

THE
PRINCETON REVIEW.

JULY, 1852.

No. III.

Vol. IV.

ART. I.—*Collections of the New Jersey Historical Society*, Vol. IV. (The papers of Lewis Morris, Governor of the Province of New Jersey, from 1738 to 1746.) George P. Putnam, New York, 1852, pp. 336.

WE announce with pleasure the appearance of another volume of the Collections of the New Jersey Historical Society. We welcome it, not only as a valuable contribution to the history of the State, but as an earnest of the diligence and success with which the Society is pursuing its useful labours. But before we proceed to notice the contents of the volume, we desire to say a few words in reference to the Society itself, and to what it has already accomplished.

In the month of February, 1845, a few gentlemen from different parts of the State, met together in the city of Trenton, and formed an association under the name of "The New Jersey Historical Society." Its objects were declared to be, "to discover, procure, and preserve, whatever relates to any department of the history of New Jersey, natural, civil, literary and ecclesiastical." It commenced operations without funds, without patronage of any kind; relying for support, solely, upon the annual dues of its members, and the voluntary contributions of those who felt an interest in the cause. The

doubtless, intimates the close union between *thought* and *word*. Those unfortunate beings even, whose eyes, ears, and lips are closed, whose souls dwell within their clay tabernacle, without the use of those glorious avenues to the outward world which other men enjoy—even they have some *sounds* for the different objects of their—what we are loth to call—sensation. “I was lately looking at a negro who was occupied in feeding young mocking-birds by the hand. ‘Would they eat worms?’ I asked. The negro replied: ‘Surely not: they are too young; *they would not know what to call them.*’—A singular commentary, almost touching, in its simplicity, on the passage in Genesis to which allusion has been made.”*

Perhaps the only lawful question in the matter would be: *How* does man speak? Is language an organic production of man’s nature, as Becker maintains, or is it a wholly immaterial, “spiritual emanation of an individual national life,” as Humboldt holds, or is it neither? But even these inquiries may have the appearance of subtleties;

“For wonderful indeed are all God’s works,
Pleasant to know, and worthiest to be all
Had in remembrance always with delight;
But what created mind can comprehend
Their number, or the wisdom infinite
That brought them forth, but *hid their causes deep.*”

ART. V.—*Austria in 1848-49.—Being a history of the late political movements in Vienna, Milan, Venice, and Prague; with details of the campaigns of Lombardy and Novara; a full account of the revolution in Hungary; and historical sketches of the Austrian Government and the Provinces of the Empire.* By William H. Stiles, late Chargé d’Affaires of the United States at the Court of Vienna. With portraits of the Emperor, Metternich, Radetsky, Jellacic and Kossuth. 2 vols. 8vo. Harper and Brothers, New York, 1852.

THE series of startling events which have occurred within the last few years upon the Continent of Europe, and the important part enacted by the Austrian Empire in the great po-

* Dr. Lieber, l. c.

litical drama which has so powerfully agitated the civilized world, impart a peculiar interest to any work, likely to afford authentic information in relation to some of the most important occurrences of modern times. The author of the work under notice, was the representative of the American Government, at the court of Vienna, during the period of which we have spoken, and was a witness of the rise, progress, and final catastrophe of the revolution. Availing himself of the means afforded by his position, he has collected materials from all sources, to illustrate the history of the times. Having access to official documents, some of which were only to be found in the imperial archives, he has by this means, and by personal observation, been enabled to present a most interesting, and we have no reason to doubt, faithful picture of the eventful struggle in Vienna, Milan, Venice, and Prague, as well as full details of the campaigns in Lombardy, Piedmont, and Hungary.

In order that his readers may understand the causes, and appreciate the facts, of the recent political convulsions in Austria, the author has given a preliminary account of the condition of the empire prior to the revolution, the races which inhabit the provinces now composing Austria, and the manner in which they became subject to the sway of a common sovereign. This portion of the work, though comparatively dry, is highly instructive, and we have followed the author with great interest as he traced the progress of the empire from the period when she was first known by her present name, and when, as Mr. Webster says in his famous letter to Chevalier Hulseman, she was "but as a patch on the earth's surface," and her whole territory was that lying between the rivers Raab and Enns; through the lapse of centuries, during which she has acquired either by conquest, election, succession or marriage, and annexed to herself, sixteen great states, besides numerous small principalities, inhabited by four of the seven different races of Europe, among whom are spoken twelve distinct languages, to her present position of strength and power, when she occupies a territory of two hundred and fifty six thousand square miles, containing a population of thirty eight millions of inhabitants.

