God for his hellish associates. Magyars!—dearest comrades!—do not condemn me because I was forced to select this man, and to resign my place to

him. I was compelled, for the people trusted him and the army loved him. And yet he has betrayed the confidence of the people, and hatred was his return for the love of the army. Curse him, people of Hungary! curse the breast which succoured him!

“I love thee, O most faithful of all nations, as I love freedom, for which thou hast done battle. The God of liberty will never forget thee. May He bless now and for ever.

“My principles were not the principles of Washington; my actions were not the actions of terror. I wished to see thee as a free people—free as God created men. And thou art dead, withered like the lily, to bring forth fresh flowers with the return of spring. Thou art dead, for thy winter has come apace. But that winter will not last so long as that of thy comrades in suffering who pine away in the ices of Siberia.

“No; fifteen nations have prepared thy doom, and thousands of the sixteenth shall come to work thy resurrection. Be thou

faithful, as thou always hast been ; respect the words of the Gospel ; say thy last prayer, and let thy national hymn be silent until thy mountains resound with the cannon of victory.

“God be with you, dear countrymen ! May His power and the angels of liberty protect you ! Curse me not ! You are a proud people indeed, for you have roused the lions of Europe to conquer the rebels. The world admires you as heroes, and the cause of my heroic people will be supported by the freest of all the free nations on the face of the earth.

“God be with you, O thou sacred soil ! sanctified by the blood of so many martyrs. Let that blood be a witness to the people which will bring you help. And God be with thee, too, thou young King of Hungary ! Do not forget that this people is not thy own. I trust to God that thou wilt become convinced of this, even on the ruins of Buda.

“God Almighty bless thee, my beloved people ! Have faith, charity, and hope.”

According to an authentic report, Dembinsky, senior, Meszaros, and Meszlenyi (Kossuth's brother-in-law), with eighteen other rebel officers, most of them Poles, arrived on the 14th of August, by way of Orsova, at Turnul-Szeverino. On the 16th, Moriz and Nicholas Perczel, and the Sheriff Makay, arrived at the same place; and the 18th witnessed the arrival of Kossuth with his followers, while the 19th brought M. Fischer, commander of the National Guards, and Major Count Dembinsky with his wife. They all fled to the Turkish territory, whither they were followed by Bem and Count Casimir Batthyany, with his wife, many officers, and about 4000 privates from the insurgent army.

On the 20th of August, the first transport of insurgents, escorted by some Turkish cavalry, arrived at Kalafat, where they stopped. After a stay of three hours, they were taken across the Danube to Widdin. At one o'clock on the 21st, Kossuth arrived, with three vans of luggage, which certainly contained a large amount of treasure, of

which we grieve to say that we suspect it had been acquired by robbery. He hastened to the Turkish commander, and after a few minutes he returned and proceeded to the river, where a miserable boat was quickly manned and covered with an awning of reeds, and in this boat he crossed over to Widdin. The Turkish officers assert that Kossuth was in a morbid state of excitement, and that he excused the haste he was in by pretending that he was being pursued by the Cossacks. A third transport of fugitives, of men of rank, arrived on the 22d.

Kossuth and his friends were quartered in one of the suburbs of Widdin, and the Pacha sent him a guard of honour, for his favour had been obtained by means which may be easily guessed.

It was but natural that Austria and Russia should be eager, on the bases of former treaties (to wit, of Karlowitz, Passarowits, Belgrade, Kudschuk-Kainardschi), to negotiate with the Porte on the extradition, or at least on the careful surveillance, of the fugi-

tives ; and, in short, to do all in their power to foil the intrigues of those disturbers of the peace of the world. There can be no doubt that Turkey was trammelled by the influence of England, which, for the last few years, has ceased to be the old trusty ally of Austria ; and thus it happened that Kossuth and his followers remained under the protection of the Crescent.

In the second half of October, the Austrian General Hauslab arrived at Widdin. He brought an extensive amnesty, on the part of his most gracious monarch, for the privates and serjeants of the fugitives ; and he succeeded in inducing a large number of them to return to their country ; and this the more since they were all in a wretched condition, and as most probably they desired to satisfy their conscience.