The early chapters of this work give an account of the progress of absolutism in Europe, and the manner in which it has

been maintained—the internal administration of the Austrian empire—the system of education, which, though gratuitous, is compulsory, and monopolized by the government, and from which everything is carefully excluded which might possibly tend to freedom of thought, or produce a feeling adverse to royal prerogative—the censorship of the press, through which all publications are purged of such dangerous expressions as “popular rights,” “popular opinion,” “public spirit,” and “nationality.” The corrections thus made are in some cases highly amusing. In a work having no reference to Austria, the expression “heroic champions” was changed to “brave soldiers,” and “a band of youthful heroes who flocked around the glorious standard of their country” became “a considerable number of young men who voluntarily enlisted themselves for the public service.” The effect of this censorship has been fatal to the literature of Austria, which possesses no character, and hardly a name. The system of espionage, and the examination of letters, are also much relied upon by the government. The government has also a powerful check upon the acts and conduct of the people in the confessional, as the Jesuit priests are uniformly the instruments of the state; and the people being required to confess at stated intervals, every important disclosure is at once conveyed to the ear of power. The government being thus in possession of the secret thoughts of the whole population, it is easy to anticipate any popular commotion; and an immense standing army is maintained, which stands always ready to crush insurrection in the bud, and suppress revolt wherever it may venture to raise its head. It is not to be wondered at, that under such a system the people should have become restive and impatient. No revolutionary sentiments were disseminated through the press, but the people were not without the means of information. The facilities for modern travel had multiplied the number of travellers at least a hundred fold, and liberal ideas and free opinions were propagated more successfully by this means, than they could possibly have been through the Austrian press. When, therefore, the news of “the French Revolution of 1848 fell like a bomb amid the states and kingdoms of the continent,” the people were not unprepared for the intelligence, and the Magyar, the Czeck,

the Pole, and the Lombard, were heard to speak, each in their several tongues, the language of independence.

The great diplomatist of the continent, wily and vigilant beyond all his compeers, and possessed of an instinct and sagacity not often encountered, foresaw at once the impending storm, and promptly made his preparations for its outbreak. "For a while he trusted that the deluge of democracy which he had long foreseen, could be stayed during the term of his natural life; but latterly even this hope deserted him," and after scanning the clouds which lowered over the political horizon, he exclaimed, "I am no prophet, and I know not what will happen; but I am an old practitioner, and I know how to discriminate between curable and fatal diseases. This one is fatal: here we hold as long as we can; but I despair of the issue." The secret of the great power exercised by this extraordinary man, has often been a subject of speculation. The man, who for years controlled absolutely the Austrian government—who restored her finances, reconstructed her army, and once more infused national vigour into an exhausted and fallen country—who signed the Convention of Fontainebleau with Napoleon, and the first and second peace of Paris—who presided at every congress of the allied powers, from that at Vienna to the closing scene at Verona, and who had received without exception every order of distinction which the different monarchs of Europe could bestow—was a man calculated to attract attention, and give rise to speculation. The author of this book possessed superior advantages for judging of this matter, and he gives us the following as the result of his observation:—"He was not remarkable for his native genius or subsequent acquirements, but his distinguishing traits were his knowledge and perception of character, and the arts by which he bent them to his own purpose. He could entertain a circle of fifty persons with ease and amiability, without resorting to ordinary resources. He would participate in the dissipation and follies of his superiors and equals; but he would at the same time be searching the means by which he could turn them to profit. It was impossible to know better than he how to discover the weak sides of those around him; and what is still more difficult, to render himself necessary to their frailties.

The mode of execution which Metternich employs is truly singular. To a perfect knowledge of the principal persons with whom he has transactions, he joins an address not less astonishing in the choice of his instruments. He has formed for himself a gallery of living Metternichs, from whence he draws forth his ambassadors and agents. With a gigantic mind he spread his toils over the whole continent—had his spies in all the capitals of Europe: in Portugal he was with the *Miguels*; in Spain, France, and Italy, with the aristocrats and priests; and at Constantinople most intimate with the Sultan. It was by these means that he held for so long a time the destinies of Europe in his hands.”

The year 1848 was an eventful year in Europe. On the 20th of February the French Revolution commenced, and in three days the contest was over. During that time the king had abdicated and become a fugitive and an exile, a provisional government had been established, and a republic proclaimed.

On the intelligence of these events reaching the south-western States of Germany, revolutionary movements were at once commenced. The people moved by a common impulse, held public meetings simultaneously, at which they demanded equal representation, trial by jury, the emancipation of the press, and the repeal of all obnoxious laws. Attempts were made to evade these demands, and to satisfy the people with fair words and fairer promises of ultimate relief, but without effect; and by the middle of March, Bavaria, Wurtemberg, Baden, the Hesses, Saxony, Brunswick, Hanover, Weimar, Gotha, and Reuss, finding resistance unavailing, and trembling for the stability of their thrones, had quietly submitted to the popular will.

No demonstration however had yet been made in Austria, and the government indulged the illusory hope that the tranquillity of the empire would not be disturbed. The people were in a state of complete subjection; standing armies covered the face of the land; troops were quartered in every capital and every town, the number in each being regulated by the size and character of the population. But this was not the only dependence of the emperor. He relied much upon the easy and quiet temper of the people, and upon the long habit of obedience and submission to constituted authority, which made them well dis-

posed, and easily governed. The government was, it is true, despotic, but its administration was mild, and whatever privileges were denied, it was not personally oppressive. "If there was the hand of lead, there was at least the glove of silk to cover it." "The government took care that the mass of the people were possessed of all animal comforts and enjoyments; that they were provided with work when well, and taken care of when sick; that the price of amusements was by law made so low, that none need be deprived of their enjoyment." The experience of the past, increased this confidence. Revolutions in other countries had never affected Austria, and while the French Revolution of 1830 had convulsed certain portions of Germany, it had fallen without effect upon Vienna; and her citizens remained untainted with revolutionary principles.

But they were soon to be awakened from this false security. Like thunder from a clear sky, the declaration of French liberty fell upon Vienna, and caused her to tremble through every nerve of her political system. The sudden fall of the public funds, hitherto so stable, the earnest consultations and discussions of the people, the sympathy loudly expressed for the revolutionists of France, the complaints unheard of till now, of the oppressions of their own government, the refusal of the medical students to accept appointments in the army, a post always highly coveted, and a peremptory demand for a modification of the consorship of the press, aroused the Austrian cabinet to a true sense of the danger and difficulty of their position, and convinced them that all their wisdom, activity, and resources, would be required to retain the provinces, if not to preserve the throne. The question was now between concession and increased severity. A majority of the imperial cabinet favoured the former, but Metternich was obdurate. Blinded by an overweening self-confidence, like that which hurled the infatuated Louis Philippe from his throne, he announced his determination. He offered to withdraw from the cabinet, but made it the condition of his retaining office, that he should have the entire control of the administration of the government. In an evil hour, both for the government and himself, he was permitted to retain his post on his own terms, and the results were, the political tempest which soon swept over the empire, shaking it to its very

centre; and to himself, humiliation, degradation, and exile, in the evening of his days, after fifty years of unremitting labour in the public service.

On the 13th of March the people made an explicit demand for an extension of political freedom, and placed themselves in an attitude of hostility to the government. The military was called out and ordered to fire upon the populace. Doubting the propriety and necessity of firing upon an unarmed crowd, who had done no more than demand certain salutary reforms, they for a moment hesitated. On a repetition of the order they obeyed, and many victims fell; and our author justly observes in relation to this hesitation of the soldiery, "That moment, although without action, was the most important one that Austria ever witnessed. In that moment the revolution was assured, the fall of Metternich accomplished, and the unlimited power of the house of Hapsburg, which they had enjoyed for centuries, struck to the earth." The two following days were days of fearful and portentous excitement, during which events of great magnitude occurred. Among these may be named the continued conflict between the people and the troops, the fall of Metternich, and the defection of the Burgher Guard, or armed militia, who passed over to the ranks of the populace, opening to them the civil arsenal, and furnishing them with arms. On the third day (March 15th) the glorious struggle terminated, and the people received from the government, grants of all they demanded, including freedom of the press, and the call of a convention for the purpose of framing a constitution for the empire. It is worthy of notice, that in this desperate struggle between absolute power and popular rights, the members of the University were the instigators, and from the beginning to the end of the conflict, the unterrified supporters of the progressive movement of the age.

On the evening of the day on which, as we have seen, an arbitrary and despotic government yielded through all its branches with evident reluctance, to the demands of an oppressed people, Vienna received within her gates a visitor whose name is familiar to the ears of our readers. The Hungarian Diet was in session at Presburg, and a deputation from that body headed by Louis Kossuth visited the capital, to ask in addition to the con-

stitution for the whole empire, a separate and independent ministry for the kingdom of Hungary. After a violent altercation, the emperor yielded to these demands, and directed such ministry to be formed.

The first revolution of Vienna, though pure in its origin and honourable in its proceedings, and stained with less blood and fewer outrages than any which had occurred on the continent of Europe, was not succeeded by the tranquillity which had been anticipated. Mr. Stiles assigns various reasons for the disappointments and embarrassments which followed this successful struggle for free principles; among others, the fact that the empire was composed of such a heterogeneous mass; the sudden transition from an unlimited to a constitutional government; the fact that the concessions were extorted by the people from the government and not freely granted, and they could not agree in relation to their extent; and the want on the part of the government, of an able and popular ministry, which the crisis imperatively demanded. The students of the University, whose noble efforts had done them so much honour, became inflated with the glory they had acquired, and conducted themselves in the most disreputable manner. Emissaries from France and Northern Germany flocked to Vienna, and the students, young, ardent, and inexperienced, became instruments in the hands of the most unprincipled propagandists, whose sole desire appeared to be to break down all government. Communists and socialists disseminated their pestiferous sentiments, and flooded the country with the most vile and shameful publications; so that the newly acquired freedom of the press degenerated at once into absolute licentiousness. The number of newspapers increased from three to one hundred, instilling into the people a poison which they swallowed with the greater avidity, because it had been so long forbidden, until they became thoroughly demoralized, bewildered, and extravagant both in opinions and design; and the blessing of an unshackled press became converted into a curse. A scene of anarchy and confusion now ensued, and the emperor becoming intimidated at the disorderly conduct of the students and rabble, made his escape from the capital on the 16th day of May, and took refuge at Innsbruck. A feeble attempt was made by the ministry