Bem, the faithless, renounced Christianity, and became a Mahometan, because he hoped that the time would come when he could, for the third time, take the field against Russia. It is to be regretted that so many fugitives followed his example.

In the beginning of September, there were in Hungary but three fortresses which dared to resist the allied armies. They were Munkacz, Peterwardein, and Komorn. When Görgey surrendered at Vilagos, and when he declared that he would use his power and authority to induce the commanders of the said fortresses to follow his example, as they could not hold out, and too much blood had been shed already, it was generally hoped that these fortresses would soon surrender to the mercy of the victors. They were permitted to send officers to ascertain the true state of affairs and the hopeless ruin of their cause; but although there could be no doubt in this respect, the chiefs of the rebels remained obstinate, and they persuaded their terrorised and deluded garrisons that Master Kossuth would soon come with 50,000 Turks to reconquer the country.

The small fortress of Munkacz was the first to surrender to the Russians. Peterwardein capitulated on the 7th, for, closely infested by the troops of the Ban, and harassed by internal dissension, this capitula-

tion had become necessary. But most obstinate was the maiden fortress of Komorn, under the command of Klapka, who tendered conditions of surrender, which proved altogether inadmissible. At this time (on the 13th of September) the great Field-marshal Radetzky was at Vienna, and his influence prevailed to such an extent that the capitulation of Komorn was concluded on the same mild and humane conditions which had been offered to Venice. The negotiations were resumed, and supported by a blockading force of 80,000 men, and on the 27th of September the garrison declared their readiness to surrender. Thus fell the last and strongest bulwark of the Hungarian revolution;—please God that it be for ever.

Klapka, and many chiefs of the conspiracy, were allowed to depart from the country. Görgey remained in Austria. He lives at present at Klagenfurt.

As for the fugitives in Widdin, they have since been transported to Schumla. A letter from Widdin of the 4th November states that the emigrants were divided into four

transports, and that they left on the 30th and 31st of October, and on the 1st and 3d of November. They were escorted by lancers and light-horse. Kossuth, dealing in his usual sophisms, protested that this transportation was an especial grace of the Sultan; and he made a speech, which we decline to copy. It is asserted that he rode on a miserable horse; that he was pale, gloomy, and broken-hearted; in short, that he was the very picture of wretchedness.

CHAPTER XXIV.

CONCLUSION.

By means of Kossuth and his revolutionary republic, the Pragmatic Sanction has been torn asunder. In former times, Hungary was in the position of a foreign country to Austria, and the line of customs on the frontier prevented the exchange of merchandise and of ideas. The Magyars, with their Constitution, were indeed better off than Austria under the iron rule of despotism; but what was called liberty in Hungary was nothing but a snare—a mere delusion: for the country groaned under the despotism of the magnates, and of their feudal institutions, which prevented all progress. Exulting and abounding Pannonia remained half-uncultivated, and its resources unexplored. Even

what little prosperity it enjoyed, it owed to the Germans, as well as its liberation from the yoke of the Turks; for without Charles of Lorraine, Hungary would to this day, perhaps, have remained a Turkish province.

Hungary was not grateful to her liberators, for from her bosom rose one after another — Rakoczi, Tökeli, Zapolya, Wesselenyi, Nadasdy, Zrinyi, junior, and Frangipani, the predecessors and prototypes of Kossuth. They even leagued with their old foes, the Mussulmen, against the House of Habsburg, and the force of arms only could reduce them to obedience; but though they assisted Maria Theresa in her hour of need, their assistance was neither so spontaneous nor so generous as it has been made to appear, for the Hungarian nobility extorted rights and privileges of quite an Oriental character.

Hungary is now a conquered country, a province of Austria; and shares in the Constitution of the 4th of March, 1849. The Magyars may now, indeed, say that they are a free nation. Truly the gain is on either side; for Hungary, though still bleeding from

the wounds of her fatal civil war, sees the time approaching when the conviction will force itself upon everybody that the bonds of harmony, of confidence, and of fraternity, will heal the wounds of either country, and that they are a guarantee of tranquillity, and order, and of future prosperity. For in re-organizing the conquered country, Austria will certainly bear in mind the important words of Jean Paul—"Next to strength, nothing is so sublime as its command."

THE END.

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