to sustain themselves, and preserve order; and this failing, the city was surrendered into the hands of the students. A revolutionary committee usurped all the powers of government, and a society of democratic women was organized, who were the miserable dupes of designing agitators. All authority was paralyzed, the peaceable and well disposed were disheartened, and passively awaited the approach of a catastrophe from which they could not escape, and which they had no power to avert. This first revolution in Vienna was unquestionably commenced in a proper and laudable spirit; the demands made of the government were just and reasonable; and the whole body of the people united in those demands. But the event proved that the grants extorted "included more freedom than the people were prepared for, and like deadly weapons in the hands of the unskilful, facilitated their destruction, instead of contributing to their defence."

The people were not to be satisfied with the enjoyment of a rational liberty. Socialism and communism had been introduced among them, and prepared the way for all the atrocities which subsequently disgraced their conduct. They looked with contempt on our American liberty. It was too home-bred, and contained too little philosophy to comport with their lofty conceptions of the destiny of man, and of human society. One of the most distinguished of the revolutionary leaders said to the author of this work: "We wish no such republic as you have in the United States; we wish something original; we wish a government where there shall not only be an equality of rights and of rank, but an equality of property, and an equality of everything." And another leader, equally distinguished, in a conversation with the author, said: "Sir, the only course left to us is to raise the *guillotine*, and to keep it in constant and active operation; our only watchword should be *Blood! blood! blood!* and the more blood that flows the sooner shall we attain our liberties." With sentiments so atrocious in the mouths of their leaders, it is not surprising that the Austrians did not secure and maintain their liberty, or that misrule, disorder, and violence should have been the result of the revolution.

The portion of this work which treats of the insurrection in Milan, and the invasion of Lombardy, the political history of

Venice and Bohemia, and the outbreak at Prague in 1848, will well repay a careful perusal; but we are unable to dwell upon it at this time. It is enough to say, that the same causes which rendered valueless all the efforts of the liberals of Vienna, produced like effects in all the other parts of the Austrian dominions in which the standard of revolt was displayed. The leaders sought not liberty, but unrestrained license, and their first successes were invariably followed by acts of cruel and unjustifiable violence.

The second volume of Mr. Stiles' work is devoted principally to the subject of Hungary, and contains a large amount of valuable information, conveyed in a lively and agreeable manner.

Near the close of the ninth century, seven tribes of Magyar wanderers, under the conduct of Almus and his son Arpad, entered the country near the Theiss river, and gradually acquired settlements in the fertile plains of Dacia. They chose Arpad as their leader, whose office was to be hereditary in his line; and their government was a species of federal aristocracy, or union of clans, owing a limited obedience to a superior chief. For seven centuries after the appearance of the Magyars in Europe, Hungary maintained an entirely distinct and separate existence, until in 1526 it became connected with the Austrian crown. In the year 1301 the male line of Arpad became extinct, and from that time till the middle of the sixteenth century, Hungary, of her own free choice, elected and called to the throne five different dynasties. In 1526, the Magyar chivalry were defeated by Solyman at the battle of Mohacs, with the loss of their king, and the throne of Hungary became for the fifth time vacant. Ferdinand of Austria, the brother-in-law of the deceased monarch, and brother of the emperor Charles the Fifth, was elected king by the Diet of Presburg, and in 1547 was fully acknowledged and confirmed in possession of the throne, which has ever since been occupied by his descendants, the emperors of Germany or Austria, and kings of Hungary. The connection which thus took place between Hungary and Austria, was at the time considered merely temporary, arising from the fact of two independent kingdoms owing allegiance to the same sovereign; and the

new king, previous to his coronation, was required to swear, that on the extinction of certain families, the right of election should be rendered back to the Diet. In 1687 the Hungarian throne was made hereditary in the house of Hapsburg, but continued to be elective by the Diet of the kingdom; and the succession of that house has been secured by the influence of the emperor-kings in procuring the election of their heirs during their own term of office. All the alterations which were from this time made in the disposition of the throne, created no change in the character of the monarchy; the constitution and the laws remaining the same, and the coronation treaty between the monarch and the people being identical under the hereditary, as it had been under the elective monarchy.

Hungary has never been a province of Austria, but a free and independent nation, possessing a separate and distinct constitution and laws, exercising alone, in case of vacancy, the power to dispose of the throne of the kingdom; and should the house of Hapsburg become extinct to-morrow, the connection between the countries would at once terminate; and should Austria violate the compact on which that connection is founded, the right of Hungary to dissolve it could not be questioned. We are compelled to pass over the different acts of oppression exercised towards Hungary by the Austrian government; such as the violation of coronation oaths, the suppression of the Diet, the attempts to levy imposts, and raise troops by royal edict; and proceed at once to the period we have already spoken of—the 15th of March, 1848. On that day the emperor, on the demand of Kossuth and his associates, granted to the kingdom liberty of the press, a responsible ministry, an annual Diet, equality of rights and duties, and other privileges, which on the 11th of April he confirmed in person before the Diet at Presburg. The joy of the people at the concessions of the government knew no bounds; but as at Vienna the change was too sudden, from the restraints of a rigid government to the enjoyment of constitutional liberty, and the people having no knowledge or experience of rational freedom, gave way to the utmost license. The new government just established and not fully organized, was too feeble to check

these excesses, or afford protection to the persons or property of the more peaceful inhabitants. Scenes of the most disgraceful character occurred in different parts of the kingdom, and such as could not have been anticipated in a civilized and Christian country. In one part of the kingdom a violent and brutal attack was made on the whole Jewish population; in another, the poor landholders rose against the rich, and without reason slaughtered the nobles and destroyed their dwellings; in another, a sworn jury fell victims to the popular rage; in another, the people took down the Hungarian flag and burned it, and then raised a red one in its place; and at the same time they seized the first fiscal officer of the town, brought him into the market-place, and there literally cut him to pieces. These are but a part of the atrocities committed by a people completely intoxicated with their newly-acquired liberty; and these excesses could have been checked had the government possessed a sufficient military force. Again and again did they invoke the aid of the Austrian government to suppress these disturbances; and it was not until a deaf ear had been turned to their repeated applications, that the first threats of separation escaped the nation.

But Hungary was now menaced with dangers greater than any which she had yet encountered, and which materially tended to produce her downfall. We refer to her internal dissensions, and the opposition made to her in several provinces of the kingdom. Our space will not permit us to enlarge upon this subject, but we would refer our readers to the work of Mr. Stiles, for an interesting and instructive account of the Croatian war—the Servian revolt—the invasion of Hungary by Jelaccic—his defeat at Pacoszd, and escape to Vienna. Austria having espoused the cause of Croatia, and hostilities continuing between that province and Hungary, and the imperial commissioner who had been sent to Pesth having been brutally murdered, the emperor made preparations to march a large body of troops into Hungary. But difficulties of a kind hitherto unknown in Austria were now to be met.

It was now October, and the capital had not recovered from the effects of the disorders consequent upon the revolution of March. On the evening of October the 5th, several regiments

of Italian infantry left the city on their way to Hungary, and on the next day the Richter battalion of grenadiers was to follow. The students, who still exercised a formidable power in Vienna, declared that the struggle going on for independence in Hungary should not be checked; that if the emperor was successful in his attack on that country, he would avail himself of the army thus placed at his command to put down the constitutional system in Austria, and that the troops should not march. The battalion itself had for some time shown signs of insubordination, and on the order to march being given, the men refused to obey, and showed every disposition to break out in open mutiny. A crowd of students, women, and others encouraged and applauded them, and in this way commenced the second or October revolution of Vienna. Additional troops having been called in to compel the advance of the mutinous battalion, the march commenced in the direction of the railroad depôt, but it was soon discovered that the road was impassable, and that several arches of a bridge over an arm of the Danube had been torn up, and a barricade constructed of the materials to oppose the passage of the troops. A terrible conflict ensued, in which the imperial general Breda was killed; the war office taken, and Count Latour, the minister of war, inhumanly murdered. Before he had ceased to breathe, his body was treated with great indignity, suspended from a candelabra in the most frequented square of the city, and left for fourteen hours exposed to the gaze of a mocking populace. By six o'clock in the evening, the insurgents occupied all points of the city, except the arsenal, which, during the whole night, they endeavoured to carry by storm. Failing in this, they set it on fire, and all the wood-work was consumed, but the little garrison continued to hold possession. On the morning of October 7th, the emperor, filled with alarm at the success of the revolutionists, fled for the second time from the palace of his fathers, abandoned his capital to the mercies of a turbulent rabble, and never ceased his flight until he found himself safe within the walls of the fortress of Olmutz. On the flight of the emperor becoming known, the garrison, which had so gallantly defended the arsenal, abandoned their post, the populace rushed in, and the trophies, collected by the imperial government during many centuries,

from the period of the crusades to that day, were carried away in triumph.

Information of the revolt having been despatched to the Baron Jelaccic, commanding the Croatian forces in Hungary, that general lost no time in putting his army in motion, and by forced marches was enabled on the 9th of October to pass the Austrian frontier, and take up a position with twelve thousand men, in the vicinity of the capital. The Hungarian army on learning the departure of Jelaccic, followed instantly on his track, and rested not until they reached the Austrian frontier. On the 20th of March a large body of imperial troops, under the command of Prince Windischgratz, appeared before Vienna, and the city was declared in a state of siege. A series of bloody conflicts followed, and continued until the 28th, when the imperialists again obtained possession of the capital. On that very day Kossuth reached the head quarters of the Hungarian army, which still halted on the frontier, and at once ordered its advance; but it was too late; the blow had been struck, and the city was prepared a second time to acknowledge its unconditional submission. The Hungarians, on that march, encountered an Austrian army, and on the 30th of October was fought the battle of Swechat, in which the Hungarians were defeated, and driven back across the frontiers into Hungary. In consequence of efficient services rendered in this engagement, Col. Görgey, who has since acquired so unenviable a notoriety, was promoted on the battle ground to the rank of general.

The cause of liberal principles has never received a heavier blow than that inflicted by the second revolution of Vienna. The artillery of Windischgratz did it less injury, than the incapacity, misconduct, and violence of its professed friends. Anarchy produced its legitimate results, and the people have since reaped the pestilent and bitter harvest then sown by their turbulent and mischievous leaders. After the defeat of the Hungarians at Swechat, they retired within the bounds of their own kingdom, and both parties felt that a desperate conflict was now inevitable. An army of a hundred thousand men stood ready to march against Hungary; but before its departure an event of great importance to that kingdom occurred. On the 2d of December, the "Emperor of Austria, wearied by contentions,

and distrustful of his own ability to meet the crisis, abdicated his throne; and by a family arrangement, the crown was transferred, not to the next heir, but to the second in succession. Francis Joseph on being informed that he was emperor, sunk back upon the sofa, and covering his face with his hands exclaimed, "*Meine Jugend ist hin!*" My youth is over! It was, says our author, a noble exclamation for a boy of but nineteen years, for it told of duties accepted, and of devotion to an arduous task.

In settling the crown of Hungary on the house of Hapsburg, no provision had been made for an event such as had now occurred. The Hungarians denied the power of their king to abdicate, and the right of Francis Joseph to the succession, as he was not the direct heir, the crown having been settled by statute, on the direct heir of the house of Hapsburg. Though war seemed now inevitable, the Hungarian leaders ardently desired peace, and left no means untried to effect an accommodation with the imperial government. On the night of the very day on which the emperor abdicated, as Mr. Stiles was seated in the office of the legation of the United States at Vienna, a young female of great beauty and grace, though in the dress of a peasant, presented herself and declaring her business to be urgent, required an assurance that she was in the presence of the American Minister. On this being given, she proceeded to the object of her mission. All intercourse between Austria and Hungary had ceased, and large armies on either side guarded their respective frontiers. It appeared that this intrepid girl had passed in a dreadful storm, through the midst of the Austrian army, when detection would have been certain death, to deliver to Mr. Stiles a communication from Louis Kossuth, entreating him to mediate between the two countries, and so stop the calamities of a war fatal to the interests of both. Mr. Stiles promptly accepted the trust thus confided to him, and in the absence of the imperial minister, sought and obtained an interview with Prince Windischgratz. The prince received him with the greatest kindness, thanked him for his interference, but declared that he would never treat with those who were in a state of rebellion. The course of the imperial government was

determined on, and the unconditional submission of Hungary was the ultimatum.

On the 15th of December, Prince Windischgratz marched upon Hungary, occupied Presburg the former capital of the kingdom, successfully fought the battle of Mor, and on the 13th of January 1849, entered Pesth, the capital of Hungary. In three weeks the whole country was reduced to subjection, the principal cities taken and occupied, the imperial functionaries reinstated in office, and order to all appearance completely restored. This however was but the calm which precedes the tempest. A desperate battle took place on the 26th and 27th of January at Kopolna, which lasted a day and a half; and although it was without result, the Hungarians proved themselves worthy of that high reputation for gallantry which they had enjoyed for centuries. The failure of success in this battle was ascribed to Görgey who remained comparatively inactive, and allowed the troops of Danyinac and Dembinski to bear the brunt of the fight. At the battle of Mor, it had also been charged upon Görgey, that he had caused the Hungarian defeat by failing to unite with the main body of the army, and render needed succour, when he possessed the full ability to do so. It is not our purpose to follow the author through his minute account of this campaign; we will content ourselves with stating, that while in upper Hungary the imperial troops were successfully encountered in many actions by Görgey; the successes which attended the army in the south under General Bem, were no less important. He repulsed General Godcou in several engagements, and when the Russian General Skaviatin entered the country in obedience to the request of the Austrian government, he defeated the combined Russian and Austrian forces in repeated battles, drove them before him to the Wallachian frontier, and in a little time was complete master of Transylvania. It is related by Mr. Stiles, that when Bem drove the enemy from Hermenstadt, he took up his headquarters at the house of the mayor whose name three weeks previously had been appended to a proclamation offering a price for his head. During this time the fortress of Komorn, which had been besieged since the commencement of the campaign had been relieved, and that of Buda captured by Görgey; and the bloody battle of Szona

fought with the most disastrous results to the imperial army. Here again, the complaints against Görgey were loud and incessant, and it was insisted upon that had he availed himself of the advantages he possessed, with nothing but a routed army between him and Vienna, he might in two days have bivouacked in the Austrian capital, dictated the terms of peace in the palace of the emperor; and assured Hungary a position among the independent nations of the earth. -

Although as early as the 28th of June 1848, Austria had openly espoused the cause of the Croats against Hungary, and although on the 15th of September she had at nine different points invaded her territory, taking both her capitals, subduing and disarming her population, and suppressing all Hungarian authority wherever encountered, it was not until by royal charter the constitution of Hungary was annulled, that the Magyars determined to declare themselves independent of the house of Hapsburg. The Hungarian constitution required the king at his installation to take an oath to sustain that constitution and the liberties of the Hungarian people. The youthful emperor, instead of complying with this requisition, issued his royal charter, virtually destroying the constitution of Hungary; and then, and not till then the Magyars determined to cast off their allegiance.

On the 14th day of April 1849, the representatives of the Hungarian nation assembled in the Protestant church in Debreczin, when the late victories were reported by Kossuth, who at the same time presented the rights and claims of Hungary, and the abuses and perfidy of Austria. He eloquently invoked the people, in the name of their country and their God, to shake off the fetters that had bound them for three centuries, and take their place among the family of nations. A declaration of independence was then unanimously adopted, and Louis Kossuth by acclamation appointed governor of Hungary. The struggle of Hungary was from this time a struggle for absolute independence. The cause was a righteous one, and the right of a people to select their own rulers and their own form of government will surely not be questioned in this country.

The Austrian government, astounded at the brilliant succes-

sion of victories achieved by the Magyars in the late campaign, and by which the imperial forces had been driven from the soil of Hungary, collected the scattered remnant of their defeated armies, levied large bodies of additional troops, and made active preparations for a new invasion. In the latter part of April, an earnest appeal was made to the Czar of Russia to assist the imperial government in its contest against those liberal principles which threatened "the dissolution of all social order;" and so prompt was the reply of the autocrat, that early in May an army of one hundred and sixty thousand Russians marched upon Hungary. The combined Austrian and Russian armies numbered scarcely less than four hundred thousand men. We must necessarily pass rapidly over the second campaign in Hungary, which was attended with various successes to the different parties. The battle of Acs was one of the most brilliant and obstinately contested actions of the campaign. In this action, where all seemed hopelessly lost, Görgey, with twenty-nine squadrons and six batteries, led a charge against the Austrian centre, which for a time retrieved the fortunes of the day. Night came upon the combatants while still engaged, and the victory remained undecided. The Hungarian loss in this battle was fifteen hundred; that of the Austrians three thousand. At one time during the campaign, the Russian army under Paskievitch, occupied a position midway between the armies of Dembinski and Görgey; and had these generals advanced upon him, he must have been annihilated, and their armies, thus united upon the field of victory, could easily have demolished the Austrian army under Marshal Haynau; but unfortunately for Hungary, the jealousies of these commanders prevented their acting in harmony, and the opportunity was lost.

On the 1st of August 1849, the Hungarian Diet met for the last time, and one week after, the last battle for Hungarian independence was fought. The battle of Szoreg took place on the 5th; and until the 9th, the Hungarians had retreated before the enemy, contesting every inch of ground. On that day, near the fortress of Temesvar, the fate of Hungary was decided. On the 8th, General Dembinski had been wounded and carried from the field, and for twenty-five hours the Hungarian army was

without a commander. At this stage of the conflict, General Bem, who had suffered a defeat in Transylvania, appeared upon the field in obedience to a summons from Kossuth, and assumed the command. He was wounded soon after his arrival, and the troops fell into confusion, and made a precipitate flight. These disasters rendered the Hungarian cause sufficiently hopeless; but a heavier blow was still in reserve. Görgey, with an army of near forty thousand men, was within half a day's march of Dembinski at the time of his defeat, and could easily have turned the scale of victory, and rolled back the tide of war upon the Austrian oppressors. But on that day, when the fate of his country was suspended in the balance, he remained in a state of complete inaction, or was occupied in planning the dissolution of the government, and preparing the way for his own advancement. On the defeat of Dembinski and Bem; he called upon Kossuth to resign his post, declaring that in that case he could and would save Hungary, which a general could alone do in such a crisis. Kossuth, feeling his own inability to do more, resigned the guidance of public affairs, and assumed the responsibility of dissolving the government, and conferring upon Görgey the supreme civil and military authority. In his address to the nation, Kossuth declared his belief that the fate of the country was in the hands of the military leaders, and that he held Görgey "responsible to God, the nation, and to history—that according to the best of his ability he would use this supreme power for the salvation of the national and political independence" of the country. Görgey accepted and assumed the power transferred to him in so questionable a manner, and regardless of his solemn protestations that he could and would save the country, he immediately advised all citizens to return quietly to their homes, and to make no resistance even in defence of their towns; and on the same day, while still at the head of the only unsubdued army in Hungary, he announced to General Rudiger his readiness to lay down his arms "before the army of his Majesty the Emperor of Russia." That Görgey had this surrender in view at the time he demanded to be made dictator, has been clearly proved not only by the circumstances, but by admissions subsequently made by himself. An act more infamous history

does not record. He had it in his power, as he himself declared, to retreat into Transylvania; but he made an unconditional surrender: he made no reservations for his country, or terms for his army; and his brave companions who had stood by him on many a field of blood, were left to perish on the scaffold, or to endure all the horrors of an Austrian dungeon. He preserved, it is true, his own miserable existence, and it may be, secured wealth and station; but his fate is not an enviable one. His life must be passed under the surveillance of Austrian spies, embittered by the recollection of his cruel treachery, and followed by the execrations of the widows and orphans made by his surrender, and the wrath of the whole Hungarian nation.

Kossuth on his relinquishment of office, as is well known, fled into Turkey, and his conduct in thus abandoning his post, and without guaranty, intrusting all power to a soldier whom he had declared unworthy of confidence, has been severely commented on by his associates in the government. His right to delegate a power and authority, which he only held himself, personally and provisionally, is denied. His placing supreme power in the hands of one whom he believed and had for months declared to be a traitor, is pronounced inconsistent with his professed patriotism. And the late President of the Hungarian ministerial council, in a letter written from Paris to the New York Courier and Enquirer on the 4th of January, 1852, says, "It is important to remark here, that at this moment," (the time of Kossuth's flight) "there were still in the hands of the nation *four* fortresses, and two of these the strongest in the whole country, Komorn and Peterwardein, as well as an army of one hundred and thirty-five thousand men, and three hundred field officers. I believe that never before in the history of the world has the head of a nation turned his back upon so powerful a military force." These charges were promptly repelled by the late Minister of Public Justice in Hungary, in a letter of the 17th of January, 1852. In this communication he states the fact, that the well ascertained and deeply rooted sentiments of the people of Hungary were in favour of a republican government; that one of the first acts of the new government, after independence was declared, was to remove the crown from all national escutcheons, and from the great seal of Hungary; that

the press, in all its shades developed republican principles; and that the new semi-official paper bore the name of *The Republic*.

The period has not yet arrived when a proper judgment can be formed of the character and conduct of Kossuth. It may be that he acted unwisely and without authority, in clothing Görgey with supreme power, but there can be no doubt that when he fled from Hungary, the cause of liberty was hopeless, and nothing would have been gained to the country, and certain destruction must have ensued to himself, from remaining at his post. On reviewing the history of his public life and conduct, we are disposed to adopt the conclusions reached by Mr. Stiles upon the subject. "If the testimony that history has thus far furnished leads to the conclusion that his highly nervous, sensitive, and poetical temperament has led him into conduct that a firmer heart and more deliberate judgment would have avoided, that his extraordinary powers of expression were not combined with a corresponding executive ability, and that his vivid imagination is better calculated to arouse the passions and kindle the aspirations of others, than to obtain for himself a dispassionate and practical view of events around him; still there remains more than enough of superiority in his character to justify the warm admiration of every lover of human freedom. His consummate oratory, his poetical fancy, his capacity for labour, his struggles and his sufferings in the great cause of civil liberty, will for ever keep his name in the first rank of those who have magnanimously devoted their lives to extend the blessings of progress and equal rights, which are only the legitimate results of a free government."

Charles Lodge.

ART. VI.—*The General Assembly.*

THE General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States met in the Glebe Street Church, Charleston, South Carolina, on Thursday, May 20th, at 11 o'clock, A.M., and was opened with a sermon by the Rev. E. P. Humphrey, D. D., moderator of the preceding Assembly, from Matt. vii. 17: "Every good tree bringeth forth good fruit, but a corrupt tree bringeth forth evil fruit."